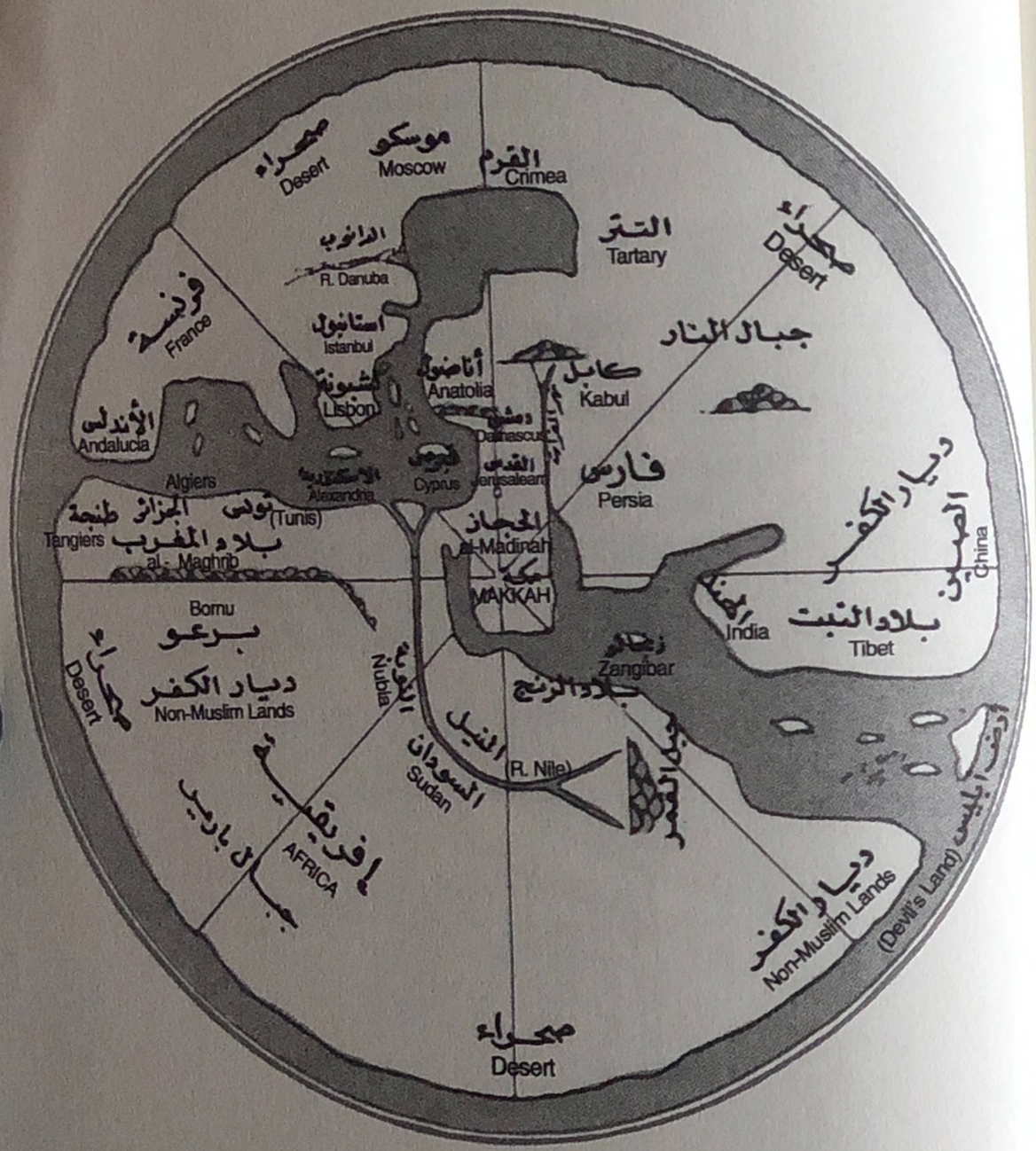
The Holy Cities, The Pilgrimage, and The World of Islām

— A History —
From the Earliest Traditions
until 1925 (1344H)

Sulṭān Ghālib al-Qu'aiṭī

Dedicated to the Muslim 'Ummah' at large and to
HRH Prince Muḥammad al-Faiṣal and
HH Princess Monā in particular.



A map by the geographer al-Jihānī (4th cH/10th cCE)
showing Makkah as the centre of the world.

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Her statement as an artist is as follows:

> I like to define myself as a Muslim artist, sprung from my native Saudi culture and history. In my art, I am seeking to show signs of the Divine in nature and in Man. For me, light is one of the many manifestations of God, which He casts in our path through life to remind us of His constant presence in ourselves and in every place. Every photograph is a pattern of light and shade. For me, my photography is a way to praise God's glory in the universe.

Photographic Essay Centerfold
by Reem Al-Faiṣal

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D-E: Pilgrims from the sub-continent, Iran, Afghanistan, as well as servants of the Mosque – cleaners and guards.

F-G: The Day of 'Arafat at Mina and Turkish pilgrims arriving at the airport.

H-I: A variety of nationalities leave Makkah and reach Jabal al-Rahmah (the Mount of Mercy) on the plain of 'Arafat.

J-K: In remembrance of God, pilgrims recite the Qur'an and perform supplicatory prayers. The tent accommodations found at 'Arafat.

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O-P: The Mosques of al-Badr, al-Qiblatain and Abyar 'Ali.

A Word from the Publisher

How fortunate that we may at once benefit from both an Arab and an Indian point of view on the faith, history, politics and civilization of the Islamic World and its sacred sites from the earliest of times. Sultan Ghalib, whose mother is the eldest grand-daughter of the sixth Nizam of Hyderbad, India, was the last ruler of the Hadramaut (South Yemen) and since resides in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, near Makkah and Medina, which are the focus of this monumental work.

As this volume literally brings alive the history of many centuries, it has something of interest for everyone, be he or she a scholar of the Middle East and the Islamic World, a Muslim longing for precious details of the Holy Sanctuaries and pilgrimage, or an art historian drawn to the great architectural complexes the world over.

In his royal style of English, the author transports us on an intriguing journey where we are introduced to hitherto little- or un-known places, personages and events. A real education altering one's world-view!

What astounded me personally were the fascinating details – and even cataloguing – of the enormous and fervent support and involvement over the centuries of the entire Muslim world, stretching from South East Asia to West Africa, in the maintenance of Makkah, Medina and Jerusalem. It is surprising to hear of India's funding the Dome of the Rock and Mosque of al-Aqsa. Staggering sums were consistently donated not only for expansion and the repairs necessitated by such natural disasters as floods, earthquakes and fire, but also for the cities' indigent population. International patronage was devoted towards education and various charitable endowments. The needed Hijaz railway was financed by individuals as well as the Muslim public from Iran, Morocco, Bokhara, Egypt, Europe, Aden, South East Asia, India, et al.

Included would appear to be mention of nearly all the rulers and key people from the Caliphate onwards. Struggles for power read like tales of mystery and intrigue. The sheer inclusion of the names and dates of all these important personages through time provides the reader with a reference work of substance. One comes to understand what a privilege and responsibility has been the role of those called "the Servitors of the Two Holy Sanctuaries."

For a Muslim to follow the development of each key element found in the three sacred sanctuaries is deeply moving, such as the story of the *Kiswa* over time, the enclosure of the Prophet's tomb, the *Maqam Ibrahim*, and the exact circumstances of how Prophetic relics reached the Topkapi. And what a bonus to have included the very prayers which are to be said by Muslims making *Tawaf*, performing the *Sa'y* or standing in the Prophet's garden, ar-Rauda. These prayers will also be of interest to the outsider who may wonder what the circumambulating pilgrims, for example, are saying. How exciting to have a letter from Al-Ghazali (d.1111CE) regarding inspiring moments at the Hajj.

For the art historian who, for example, studies the Mughal period in India and has seen the portraits of Akbar and Jahangir, it is interesting to be able to envision these sultans alive, in their enthusiasm and involvement while readying the Hajj caravans. We mostly think of Shah Jahan only in association with the Taj Mahal, but now we meet him as a donor to the Holy Cities. Here we learn of the involvement of the Mughal court with Arabia.

I was brought to tears, when Umar Fakhrad-din Pasha refused to leave his sworn post in defense of the Prophet's mosque in Medina. He had held out against all odds and when at last he was torn away from his station, he fell weeping at the tomb of the Prophet, begging his forgiveness for having been forced to forego his oath.

Against the captivating backdrop of history, whether if be World War I, a famine, or the yoke of colonization, we witness the strength of the Muslim *ummah* working as one.

Quoting from Ihsanoglu's introduction to the book, I agree that "Possibly the greatest benefit of this valuable book is that to the Western reader it provides a rare and truthful display of the development of events [in the Muslim world] from an Arab perspective which we hope will contribute to redressing the stereotypical misconceptions through which many Western writers have portrayed Islam, Muslims and their causes."

Author's Preface

Dedication and Acknowledgements

Recently, during 1420H (1999), the clan of Sa'ūd celebrated the first lunar centennial of the conquest of al-Riyāḍ in Shawwāl 1319H (January 1902) by 'Abdal-'Azīz ibn 'Abdal-Raḥmān Āl Sa'ūd and the establishment of the Third Sa'ūdī State, the precursor of the present Kingdom of Sa'ūdī Arabia, then in Sha'bān 1422H (November 2001), the twentieth anniversary of the accession of his son, Fahd ibn 'Abdal-'Azīz, to the throne of his predecessors as its fifth ruler and Custodian of the Holy Sanctuaries and now the accession of his brother and heir 'AbdAllāh ibn 'Abdal-'Azīz.

As destiny would have it, the fortunes of this House of late have also been intertwined with the history and development on an unprecedented scale of al-Ḥejāz—the Muslim Holy Land at large and "al-Ḥaramayn al-Sharīfayn"—its "Two Honoured Sanctuaries"—"Makkah the Blessed" and "al-Madīnah the Radiant"—particularly so, since their entry into the Sa'ūdī fold in the Rabī' al-Awwal of 1343H(October 1924). During this period of over three-quarters of a century, "Makkah al-Mukarramah" and "al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah" have both witnessed great development and change, much of it aimed at anticipating and catering to the ever increasing needs and the greater facility and ease of the Pilgrims during the Ḥajj season and indeed, at all other times of the Islāmic calendar.

Furthermore, the recently deceased Ruler and Head of this House, King Fahd ibn 'Abdal-'Azīz, in order to emphasise the Sa'ūdī clan's dedication to the service and custodianship of these Two Holy Mosques of Islām, had officially adopted, shortly after his accession, the style and title of "Khādim al-Ḥaramayn al-Sharīfayn" (literally: "Servitor of the Two Honoured (or Noble) Sanctuaries"—one that had been held before him with distinction by such rulers from the golden folios of Islāmic history as the Sulṭāns Ṣalāḥal-dīn (Saladin) al-Aiyyūbī, Ruknal-dīn Baybars (the Mamlūk) and Sulaymān Khān "al-Qānūnī" ("the Magnificent") and now also adopted by the new Sa'ūdī King, 'AbdAllāh ibn 'Abdal-'Azīz.

Since my life too has been associated with the Ḥejāz for nearly four decades, during the ups and downs of which, I have known

and met with moments, experiences and people, whose memories—positive and negative—I cherish and from which and from whom I have learnt much about life, I would like to present this humble effort of mine first and foremost as an offering and an encomium to the three Holy Sanctuaries of Islām—Makkah, al-Madīnah and al-Quds (Jerusalem) as well as the Muslim world, with the sincere supplication that, they continue to radiate guidance to all mankind till the end of time—"Āmīn".

Next and before all else, my deep gratitude is to each and every source, individuals like authors and their works, or institutions like archives, libraries and museums to whom or which I owe debts in any manner, by borrowing, utilising or benefiting in any possible way in the compilation of this humble effort. Since I feel that the list would be too long to mention here individually in toto, I have sought recourse to the artifice of referring to them all in every case as needed, as best as possible, and thanking them alongside on the spot as well as I could, such as HMSO in the case of the 'Map of Arabia in the Classical Era' and the Friends of the British Museum regards the illustration of the three Assyrian friezes found at Mount Nimrod. Other institutions like the British Foreign Office (FO), the Colonial Office (CO), the Public Records Office (PRO), the Imperial War Museum (IWM), the Middle East Centre (MEC) at St. Anthony's, Oxford, the India Office Records (IOR), the National Archives of India (NAI), the Jāmi'ah-e-Millīyah (JMI), the Firangī Maḥal collection (FM), the Uttar Pradesh Government Secretariat Records (UPSR), the Andhra Pradesh State Archives (APSA) and above all, the Archives of Islām collection (AOI), have all been duly acknowledged and thanked at the beginning of the Bibliographical List along with all the works cited. And I crave forgiveness for any lapses or omissions met with in this work, as that is entirely unintentional.

In my personal acknowledgement and regard, I would first and foremost like to include my official hosts, who maintain with great pride that, the teachings and values embodied in the Holy Qur'ān are the very basis of their political values, their constitution and the ethical code that inspires and guides their dealings with others. May they always be guided in living up to their noble wisdom—"Āmīn"!

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Then, there are my many kind and generous friends, without whom, life under the circumstances I have often had to face, could

well have been much harder indeed! Amongst these, I would like to acknowledge here in particular the kindnesses, great or small, of their Royal Highnesses: Princes ʿAbdAllāh, Turkī and Muḥammad al-Faiṣal (the bold pioneer of Islāmic banking and of research into the utilisation of icebergs to solve the water shortage problems of arid regions—more and more becoming a necessity by the day) and his much admired and loved family (who have always meant so much to me and mine); the Philanthropist, Patriot and Commentator on recent regional political history, in the shaping of which, he himself had often played an intimate and important role, and still continues to, Prince Ṭalāl ibn ʿAbdal-ʿAzīz, his sons; the Princesses Ḥaṣṣah bint Khālid, Nāʾifah, Ḥayāʾ and Fahdah banāt Saʿūd as well as their brothers, Khālid, Dr. Sayf al-Islām, Dr. Salmān and Ḥusām—all keen patriots and knowledgeable students of their country's history.

In addition, I would like to treat this book as a personal tribute to the memory of the late "Muʿallim" ("Master") Muḥammad ʿAwaḍ Bin Lādin, his eldest son and my school-friend Sālim (now sadly no more), his mother, "Umm Sālim", and to the great and dear Bin Lādin family at large, presently presided by Bakur. Till now, they have indeed played a key role in the implementation of projects associated with the Holy Mosques of Makkah and al-Madīnāh in Saʿūdī Arabia and Islām's third holiest Sanctuary, the "Ḥaram al-Sharīf" (the Noble Sanctuary) and al-Aqṣāʾ Mosque in al-Quds (Jerusalem) during the modern era. I would like to emphasise here that, I take particular pride in the fact that, the origins of this extraordinary family can be traced back to my beloved homeland Ḥaḍramaut, whose sons the Ḥejāz has known intimately since well before the dawn of Islām. The role of this unique pioneer and his family in the development activity of modern Saʿūdī Arabia is also universally known and acknowledged. Here, I would also like to salute my good and humble friend Dr. Bodo Maḥmūd Rasch, a pupil of the great Professor Frei Otto, who remains to be publicly acknowledged for his many great technological contributions in the refurbishment of the two Ḥarams, one of which has been devising means for providing shade to the Pilgrims from the sun and the heat at times of Prayer.

From among the other Ḥaḍramī clans to serve the Holy Land well in recent times and without the intent to exclude any of the

myriad others who ought to be referred to individually, but for the constraints of space, I would like to mention the names of the late Muḥammad Bākhashab Pāshā and his sons Sālim and Abū Bakr, the clans of Bin Maḥfūẓ, Bugshān, the ancient family of Bānājah, the Yāfiʿī al-ʿEisāyī and the various ʿAmūdī families and the Āl Bāʿabūd and Bin Zaqr.

I also hasten to add here that, amongst the scholarly personae of this land, I have always found the highly learned and well informed Makkans, their excellencies Shaykh Aḥmad Zakī Yamānī, the late Shaykh ʿAbdAllāh Ba'l-Khayr, and Dr. Sāmī and Amīrah ʿAnqāwī of particular relevance. Indeed, of these, Shaykh Yamānī, amidst his several great contributions to his land and faith has undertaken to sponsor a unique project—the preparation of a comprehensive encyclopaedia on every aspect of the Holy Cities, which, upon its completion, will inevitably rank amongst the greatest ever of all time services and achievements to be associated with the memory and the preservation of each and every aspect of the Holy Cities, their history, traditions and culture from times immemorial till the present day—a reflection upon the generosity, greatness and vision of this unique Muslim soul. Whilst amongst other sources of encouragement, I particularly salute other kind friends like the great philanthropist Madame Suʿād Juffālī and her sons, Ḥātim and Nadā Juffālī, as well as Saʿd and Riḍā Ghazzāwī, Else and ʿĀdnān Bogary, Ambassador Samīr and Widād Shihābī, Dr. Ḥaifā al-ʿAngary, Inge and Nabīh Pharaʿon, Caroline and Ṣuhā Islām, Andreas Haberbeck, Fāriḍ Gouverneur, Dr. Timothy J. Winter, Gray Henry, Neville Blakemore, Maryam al-Sharīf and Taiyibbah (both of the family of the great Mahdī of the Sudān), and the latter's other half Professor ʿAbdAllāh Schleiffer, ʿAbdal-Laṭīf and Batūl Salazar, Pete and Pat Taylor (from whom I learn't so much about the true meaning of the "religion" of ethics), my venerable tutor and good friend from Cambridge days, Aḥmad al-Bushrā with his wife Judy, and Dr. M.ʿA. Naʿīm and S. Niẓāmuddīn..

Having mentioned my second 'Alma Mater', dare I omit reference to my great friends, past and present there and from that other place on the Isis—Oxford, my beloved first 'Alma Mater', though it would be physically impossible to name them all here. Nevertheless, I cannot omit to mention in this instance the former and present Presidents of my College at Oxford, Magdalen, the late Dr.

Keith Griffiths (his brother Vincent) and Anthony Smith (for whom my admiration has grown with every meeting) and the former Master of Magdalene, Cambridge, Walter Hamilton. Another great titan in that class was Professor Anne-Marie Schimmel of Harvard etc., who alas is no more with us, though her traditions continue to survive unabated in her disciples like Dr. Ḍiā' (Zia) Shakīb, our precious Philippa Vaughan and Raziah Sultānova, Ismā'īl and the great Munājāt—all from Uzbekistān. Besides, I cannot thank enough here Professor Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu (current Secretary General of the Organisation of the Islāmic Conference) for agreeing to write the Introduction and his many kind words, though he did not have a chance to look at Chapter XI of this book, a later addition. In the same breath, I would like to include my esteem and appreciation here for my dear friends and sources of moral support and invaluable advice, Ambassador Dr. Stefan and Renate Keller, Dr. Ulrike Freitag (a true honorary daughter of Ḥaḍramaut et al) and Dr. Barbara Schumacher.

I also cannot possibly ignore here the great clan of the "Friends of Ḥaḍramaut" led by the Āl: Ingrams, Ellis, Harding, Carter, Shipman, the late Gordon (one of the finest gentlemen ever) and Anne Neilson, John and Barbara Horrell, Hugh Leach, the late St. John and Jennifer Armitage, Owain and Helen Raw-Rees, Sir James Craig, Stephen and Angela Day, Pamela, John and Toby Bunney and the great "Shaykh" Mark and Carol Blackett-Ord, the peerless Susan and John Wood, Brian 'Abdal-'Azīz Fyfield-Shayler, another gem of a contemporary from Oxford days, Geoff Calvert (with his dear wife Ulla and daughter Maija), and from across the Atlantic, the greatly cherished Dick McKee.

Finally, my particular acknowledgment and thanks are also due to my dear friend 'Abdal-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad Bin Mallūḥ, whose encouragement from time to time with ideas happens to be one of the major reasons for my serious interest in research in this field.

In this vein, I would also like to include HIH the late Princess Durreshehvar (only daughter of the last Ottoman Caliph 'Abdal-Majīd II) and her two sons, Princes Barkat (HEH the Nizam VIII of Ḥaidarābād) and Karāmat.

As will be evident from the text, notes on the sources and the bibliography list, I have made every attempt to base this book on

contemporary or near contemporary sources, preferably regional. When this has not been possible, others as near to the events covered from every aspect as feasible, have been utilised upon meeting all the necessary criteria of reliability, deemed essential for an undertaking of this nature. I must also emphasise that, both, the text placed before the readership in this work and the views and opinions displayed in its folios have no connection with anyone but myself and the burden or responsibility for them is mine and mine alone.

I would also like to recognise here all those who painstakingly transcribed or typed various parts of this book, latterly Ebrāhīm Thottathil of Calicut and his family and I do owe a particular debt of gratitude to mine also for their patient copying, typing, general support and encouragement, especially to my wife, daughters, nephews and neices.

I reiterate that, I deem it an honour and take particular pleasure in dedicating this book to the past, present and future generations of the Muslim "Ummah" in general and the people of this land and the friends I have named or referred to directly or indirectly in this introduction in particular. Should any portion of this humble effort be found of some value or interest to the Muslim world or to others, I would consider myself more than amply rewarded.

A key to the general method of transliteration for all Arabic words and Islāmic terms that I have attempted to follow as best as I can, placing emphasis on the way they are commonly pronounced is also provided in the book as is a Comparative Table of Hijrī and Common Era Dates. Lists of genealogies of all the Muslim Dynasties which excercised suzerainty over the Holy Cities, or otherwise had strong philanthropic ties with them, are also given in an appendix, along with a list of all the known governors over Makkah and al-Madīnah from the era of the Prophet ﷺ till the end of Hāshimite rule in the Ḥejāz.

"My Lord, Increase me in my knowledge" and " Forgive me my errors" (Ch 20; V 114 and Ch 26; V 82—the Qur'ān)—"Āmīn"!

In all humility,
(The Author).

A GENERAL GUIDE TO TRANSLITERATION

G	Consonantal	A/a	•	.....	Ṭ/ṭ
ء	Sound	'	ظ	.....	Ẓ/ẓ
ا	Long vowel	Ā/ā	ع	.....	‘/‘
ب	.....	B/b	غ	.....	Gg/gh
ت	.....	T/t	ف	.....	F/f
ث	.....	Th/th	ق	.....	Q/q
ج	.....	J/j	ك	.....	K/k
ح	.....	Ḥ/ḥ	ل	.....	L/l
خ	.....	Kh/kh	م	.....	M/m
د	.....	D/d	ن	.....	N/n
ذ	.....	Dh/dh	ه	.....	H/h
ر	.....	R/r	و	consonant	W/w
ز	.....	Z/z	و	long vowel	Ū/ū
س	.....	S/s	و	diphthong	au/aw
ش	.....	Sh/sh	ى	consonant	Y/y
ص	.....	Ṣ/ṣ	ى	long vowel	Ī/ī
ض	.....	Ḍ/ḍ	ى	diphthong	ai/ay

Note: In Arabic pronunciation, the letter ‘Lām’ (ل) of the article (‘al’) (ل) becomes silent when followed by any of these letters nown as ‘al-Ḥurūf al-Shamsīyyah’ (‘Sun Letters’). These are: T (ت), Th (ث), D (د), Dh (ذ), R (ر), Z (ز), S (س), Sh (ش), Ṣ (ص), Ḍ (ض), Ṭ (ط), Ẓ (ظ), N (ن). The remaining letters of the Alphabet are referred to as ‘al-Ḥurūf al-Qamarīyyah’ (‘Moon Letters’). For example, ‘the Sun’ is written as ‘al-Shams’ but pronounced ‘ash-Shams’. Likewise, ‘al-Nūr’ is pronounced ‘an-Nūr’. The same rule is followed with combined words such as: ‘Abd al-Razzāq) and Tāj al-Dīn (Tājuddīn). In case of ‘al-Ḥurūf al-Qamarīyyah’ (‘Moon Letters’), the ‘Lām’ (ل) is pronounced, such as in ‘al-Qamar’ and hence the label applied to them. However, in order not to confuse the readers, an attempt has been made in this book to try to keep the transliteration as simple and straight-forward as possible, with the ‘Lām’ produced in words followed by ‘al-Ḥurūf al-Shamsīyyah’ also, as in the case of ‘al-Ḥurūf al-Qamarīyyah’.

★★★★★

Measurements

Cubit: elbow to tip of middle finger, usually about 18inches.
Ell: “arm’s length”; no standard measure; ranges from 24 to 45 inches in different countries and times.

A Comparative Table of Hijrī and Common Era Dates

The lunar Islāmic calendar is based on the migration (‘Hijrah’) of the Prophet Muḥammad ﷺ from Makkah to Yathrib (al-Madīnah), which occured on 16th July 622 CE. The twelve Hijrī months, which total 354 days, are ‘Muḥarram, Ṣafar, Rabī‘ al-Awwal, Rabī‘ al-Thānī, Jamād al-Awwal, Jamād al-Thānī, Rajab, Sha‘bān, Ramaḍān, Shawwāl, Dhū’l-Qa‘dah and Dhū’l-Ḥijjah’.

H	*CE*		H	*CE*	
1	*622*	16 July	400	*1009*	25 August
10	*631*	9 April	410	*1019*	9 May
20	*640*	21 December	420	*1029*	20 January
30	*650*	4 September	430	*1038*	3 October
40	*660*	17 May	440	*1048*	16 June
50	*670*	29 January	450	*1058*	28February
60	*679*	13 October	460	*1067*	11 November
70	*689*	25 June	470	*1077*	25 July
80	*699*	9 March	480	*1087*	8 April
90	*708*	20 November	490	*1096*	19 December
100	*718*	3 August	500	*1106*	2 September
110	*728*	16 April	510	*1116*	16 May
120	*737*	29 December	520	*1126*	27 January
130	*747*	11September	530	*1135*	11 October
140	*757*	25 May	540	*1145*	24 June
150	*767*	6 February	550	*1155*	7 March
160	*776*	19 October	560	*1164*	18 November
170	*786*	3 July	570	*1174*	2 August
180	*796*	16 March	580	*1184*	14 April
190	*805*	27 November	590	*1193*	27 December
200	*815*	11 August	600	*1203*	10 September
210	*825*	24 April	610	*1213*	23 May
220	*835*	5 January	620	*1223*	4 February
230	*844*	18 September	630	*1232*	18 October
240	*854*	2 June	640	*1242*	1 July
250	*864*	13 February	650	*1252*	14 March
260	*873*	27 October	660	*1261*	26 November
270	*883*	11 July	670	*1271*	9 August
280	*893*	23 March	680	*1281*	22 April
290	*902*	5 December	690	*1291*	4 January
300	*912*	18 August	700	*1300*	16September
310	*922*	1 May	710	*1310*	31 May
320	*932*	13 January	720	*1320*	12 February
330	*941*	26 September	730	*1329*	25 October
340	*951*	9 June	740	*1339*	9 July
350	*961*	20 February	750	*1349*	22 March
360	*970*	4 November	760	*1358*	3 December
370	*980*	17 July	770	*1368*	16 August
380	*990*	31 March	780	*1378*	30 April
390	*999*	13 December	790	*1388*	11 January

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ج	.....	J/j	ك	.....	K/k
ح	.....	Ḥ/ḥ	ل	.....	L/l
خ	.....	Kh/kh	م	.....	M/m
د	.....	D/d	ن	.....	N/n
ذ	.....	Dh/dh	ه	.....	H/h
ر	.....	R/r	و	consonant	W/w
ز	.....	Z/z	و	long vowel	Ū/ū
س	.....	S/s	و	diphthong	au/aw
ش	.....	Sh/sh	ى	consonant	Y/y
ص	.....	Ṣ/ṣ	ى	long vowel	Ī/ī
ض	.....	Ḍ/ḍ	ى	diphthong	ai/ay

Note: In Arabic pronunciation, the letter ‘Lām’ (ل) of the article (‘al’) (ل) becomes silent when followed by any of these letters nown as ‘al-Ḥurūf al-Shamsīyyah’ (‘Sun Letters’). These are: T (ت), Th (ث), D (د), Dh (ذ), R (ر), Z (ز), S (س), Sh (ش), Ṣ (ص), Ḍ (ض), Ṭ (ط), Ẓ (ظ), N (ن). The remaining letters of the Alphabet are referred to as ‘al-Ḥurūf al-Qamarīyyah’ (‘Moon Letters’). For example, ‘the Sun’ is written as ‘al-Shams’ but pronounced ‘ash-Shams’. Likewise, ‘al-Nūr’ is pronounced ‘an-Nūr’. The same rule is followed with combined words such as: ‘Abd al-Razzāq) and Tāj al-Dīn (Tājuddīn). In case of ‘al-Ḥurūf al-Qamarīyyah’ (‘Moon Letters’), the ‘Lām’ (ل) is pronounced, such as in ‘al-Qamar’ and hence the label applied to them. However, in order not to confuse the readers, an attempt has been made in this book to try to keep the transliteration as simple and straight-forward as possible, with the ‘Lām’ produced in words followed by ‘al-Ḥurūf al-Shamsīyyah’ also, as in the case of ‘al-Ḥurūf al-Qamarīyyah’.

★★★★★

Measurements

Cubit: elbow to tip of middle finger, usually about 18inches.
Ell: “arm’s length”; no standard measure; ranges from 24 to 45 inches in different countries and times.

A Comparative Table of Hijrī and Common Era Dates

The lunar Islāmic calendar is based on the migration (‘Hijrah’) of the Prophet Muḥammad ﷺ from Makkah to Yathrib (al-Madīnah), which occured on 16th July 622 CE. The twelve Hijrī months, which total 354 days, are ‘Muḥarram, Ṣafar, Rabī‘ al-Awwal, Rabī‘ al-Thānī, Jamād al-Awwal, Jamād al-Thānī, Rajab, Sha‘bān, Ramaḍān, Shawwāl, Dhū’l-Qa‘dah and Dhū’l-Ḥijjah’.

H	*CE*		H	*CE*	
1	*622*	16 July	400	*1009*	25 August
10	*631*	9 April	410	*1019*	9 May
20	*640*	21 December	420	*1029*	20 January
30	*650*	4 September	430	*1038*	3 October
40	*660*	17 May	440	*1048*	16 June
50	*670*	29 January	450	*1058*	28February
60	*679*	13 October	460	*1067*	11 November
70	*689*	25 June	470	*1077*	25 July
80	*699*	9 March	480	*1087*	8 April
90	*708*	20 November	490	*1096*	19 December
100	*718*	3 August	500	*1106*	2 September
110	*728*	16 April	510	*1116*	16 May
120	*737*	29 December	520	*1126*	27 January
130	*747*	11September	530	*1135*	11 October
140	*757*	25 May	540	*1145*	24 June
150	*767*	6 February	550	*1155*	7 March
160	*776*	19 October	560	*1164*	18 November
170	*786*	3 July	570	*1174*	2 August
180	*796*	16 March	580	*1184*	14 April
190	*805*	27 November	590	*1193*	27 December
200	*815*	11 August	600	*1203*	10 September
210	*825*	24 April	610	*1213*	23 May
220	*835*	5 January	620	*1223*	4 February
230	*844*	18 September	630	*1232*	18 October
240	*854*	2 June	640	*1242*	1 July
250	*864*	13 February	650	*1252*	14 March
260	*873*	27 October	660	*1261*	26 November
270	*883*	11 July	670	*1271*	9 August
280	*893*	23 March	680	*1281*	22 April
290	*902*	5 December	690	*1291*	4 January
300	*912*	18 August	700	*1300*	16September
310	*922*	1 May	710	*1310*	31 May
320	*932*	13 January	720	*1320*	12 February
330	*941*	26 September	730	*1329*	25 October
340	*951*	9 June	740	*1339*	9 July
350	*961*	20 February	750	*1349*	22 March
360	*970*	4 November	760	*1358*	3 December
370	*980*	17 July	770	*1368*	16 August
380	*990*	31 March	780	*1378*	30 April
390	*999*	13 December	790	*1388*	11 January

H	CE	
800	*1397*	24 September
810	*1407*	8 June
820	*1417*	18 February
830	*1426*	2 November
840	*1436*	16 July
850	*1446*	29 March
860	*1455*	11 December
870	*1465*	24 August
880	*1475*	7 May
890	*1485*	18 January
900	*1494*	2 October
910	*1504*	14 June
920	*1514*	26 February
930	*1523*	10 November
940	*1533*	23 July
950	*1543*	6 April
960	*1552*	18 December
970	*1562*	31 August
980	*1572*	14 May
990	*1582*	26 January

Transfer from Julian to Gregorian Calendar

1000	*1591*	19 October
1010	*1601*	2 July
1020	*1611*	16 March
1030	*1620*	26 November
1040	*1630*	10 August
1050	*1640*	23 April
1060	*1650*	4 January
1070	*1659*	18 September
1080	*1669*	1 June
1090	*1679*	12 February
1100	*1688*	26 October
1110	*1698*	10 July
1120	*1708*	23 March
1130	*1717*	5 December
1140	*1727*	19 August
1150	*1737*	1 May
1160	*1747*	13 January
1170	*1756*	26 September
1180	*1766*	9 June
1190	*1776*	21 February

H	CE	
1200	*1785*	4 November
1210	*1795*	18 July
1220	*1805*	1 April
1230	*1814*	14 December
1240	*1824*	26 August
1250	*1834*	10May
1260	*1844*	22 January
1270	*1853*	4 October
1280	*1863*	18 June
1290	*1873*	1 March
1300	*1882*	12 November
1310	*1892*	26 July
1318	*1900*	1 May
1319	*1901*	20 April
1320	*1902*	10 April
1321	*1903*	30 March
1322	*1904*	18 March
1323	*1905*	8 March
1324	*1906*	25 February
1325	*1907*	14 February
1326	*1908*	4 February
1327	*1909*	23 January
1328	*1910*	13 January
1329	*1911*	2 January
1330	*1911*	22 December
1331	*1912*	11December
1332	*1913*	30 November
1333	*1914*	19 November
1334	*1915*	9 November
1335	*1916*	28 October
1336	*1917*	17 October
1337	*1918*	7October
1338	*1919*	26 September
1339	*1920*	15 September
1340	*1921*	4 September
1341	*1922*	24 August
1342	*1923*	14August
1343	*1924*	2 August
1344	*1925*	22 July

Primarily based on GSP Freeman-Grenville's *The Muslim and Christian Calendars*, London (1963).

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

Organisation of the Islamic Conference
The Secretary General

منظمة المؤتمر الإسلامي
الأمين العام

OIC/SG-1/2005/01303 **Jeddah: 13 March 2005.**

H.H. Sulṭān Ghālib bin Awad Al-Qu'aiṭi

Assalam Alaikum wa-Rahmatullahi wa-Barakatuh.

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I have perused your valuable book and went through its chapters reading and taking note of many of the facts, events and happenings it reveals. It has been an enlightening, enriching and uplifting exercise which made me realize the great efforts you must have put in over so many years to achieve this work. I also came to realize the wisdom behind its writing and publication and the importance of is contents for Arab and other readers alike, in terms of the detailed history of the Two Holy Sanctuaries, these magnetic places for all Muslims, and the two Holy Cities, Makkah Al-Mukarramah and Al-Madinah Al-Munawarah, along with the comprehensive image of the Islamic world, its enlightened spirit, its radiant and eternal civilization.

Having thus gained such an in-depth understanding, I then undertook to prepare a brief introduction, in response to your kind request, in which I have outlined my impressions of this valuable work, which I am annexing to the present letter with the hope that you will find it appropriate and to your satisfaction. I look forward to further such valuable intellectual contributions on your part to the benefit of the general reader, and wish you every success in your literary progress.

I wish to avail myself of this opportunity to thank you gratefully for your generous feelings as reflected in the message I received from you on the occasion of my designation as Secretary General of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference, a noble task which I shall strive to assume to the best of my ability, with the Grace of Almighty Allah.

Wishing you and your esteemed family continued health and felicity, I remain,

Yours sincerely,

Prof. Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu

LTSG-SGQ
Disk 3/DC-2005
AH

H	CE	
800	*1397*	24 September
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LTSG-SGQ
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Introduction

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My acquaintance with the author Sultan Ghalib Al-Quaiti is a long-standing one, and my contacts with him confirmed his broad knowledge base and his passionate interest and extensive research in Islamic history. It was therefore no surprise for me when I was presented with his new book, which is a treasure chest of facts and events accessible only to a dedicated researcher.

This book, in the reader's hands, is an historical epic that sets out from the Two Holy Shrines, al-Ka'bah in Makkah the Blessed and the Mosque of the Prophet Muhammad in al-Madinah the Radiant, and then expands to encompass the two Holy Cities, then the Hijaz area, the Arab peninsula and at last moves further out to embrace the rest of the Islamic world and beyond. The book enumerates in this vast stretch much information that is closely or remotely related to them in terms of population, construction, custodians, or the rulers. This is a well-illustrated analysis of the prevailing political, economic and social circumstances of the Two Holy Cities and the Hijaz region in particular with all their attendant regional and international ramifications.

The book acquires even greater importance through its recounting of successive historic events witnessed by the Two Cities and their surrounding area in a multi-front exploration of the political, social and economic circumstances. It also sheds light on the intellectual movements and religious schools on the one hand and the customs and traditions that accompanied them on the other. Moreover, the book is indeed a concise reference that carries the reader into the undercurrents of the events witnessed in many parts of the Islamic world over several epochs.

The work begins by researching the name of Makkah, its alternative names and meanings, the City's construction and its settlers

since the time of the Prophet Abraham. The narrative expands to dwell on the history of Arab tribes, the origin of Arab scripture, the relations between the Arab land inhabitants and the neighbouring countries, the raid of the King of Abyssinia Abraha on the Arab land and Makkah and his failed attempt to destroy the Ka'bah. From there the writer devotes a section to the Prophet Muhammad (Peace be upon him) and the advent of Islam, as well as the prophesies found in the Torah and the Bible of his prophethood.

The focus then turns on the city of Al-Madinah the Radiant, and reviews its earlier names, and the tribes that settled there and developed it into a township…Sulṭān Ghālib reviews the era of Muhammad's prophethood, the construction of his mosque there and his stay in Al-Madinah.

This is followed by an exploration into the specific features of the emerging Islamic state in the period of the four Caliphs which coincided with the expanding Islamic conquests in all directions. The book reviews the Umayyad era from different perspectives, the movement of Abdullah Ibn Zubeir, and the catapult attack on the Ka'bah. The narration then flows into an extensive discussion of the Abassid era and its intellectual life, and the rise of Islamic civilization which became the leading civilization in the world. It portrays the scientific and intellectual advances of the era and the emergence of numerous schools of learning in many Islamic cities. It describes the rise of the Fatimid state in Egypt and the Maghreb as well as the construction of the Al-Azhar Mosque…The work then deals with the advent of the state of the Mamluks who ruled over Egypt, Syria and the two Holy Cities and further extended the Holy Mosque's premises after the extensions carried out by the Umayyads and by the Abassids.

The book offers the reader an inspiring review of the various aspects of cultural life in the two Holy Cities across the centuries, based on authentic journals of contemporary travelers and expeditions. It refers to the Crusaders and the emergence of the Ottoman Empire, its conquests in Europe and its efforts dedicated to the unification of the Islamic world under its banner, its sustained interest in reconstructing and upkeeping the Two Holy Mosques, such an interest that prompted Sultan Selim I to adopt for himself the title of "Servant of the Two Holy Mosques". Neither does the book omit to talk about the conditions of Muslims, East and West,

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and the advent of Islam to West Africa since the middle of the 5th century H/11th CE.

In the last two chapters of the book, the author focuses on the political developments in the Islamic world, particularly in the Levant region where these developments were most overwhelming as a result of the colonialist powers' attempts to colonize the countries of the Middle East. The book portrays a panoramic picture of the events which took place at the turn of the 20th century, exposing the "Sykes-Picot-Sazanov" agreement to partition the region, the Balfour Declaration, and the major role of the British Government in paving the way for the creation of a Jewish "homeland" on the land of Palestine. A special interest is given to the significant role played by the ruler of Makkah (Sherif Hussein Bin Ali) in these episodes, and particularly in destabilizing the Ottoman rule. The book reflects the valiant resistance of the Ottoman authorities in Hijaz against the movement of Sherif Hussein Bin Ali. It also shows the British Government's fear from the reaction of the Muslims of India in the face of the British attempts to create a Jewish entity in Palestine, and dwells on the movement of Abdul Aziz Al-Saud in Najd which enabled his followers to later dominate the Hijaz.

Through this historical, political, cultural and intellectual narration, one gets an insight into many a valuable and fascinating detail of the Islamic world as a whole, on the glorious rise of Islam and the shining splendor of its civilization, as well as the factors that led to its regression and backslide.

Possibly, the greatest benefit this valuable book offers is that, to the Western reader, it provides a rare and truthful display of the developments of the events over the recent decades from an Arab perspective which, we hope, will contribute to redressing the stereotypical misconceptions through which many Western writers have portrayed Islam, Muslims and their causes.

This work is unique in its genre as it simultaneously offers the reader a history of the Two Holy Mosques and the Two Holy Cities of Makkah and Madinah, as the starting points of Islam, and enumerates all the overspills, ramifications, resultants and reactions that have altered the face of history, shifted the course of human civilization and brought to the world a new culture of openness and tolerance. This volume gives a glimpse of how Islamic civilization did benefit from the heritage of earlier civilizations and brought

to humanity a contribution of its own ingenuity that has enriched the world and guided it to a new age of development and progress based on scientific advances and lofty ethical values which sanctify human life, revere human dignity, and advocate peace, security and prosperity for all mankind.

In his quest for all this wealth of information and his attentive observance of scholarly objectivity, the author cast his net wide and far to diversify his resources even outside the Islamic and Arab contour to reach out to Western and other sources whenever possible. His book is thus enriched by quotations from such diverse sources, particularly the contemporary ones, casting a glitter of luminosity and realism on the chronicle.

The reader may chose not to agree with some of the views and judgments of the author, with regard to contemporary historical events. Some may consent to some aspects, while others may disavow them. I trust that regardless of the inclinations or opinions of the reader, he will share my assessment that this book is the product of an extensive and commendable effort on the part of the author to present to the reader a wide and comprehensible insight into the vicissitudes of time which encompassed the Two Holy Mosques, the most sacrosanct and venerated sanctuaries in Islam.

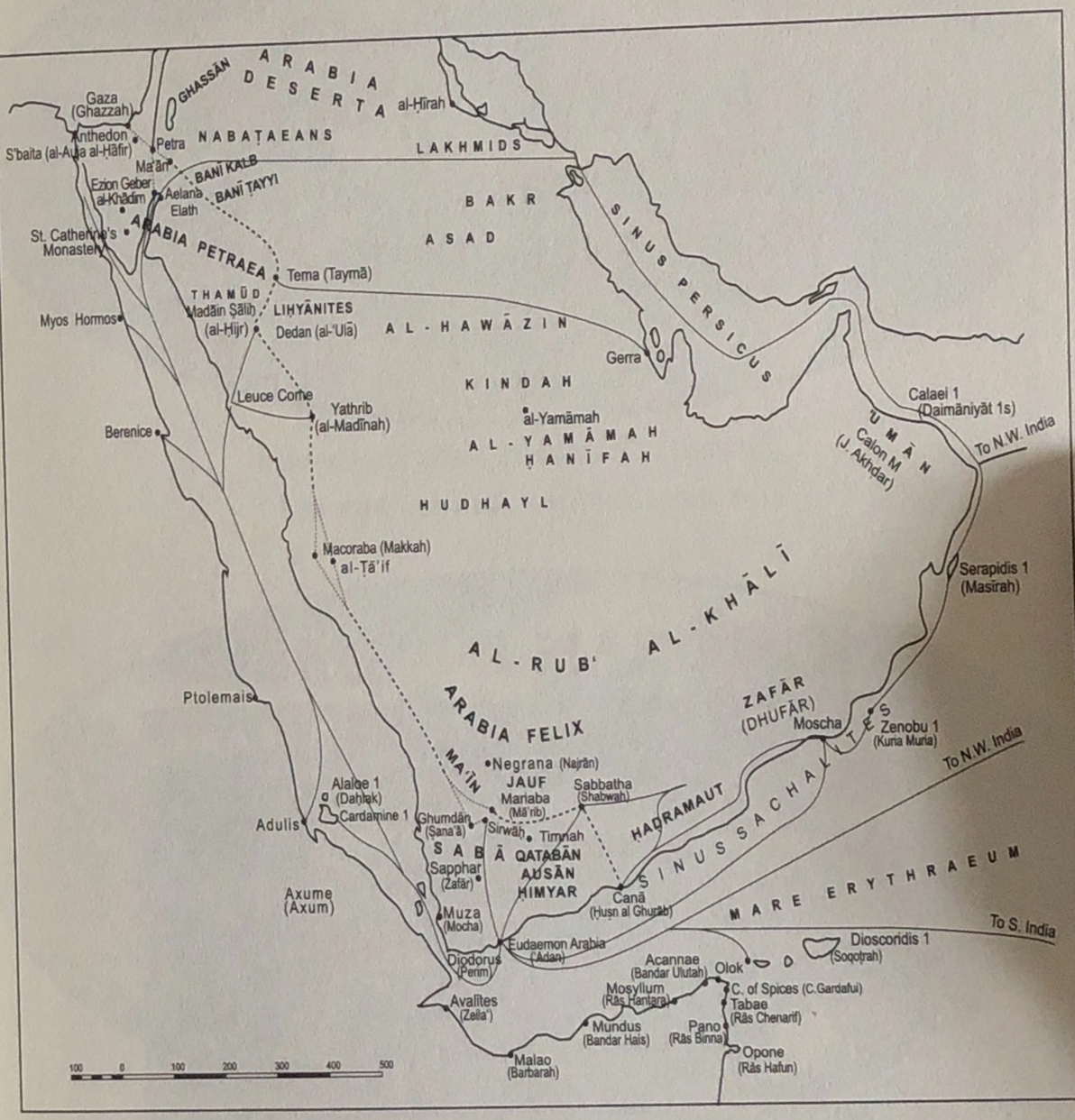
Prof. Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu

(Professor Ihsanoglu did not review the present Chapter XI, which is a later addition. /The Author)



After Idrīsī's (d.560H/1165) 'Map of the World', prepared on the behest of Roger II (King of Sicily).
(A copy of this is presently preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford – with due acknowledgement).

Arabia in Classical or Pre-Islāmic Times



Adapted with acknowledgment and gratitude from 'Western Arabia and the Red Sea' Geographical Handbook (HMSO 1946)

‘AL-‘ARSH’
The Divine Throne

|

‘AL-BAYT AL-MA‘MŪR’
(The Flourishing Abode)

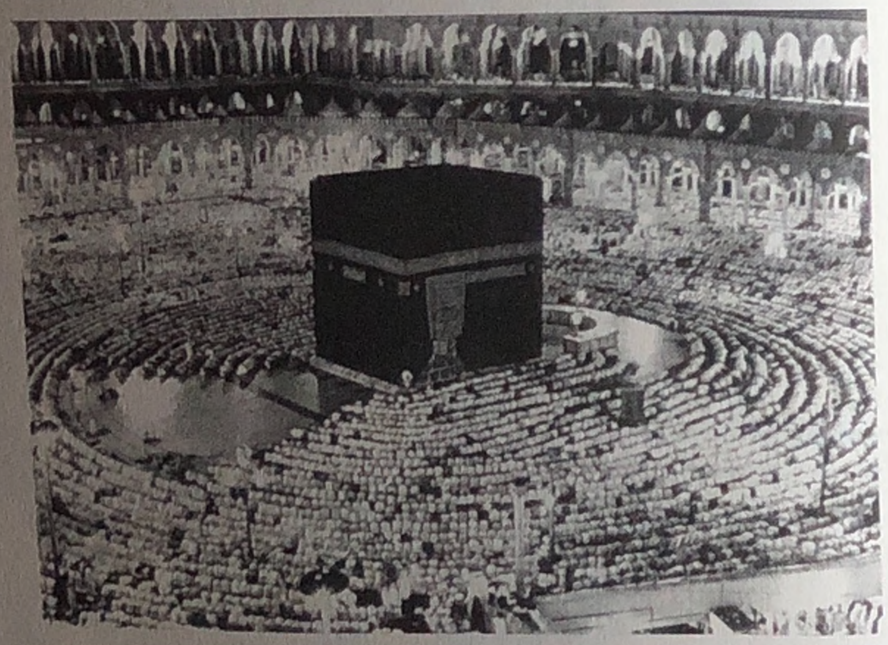
The Heavenly Kaʿbah below the Divine Throne, around which the angels perform the ‘Ṭawāf’ in praise of the Almighty

|

‘Jannah’ (Paradise) with its seventh (or most sublime station) topmost

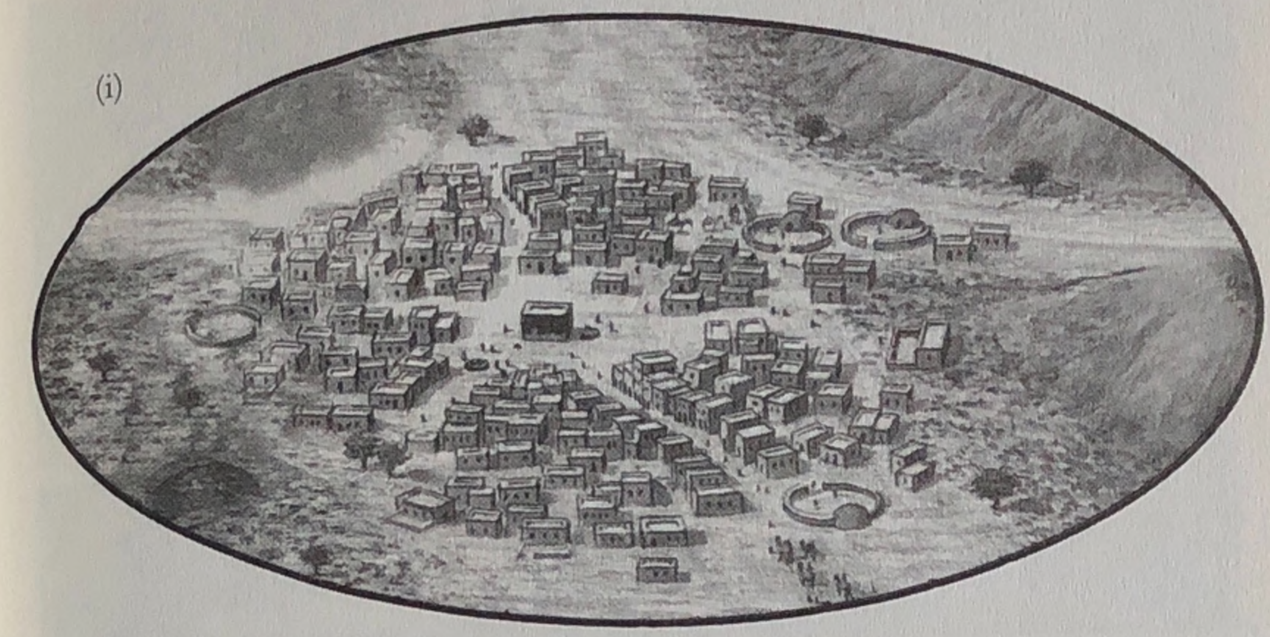
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THE KAʿBAH IN MAKKAH

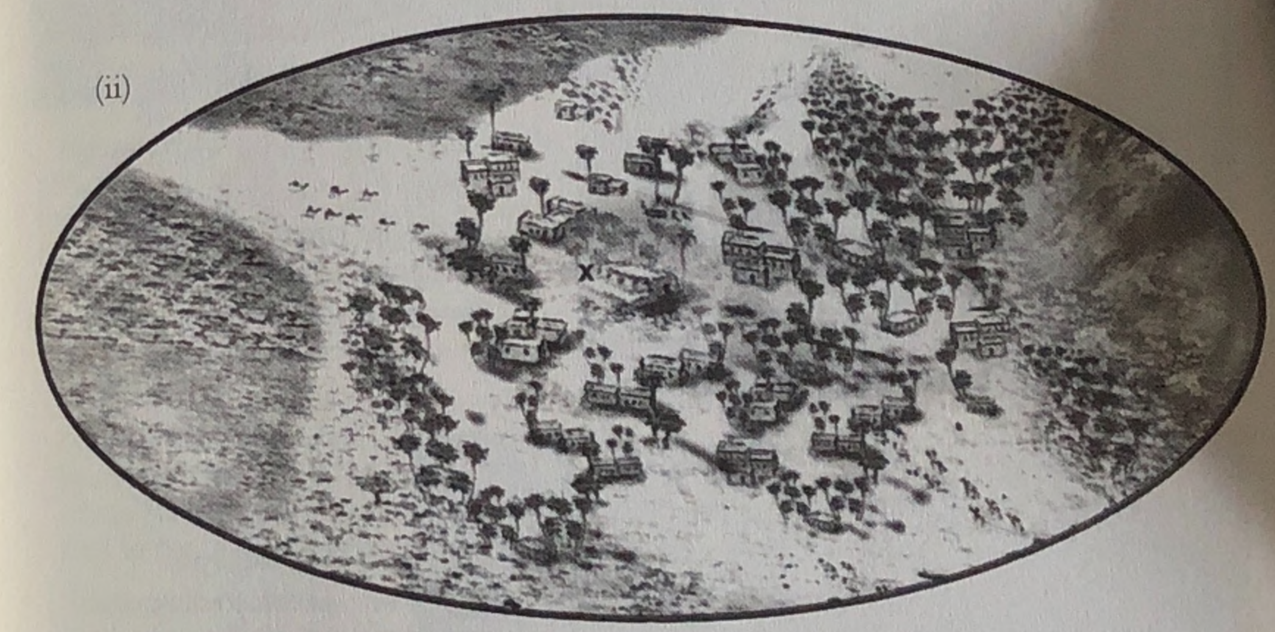


According to Tradition, the Kaʿbah is located directly under the Divine Throne. Hence, those who circuit it in ‘Ṭawāf’ may also be said in signal to be circumambulating below the Divine ‘Arsh (Throne).

(i)

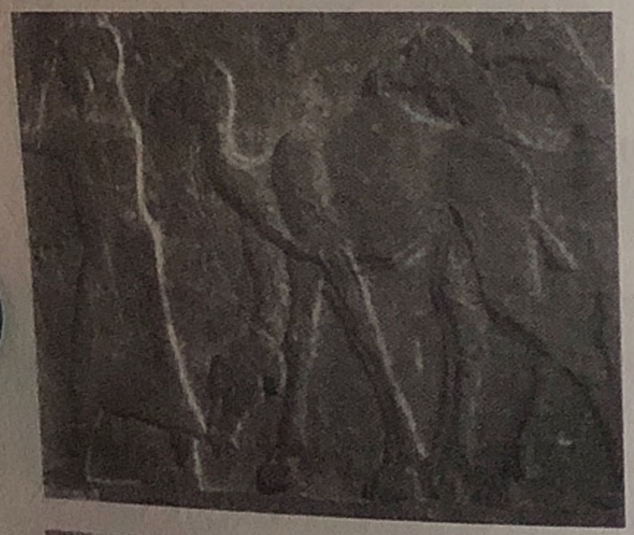


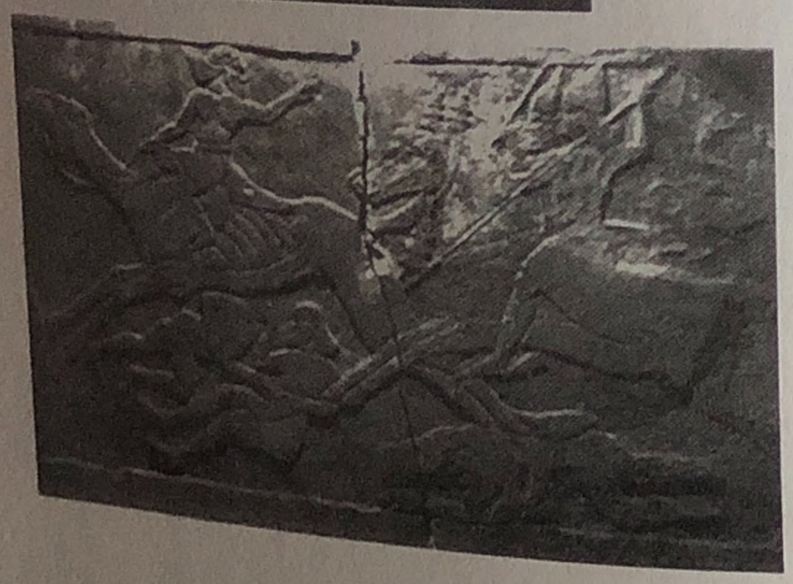
(ii)



Drawings based on early descriptions of:
- i) Makkah with the Kaʿbah in the centre
- ii) al-Madīnah with the Prophet’s Mosque (x) (both during the 1st cH / 7th C.E.)







These three friezes found in the ruins of the Assyrian King's Palace at Kaleh (Mount Nimrod) show:
(i)- Tigelat Pilaser III (744-727 B.C.E.), who, during 732 B.C.E., defeated at (Jabal) Sagri (probably in Jordan) the Arab Queen, Shamsī, possibly the figure in frieze (ii). Note the long female dress in comparison to that of her warriors in frieze (iii), bare to the waist and attired like the Arabs of South-West Arabia in knee-length kilts, doing battle mounted on swift camels in the traditional manner, by striking hard and fast at the surprised foe, before evaporating into the safety of the desert. They are chased in this instance by well armed Assyrian cavalry.

(These photographs of the friezes, presently in the British Museum, are displayed here with due acknowledgment, courtesy of its 'Friends'.)

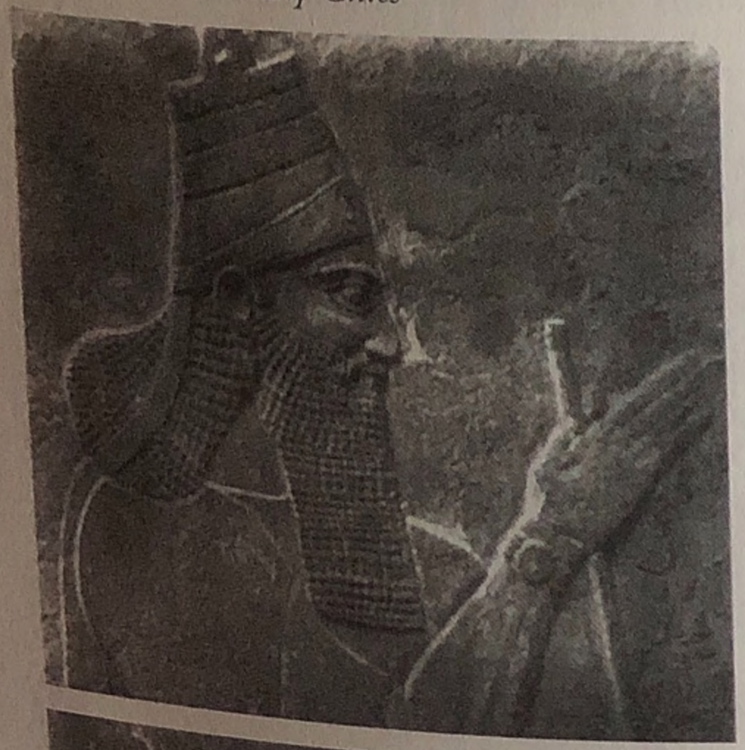


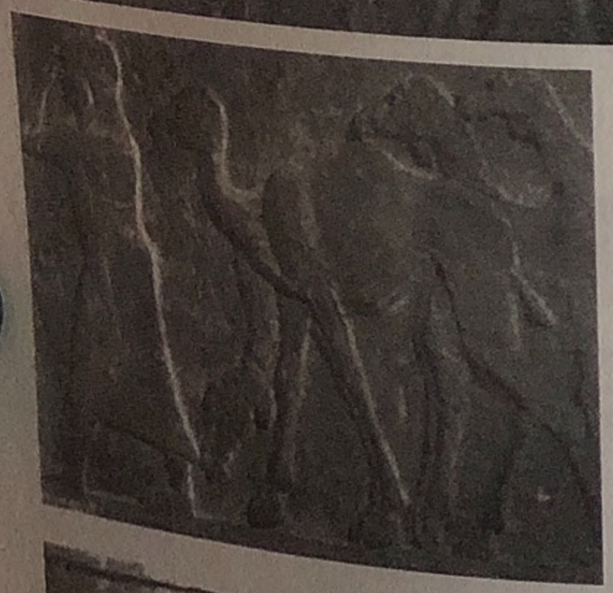


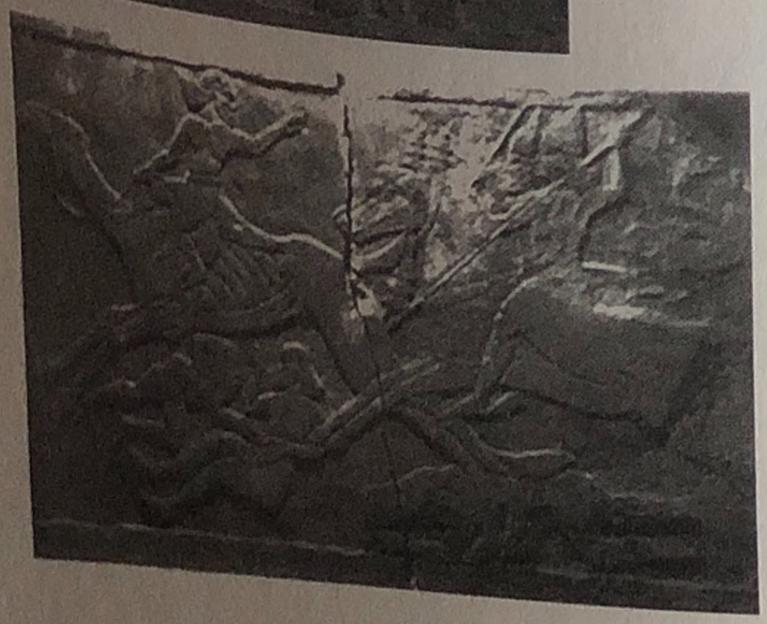
(i)- The 'Qubbat al-Ṣakhrah' (Dome of the Rock) and (ii)- 'al-Masjid al-Aqṣā' (the Further Mosque) were both built as seen today by the Umaiyyad Caliph 'Abdal-Malik ibn Marwān (d.86H/705) between the years 69H and 72H (688 – 691). The expenditures lavished on them then were said to equal the revenues of Egypt for seven years. So much a part of the story of 'al-Isrā w'al-Miʿrāj' (the Prophet's nocturnal journey to al-Quds/Jerusalem and the ascent into the heavens), al-Quds was the Muslims' frst 'Qiblah' towards which they turned during Prayers. It is also the place from where the Angel of Death (Isrāfīl) will herald the Day of Resurrection for the Muslim 'Ummah' to rise and gather there. The Rock itself, believed to be of heavenly origin, was discovered in debris, by the Caliph 'Umar, during his famous visit to that City to receive its keys in surrender and it was he who had ordered for it to be cleansed and then instituted Prayers in its vicinity. The association of the appellation of the famous Mosque built nearby and bearing his name stems from this event. The edifice of the 'Qubbat al-Ṣakhrah', of a regular octagonal shape, with each of its sides measuring 66 feet in length, has an inner diameter of 152 feet, while that of the Dome above it is 66 feet at its base. The height of the Dome itself is 99 feet. Meanwhile, the Rock, semi-circular in shape, is about 56 feet long and 42 feet wide and inclines to slope down from the western to the eastern side. In former times, the Dome's gold used to be covered with skins for protection.

Faced with the challenge of 'AbdAllāh ibn al-Zubayr, based at Makkah, to his claims to the Caliphal office, 'Abd al-Malik had seriously attempted to divert the annual Ḥajj (Pilgrimage) to al-Quds (Jerusalem) instead of Makkah, with the 'Ṣakhrah' fulfilling for the Pilgrim the role of the Kaʿbah, and with those circumabulating it doing so in a clockwise motion in opposition to the 'Ṭawāf' performers at the Kaʿbah, who circuit it in an anti-clockwise manner.

Amongst the holy relics in the 'Qubbah' are: a slab where the Prophet Ilyās (Elias) had knelt in prayer and which some consider to be the cover of Sulaymān's grave. Then there are the foot-prints of the Prophet Muḥammad (which the Christians assert to be of Jesus) and of Idrīs, the hand-print of Jibrīl (Gabrīel), an impress of the Prophet Muḥammad's head in the 6 feet high cavern below, the 'Miḥrābs' (prayer – niches) of the Prophets Dā'ūd (David) and Sulaymān, and the 'Maqāms' (Stations) of the Prophets Ibrāhīm and Khidhr. Indeed, there are some 'Ḥadīths' (Orations) of the Prophet, one transmitted by Anas, which support the contention that, Prayers offered in al-Quds carry equal merit with those offered either in Makkah or al-Madīnah and others that, it is to al-Quds that these two Cities will gather upon Resurrection, with Makkah as its bride and have their virtues blended into a beautific whole.







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CHAPTER I

From the Earliest Traditions till the Dawn of Islām

Makkah, 'the Honoured Sanctuary' and the Region

'Al-Ka'bah'—the cubical structure enshrined in the 'Masjid al-Ḥarām' or the 'Holy Mosque' in Makkah, is the direction towards which well over a billion Muslim faces turn daily at the appointed times of 'al-Ṣalāt' or Prayers, as they bow and prostrate as decreed. Indeed, the edifice of the Faith of al-Islām stands on 'Five Pillars'. Offering Prayers at the fixed hours is the Second of these 'Pillars', the 'Ḥajj' or Pilgrimage to Makkah and the relevant sites in its vicinity in fulfillment of the decreed rites at the appointed time and in the prescribed manner, at least once in a lifetime and for those physically and financially in a position to undertake the journey after having completed their immediate worldly responsibilities, is also obligatory as the Faith's Fifth 'Pillar'.[1]

In actual fact, Makkah and the House of Worship there have always occupied a prominent position in the traditions and annals of the region, not merely since the advent of Islām, which means submission to God's will, but well before it. A number of traditions assert that 'al-Bayt', or 'the House', is directly located below the Divine Throne and that the Patriarch of all mankind, Ādam (Adam), who is accorded the status of a Divine Apostle in Islām, was the first human to build it and at the same spot, to which he was guided by Allāh's grace. According to some traditions, the original structure of 'the House' had first been laid and raised by angels. During his life, Ādam at times would use 'al-Rukn'—'the Corner Stone'—that had fallen from the heavens and is better known now as 'al-Ḥajar al-Aswad' or 'the Black Stone' as his seat. It was then pure white of hue, a "whitish ruby" from the heavens, if you will.[2]

It is said that, since then, prayers were offered there and it was maintained and circumambulated by Ādam and his seed in the manner the angels circle below the Divine Throne. This was said to have gone on until the great flood associated with the Prophet Nūḥ—(Noah's Flood)—when, along with the other destruction that it wrought, the traces of 'the House' too were erased.[3]

Ādam himself, who had met up with Ḥawwā' (Eve) on the plain now recognised as 'Arafāt, a few miles from Makkah, was buried after his death by his son Shayth (Seth) in a cave beneath the mountain of Abū Qubays that overlooks the Valley of Makkah.[4] Some traditions also credit Shayth with re-erecting the Ka'bah's structure after his father's death and before it was rebuilt by the Prophet Ibrāhīm much later on for the "fourth" time—that is, if they are to be entertained. Meanwhile, Ḥawwā', upon her death, was buried on the shores of the Red Sea in a spot which celebrates her name to this day, now as a modern thriving port—Jiddah, which literally means "Grand-Mother", though there are a couple of other less common traditions too concerning this name. However, it was not until after 26H (647) that Jiddah's star began to rise, as that year, the third Orthodox Caliph 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān, upon visiting it, decided with the consensus of the Makkans that, because of its greater proximity to Makkah than al-Shu'aybīyyah, it ought to replace the latter as Makkah's port.[5]

The name "Makkah" is linked by the 'Mu'jam al-Buldān' ('Lexicon of Countries') of Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (d.626H/1229) to a bird called "Mukkā", white in colour, with a sweet whistling chirp or tweet, along with the assertion that the pre-Islāmic Arabs did not consider the rites of their Pilgrimage to have been fulfilled until they had "whistled" like this bird after their arrival at the Ka'bah.[6] This theory certainly finds support in Verse 35 of Chapter 8 of the Qur'ān, where the term 'Mukā' features in its first half and may be rendered as: "Their prayers at 'the House' were naught save whistling ('Mukā'an') and clapping ('Taṣdīyatan')". Another explanation, however, proffers the view that while 'Bakkah', one of Makkah's ancient names, simply refers to the spot where 'the House' stands, the latter name—(i.e.) 'Makkah', is comprehensive and refers to and includes the settlement as well, along with 'the House'. Some have asserted the case to be the other way around; while others still feel that 'Bakkah' refers to the crowded atmosphere in which men and women gather freely and in safety in this narrow Valley between the two mountains and perform their rites and tread congestedly, feet following feet, during the 'Ṭawāf' or circumambulation of the Ka'bah etc. Some of Makkah's other lesser known names are 'Umm Raḥm', 'Ṣalāḥ', 'Kūthī', 'al-Bāsah' and 'al-Ḥāṭimah'. Of these, 'Umm al-Qurā' ('the Mother of Cities'), a clear reference to its role as a religious, cultural and commercial

centre, is the more famous. Then, apart from 'Bakkah' and 'al-Qariyah al-Qadīmah' ('the Old City'), which arguably apply to it and the Ka'bah as well, a number of the latter's names also are: 'Qādis' ('the Sanctifier'), 'Nādhir' ('Warner' and also 'Bestower')—'Nādir' ('Unique and Excellent') according to some—'al-Bunaiyyah' or 'Bunaiyyat Ibrāhīm' ('the Structure of Ibrāhīm'), 'al-Duwwār' ('the Circuiting Point') or 'al-Bayt al-Ḥarām' ('the Sacred House') and 'al-Bayt al-'Atīq' ('the Ancient House' and also 'the Liberated House'). A major explanation given for the last name is that it was "God the Most High's pleasure for it to be always free from the yoke of 'Jabābirah' ('Tyrants')".[7]

A millennium or thereabouts after Nūḥ's Flood according to Islamic tradition, an approximation with which Gerald De Gaury, in his book 'Rulers of Makkah' concurs on the authority of the great British archaeologist Sir Leonard Woolley's work 'History of Mankind', following some twelve years of excavations in the area between 1922 (1340H) and 1934 (1353H), the Prophet Ibrāhīm (Abraham of the Old Testament) the son of Āzar (Ezer of the Bible) and Nūnah, hailing from Ur in the land of the Chaldeans (Babylon), had left it with his cousin and wife Sārah (Sarah) during the reign of Numrūd (Nimrod) for Kan'ān (Canaan).[8] This, by most computations, must have been towards the end of Sumeria's two thousand years old ascendancy around 2000BCE and the dawn of Babylon as an emerging successor to its great heritage in a number of aspects, save monotheism.

Ibrāhīm's divinely inspired travels and wanderings ultimately brought him to "a valley without cultivation" as described by the Qur'ān. On this occasion, he was accompanied by his former maid and second wife, the Egyptian Hājir (Hagar) and their infant son Ismā'īl (Ishmael).

Hājir according to Arabian tradition was a minor princess from an important fortified settlement on Egypt's eastern frontier in the vicinity of "al-Farmā" or "al-Ṭīnah" ("Pléuse" or "Avaris"), some two miles from the Mediterranean coast, who had been taken captive and sold into servitude.

As Ismā'īl had been born to his father late in life and after much supplication, he had been given this name, which may be translated as "The Lord's Heard Answer". It also has to be emphasised here that he was Ibrāhīm's first-born and not his other son Is'ḥāq (Isaac), as a close scrutiny of the relevant text given in the Bible clearly

shows, particularly the Book of Genesis, such as undertaken by several Ibrahim chroniclers earlier on and more recently by the late Professor Alfred Guillaume of (SOAS), London University and published as a paper or a pamphlet. For example, according to Genesis (16:15 and 16), Ishmael was born to Abraham when he was eighty-six years old and Genesis (21:5) mentions that Isaac was born to him after his age was a hundred years. Hence, as the older son was already fourteen years old when the latter was born, the reference in Genesis (22:2) to Abraham's "only son" who was to be offered to God at the time, could only be to Ishmael as the elder son!—Both Ishmael and Isaac were destined to lead long healthy lives and sire races. Meanwhile, "the barren valley" alluded to above was none other than 'Bakkah', which had been revealed to him in a vision.

There, Ibrāhīm left the mother and child under some shelter, reassuring the former that he was doing so in fulfillment of God's Command, and supplicating thus, he departed: "Our Lord! Lo! I have settled of my posterity in a valley without cultivation near the Holy House (i.e. the Valley of Makkah), Our Lord! that they may establish proper worship; so incline some hearts of men that they may yearn towards them, and provide Thou them with fruits in order that they may be thankful" (Ch14; V37—the Qur'ān).

Made aware of the involvement of Divine Command in this act by her husband and hearing him pray thus as he departed, Hājir acquiesced, trusting her fate to God and consoling herself and the child with the dates and the water he had left behind, until, upon their exhaustion, pangs of hunger and thirst overcame them both. Seeking succour in any form or guise, she ran to the nearest high ground, which happened to be the hillock 'al-Ṣafā' and finding no answer, clambered down and hastened forth towards the other hillock in the vicinity, 'al-Marwah' and so she continued to hurry between them in search of help until she had been to and fro seven times. Only this time, as she climbed up al-Marwah, she heard a whisper in her soul and setting off towards where inspired to dig, she found a spring gushing forth, with the water of which, she managed to quench her son's thirst as well as her own. This spring was the 'Zamzam', which literally means, "humming". According to Makkah's chronicler of the third century Hijrī (9th Century CE), al-Fākihī, the Spring was to come to be known later by some twenty-

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five other though lesser known names or titles, which he goes on to list in his history 'Akhbār Makkah' ('Information on Makkah').

Mother and son managed to survive this ordeal until they were discovered some time later by a group from the tribe of Jurhum of Qaḥṭānite or Yamanite origin, then on their way towards Syria, or perhaps back from it. Qaḥṭān is the Joktan of the Bible. They had been driven towards them by the sight of birds hovering in the sky, as if over life and water. Since the Jurhum were an Arab tribe, an Arab settlement soon developed in the lower part of the Makkan valley, with Hājir and her son retaining rights over the water.[9]

In time, Ismā'īl married amongst the Jurhum and eventually became the patriarch of the 'Arabised Arabs' ('al-'Arab al-Musta'ribah') as opposed to the ethnic Arabs ('al-'Arab al-'Āribah'), the Qaḥṭānite, hailing originally from the Yaman region. One of the earliest archaeological references to the term "'Arab", undoubtedly meaning 'desert dwellers', is found in an inscription dated 854BCE of the Assyrian King, Salmanassar II (d.859BCE), while archaeological evidence acknowledges the presence in the southern part of the Arabian Peninsula of the Qatabanians, Ma'īn (Minaean) and the Chatramotitae (the inhabitants of Ḥaḍramaut) before 1500BCE and of Sabā' prior to 1200BCE.[10]

Another moving example of Ismā'īl's filial devotion to his aged parents is illustrated by this account that when Ibrāhīm, upon visiting his son's home without warning at a time the latter was away hunting, appeared for the first time before his wife as an aged stranger and was poorly received, he was moved to suggesting to his son through his unsuspecting daughter-in-law before he departed, that her husband ought to "change the threshold of his house". Ismā'īl, upon his return and learning of the guest's appearance and the message he had left behind for him realised who had been the visitor and did just that, by divorcing 'Ammārah bint Sa'īd bin Usāmah, surely thus becoming the first Prophet ever in history, to do so in obedience to his father's desire or advice. Later on, he was to marry the daughter of that most powerful chief of the Jurhum, Muḍāḍ ibn 'Amr (al-Jurhumī), al-Saiyyidah Ri'lah, whose choice was later to be approved of by Ibrāhīm after a similar visit.[11]

It was well prior to Hājir's death that Ibrāhīm, in keeping with one of his dreams, had come forth to offer the dearest thing to him and his only son till then, Ismā'īl in sacrifice. In the Qur'ānic Chapter 37 titled 'al-Ṣāffāt' ('Those Who Set the Ranks'), the text from

Verse 101 till 112 referring to this episode reads as follows: "So we gave him tidings of a gentle son. (101) And when (his son) was old enough to talk with him, Ibrāhīm said: O my dear son, I have seen in a dream that I must sacrifice thee. So look, what thinkest thou? He said, O my father! Do that which thou art commanded. Allāh willing, thou shall find me of the steadfast. (102). Then, when they had both surrendered (to Allāh) and he had laid him down upon his face. (103) We called unto him: O Ibrāhīm! (104) Thou hast already fulfilled the vision. Lo! Thus do We reward the good. (105) Lo! that verily was a clear test.(106) Then We ransomed him with a tremendous sacrifice. (107) And We left for him among the later folk (the salutation): (108) Peace be unto Ibrāhīm! (109) Thus do We reward the good. (110) Lo! he is one of Our believing slaves. (111) and We gave him tidings of the birth of Is'ḥāq, a Prophet of the righteous". (112).

Early exegetists and historians explain that Ibrāhīm intended to offer his sacrifice on Mount Thabīr, North of the Makkan Valley and that Satan had tried to interfere with his design thrice—once by attempting to cast doubt on Ibrāhīm's interpretation of his dream, then by trying to frighten his son and lastly, by appealing to Hājir's maternal emotions, but was frustrated on every occasion by their willingness to abide by the will of their Creator.

When Ibrāhīm's sacrifice had been replaced through God's mercy by a ram, he went after it down the Mountain slope towards Minā, catching up with it and sacrificing it at the entrance to the Valley. Since then, to sacrifice a suitable ram in commemoration of this event on the appointed day for those who can afford it, has become a key rite of the Ḥajj and of 'the Feast of the Sacrifice' ("Īd al-Aḍḥā"), celebrated by Muslims the world over and also often referred to by its Turkish name of '(al-) Bairam (al-Kabīr)'—'the Greater Bairam' or 'Feast'. The 'Lesser' one, 'al-Bairam al-Ṣaghīr' is the "Īd al-Fiṭr', 'the Feast of Breaking the Fast', which marks the end of the Islāmic holy month of Ramaḍān, during which the Qur'ān was first revealed and the Muslims observe a complete fast daily from dawn till dusk.

A Verse of the Qur'ān reads: "And (remember) when We prepared for Ibrāhīm the place of the (Holy) House, saying: Ascribe thou no thing as partner unto Me, and purify My House for those who circumambulate it and those who stand and those who bow and make prostration" (Ch.22;V.26). In explanation of this Qur'ānic

five other though lesser known names or titles, which he goes on to list in his history 'Akhbār Makkah' ('Information on Makkah').

Mother and son managed to survive this ordeal until they were discovered some time later by a group from the tribe of Jurhum of Qaḥṭānite or Yamanite origin, then on their way towards Syria, or perhaps back from it. Qaḥṭān is the Joktan of the Bible. They had been driven towards them by the sight of birds hovering in the sky, as if over life and water. Since the Jurhum were an Arab tribe, an Arab settlement soon developed in the lower part of the Makkan valley, with Hājir and her son retaining rights over the water.[9]

In time, Ismā'īl married amongst the Jurhum and eventually became the patriarch of the 'Arabised Arabs' ('al-'Arab al-Musta'ribah') as opposed to the ethnic Arabs ('al-'Arab al-'Āribah'), the Qaḥṭānite, hailing originally from the Yaman region. One of the earliest archaeological references to the term '"Arab", undoubtedly meaning 'desert dwellers', is found in an inscription dated 854BCE of the Assyrian King, Salmanassar II (d.859BCE), while archaeological evidence acknowledges the presence in the southern part of the Arabian Peninsula of the Qatabanians, Ma'īn (Minaean) and the Chatramotitae (the inhabitants of Ḥaḍramaut) before 1500BCE and of Sabā' prior to 1200BCE.[10]

Another moving example of Ismā'īl's filial devotion to his aged parents is illustrated by this account that when Ibrāhīm, upon visiting his son's home without warning at a time the latter was away hunting, appeared for the first time before his wife as an aged stranger and was poorly received, he was moved to suggesting to his son through his unsuspecting daughter-in-law before he departed, that her husband ought to "change the threshold of his house". Ismā'īl, upon his return and learning of the guest's appearance and the message he had left behind for him realised who had been the visitor and did just that, by divorcing 'Ammārah bint Sa'īd bin Usāmah, surely thus becoming the first Prophet ever in history, to do so in obedience to his father's desire or advice. Later on, he was to marry the daughter of that most powerful chief of the Jurhum, Muḍāḍ ibn 'Amr (al-Jurhumī), al-Saiyyidah Ri'lah, whose choice was later to be approved of by Ibrāhīm after a similar visit.[11]

It was well prior to Hājir's death that Ibrāhīm, in keeping with one of his dreams, had come forth to offer the dearest thing to him and his only son till then, Ismā'īl in sacrifice. In the Qur'ānic Chapter 37 titled 'al-Ṣāffāt' ('Those Who Set the Ranks'), the text from

Verse 101 till 112 referring to this episode reads as follows: "So we gave him tidings of a gentle son. (101) And when (his son) was old enough to talk with him, Ibrāhīm said: O my dear son, I have seen in a dream that I must sacrifice thee. So look, what thinkest thou? He said, O my father! Do that which thou art commanded. Allāh willing, thou shall find me of the steadfast. (102). Then, when they had both surrendered (to Allāh) and he had laid him down upon his face. (103) We called unto him: O Ibrāhīm! (104) Thou hast already fulfilled the vision. Lo! Thus do We reward the good. (105) Lo! that verily was a clear test.(106) Then We ransomed him with a tremendous sacrifice. (107) And We left for him among the later folk (the salutation): (108) Peace be unto Ibrāhīm! (109) Thus do We reward the good. (110) Lo! he is one of Our believing slaves. (111) and We gave him tidings of the birth of Is'ḥāq, a Prophet of the righteous". (112).

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Verse, the Prophet Muḥammad's cousin 'AbdAllāh ibn al-'Abbās (d.68H/687), one of the most learned of his generation and the best narrator of the 'Ḥadīth' ('the Prophet's Orations'), says that, upon God's Command, Ibrāhīm informed his son during a visit that the Almighty desired him to build a house of worship dedicated to Him and enquired whether he would help. Ismā'īl was twenty years old by now and his mother Hājir, already dead. When Ismā'īl asked, "Where!", Ibrāhīm pointed towards a raised mount. Then, together they advanced towards it with prayers on their lips and they worked. The Qur'ān says: "And when Ibrāhīm and Ismā'īl were raising the foundations of 'the House', they prayed: Our Lord! Accept from us (this duty). Lo! Thou, only Thou art the Hearer, the Knower". (Ch2; V127). They searched for the original foundations of Ādam and built the House upon them. As Ibrāhīm at this stage was an aged person, Ismā'īl installed for his father a rock as a 'Maqām' or 'Station' to rest upon and direct and assist with the construction. Later, God was to instruct mankind: "And take ye the Station of Ibrāhīm as a place of prayer" (Ch2; V125—the Qur'ān).

The ancient 'Rukn' or 'Cornerstone' too was found on Mount Abū Qubays and installed and subsequently came to serve as a marker from which to start the 'Ṭawāf' or circumambulation of the Ka'bah. It is said that, even at this time, 'the Black Stone' was still a luminous white, but the fires and the upheavals and vicissitudes experienced by it since, have been responsible for its present dark hue and its fractured and fragmented state.

When completed, the edifice of 'the House' appeared cubical, with thirty-two ells between the Corner with 'the Black Stone' and the other Corner facing Syria; twenty-two ells between this Syrian and the West facing Corner; thirty-one ells from the latter to the Corner facing the direction of the Yaman and twenty ells between this, 'the Yamānī Corner' and that with 'the Black Stone'. The building then was nine ells high and provided with a door, but no ceiling. A pit too was excavated within it to the right of the entrance and used as a store. Again, the Qur'ān says: "And proclaim unto mankind the Pilgrimage. They will come unto thee on foot and on every lean camel; they will come from every deep ravine" (Ch22; V27—the Qur'ān).

When Ibrāhīm, with the help of his son, had completed building 'the House', the Archangel Jibrīl (Gabriel) was used as a medium to instruct him in the rites of the Ḥajj, with Ismā'īl emulating

his father in everything he did—circumambulating around 'the House' in performance of the rite of 'Ṭawāf' seven times, raising hands in salutation with the exclamation of God's greatness at each Corner, offering Prayers behind the 'Maqām' ('Station') and covering the distance between the hillocks of 'al-Ṣafā' and 'al-Marwah' seven times. They then set off for Minā, which means, "wish". From there, they left (on the appointed day) for the nearby Plain ('Arafāt) to spend the day in Prayer, supplication and devotion, before vacating it at sundown and once again heading back for Minā' via al-Muzdalifah, pelting with pebbles as the Pilgrims now do and have done ever since, the three markers, each commonly referred to as "al-Shayṭān" (Satan), or otherwise as "al-Jamarāt" (literally "fire-brands"). These three points commemorate where Satan had appeared before Ibrāhīm, in order to tempt him away from obedience to God's command by refusing to offer his son in sacrifice as ordered in his vision. The pelting of the stones at the appointed locations is a key ritual, which symbolizes the completion of the constituents of the Pilgrimage or the Ḥajj as such, with of course the sacrifice of a suitable lamb for those in a position to afford it, in commemoration of Ibrāhīm's great sacrifice.[12] By tradition, a third of the sacrificial meat is retained for personal use, another third is distributed as a gift amongst family and friends and the remaining portion is given to the poor.

After completing imparting knowledge of the Pilgrimage's rites and as they were returning via the above-mentioned Plain in Makkah's vicinity, most probably known till then by some other name, Jibrīl asked of Ibrāhīm whether he now knew ("a 'Arafta"!)-the rites? To this, Ibrāhīm's reply was in the affirmative. It is from this question of Jibrīl that this Plain is said to have acquired the name of "'Arafah" or "'Arafāt".[13]

After their return to Makkah, Ibrāhīm was ordered to proclaim the Ḥajj amongst the peoples as enshrined in the text of the Qur'ānic Verse quoted earlier. This he did at first from his 'Maqām' and the response from all those who heard it was "Labbayk Allāhumma Labbayk" ('I respond to thee O' Lord, I respond to thee!)—a cry which is oft repeated by all Pilgrims as they journey towards Makkah for the Ḥajj and throughout its duration, especially when they move from place to place.[14]

After the advent of Islām, the Prophet Muḥammad was to instruct his followers that Prayers offered in the 'Masjid al-Ḥarām' in

Makkah were worth ten thousand more in merit than Prayers offered elsewhere, save his Mosque in al-Madīnah, where the merit was a thousand fold and in the Masjid al-Aqṣā' (the Further Mosque) of al-Quds (Jerusalem), the third holiest Mosque of Islām and the first direction towards which the Muslims turned during Prayers, where, it was five hundred fold. Some sources such as those quoted by al-Fākihī even multiply these figures. He would also commend that the best of journeys to be undertaken to a mosque were towards "al-Masjid al-Ḥarām, al-Masjid al-Nabawī and al-Masjid al-Aqṣā".[15]

As 'the House' acquired the status of a place of pilgrimage and a holy sanctuary, the outcome of this was that it came to be treated as a haven of safety and peace. Blood-letting within what were defined as its sacred precincts was prohibited. Referring to this tradition, the Qur'ān says: "Lo! the first House (Sanctuary) appointed for mankind was that at Bakkah (Makkah), a blessed place, a guidance to the peoples. In it are signs manifest (of Allāh's guidance), the Station of Ibrāhīm; and whoever entereth it is safe; and Pilgrimage to 'the House' is a duty unto Allāh for mankind, for those who can find (afford) their way thither. As for him who disbelieveth (let him know that) lo! Allāh is Independent of all creatures" (Ch3; Vs 96, 97—Qur'ān).

Thus did Ibrāhīm renew by rebuilding 'the House', Makkah's links with the worship of one God as established by Ādam and in Islām, he enjoys the title of "al-Khalīl" or "the Friend of God". In addition to Ibrāhīm, traditions also report of his wife Sārah and their son Is'ḥāq performing the Pilgrimage, to be followed in this by a number of Prophets. It is said that Ismā'īl—(reported by the great historian Ibn Khaldūn (d.808H/1406) to be buried by his mother within the 'Ḥijr' or 'Enclosure' associated with his name by the side of the Ka'bah 's wall)—was succeeded to the custodianship of 'the House' by the eldest of his twelve sons, Nābit, who was soon followed by his maternal grandfather, Muḍāḍ ibn 'Amr al-Jurhumī, the father of Ri'lah.[16]

This narrative has so far supported the tradition that the Qaḥṭānite Jurhum were the first people to settle the Valley of Makkah, drawn there by the water discovered by Hājir (i.e.—the Spring of Zamzam). However, the same source on which heavy reliance has been placed in the composition of this account—the 'Akhbār Makkah' ('Information on Makkah') of Muḥammad ibn

'AbdAllāh al-Azraqī (d.244H/858)—also mentions on the strength of his grandfather Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad and other narrators that the 'Amāliqah (Amalekites of the Old Testament) were the first inhabitants of Makkah. Like the Jurhum, these too were said to be of Arabian stock—the descendants, according to the great historian and exegetist al-Ṭabarī (d.311H/923) and Ibn Khaldūn as well amongst others, of an 'Amlīq ibn Iram—and that they had come to people many regions of the Arabian Peninsula including Southern Arabia, the Ḥejāz, the land of Can'ān and parts of Syria–Palestine and Egypt. A branch of these, the 'Abīl are also credited with founding the settlement of Yathrib, (Ptolemy's Iathrippa), though the naming itself is associated according to the historian/chronicler al-Balādhurī (d.278H/891), with the 'Amāliqite chief responsible for expelling them, whom Ibn Khaldūn names Yathrib ibn Mahlā'īl.[17]

To add to and reflect upon the confused picture of the times, the same source, al-Azraqī, also reveals the existence of another tribe, most probably of Qaḥṭānite origin, settled alongside the Jurhum in Makkah called Qaṭūrā, under their Chief, al-Sumaida'. These were settled in the lower region of Makkah and its Valley and held sway there, while the Jurhum exercised their ascendancy in the upper region. Al-Sumaida' however was killed later on, when rivalry and internecine feuding between these two clans came to a head and his authority, upon his death, was usurped by the Chief of the Jurhum, Muḍāḍ, who decided to celebrate the event with a pacifying gesture by inviting his rivals to great feasting in a nearby ravine, known since as "al-Maṭābekh" ("the Kitchens"), because of the quantities of food cooked and served there.[18] There are some other versions too though that associate the naming of this location with the "Tubba'" or ruler of the Yaman as shall be seen later.

Ibn Khaldūn, in his history, goes on to add that a group of them, the Banī 'Abīl, set off and settled at what was to come to be known as Yathrib. Their settlement there was followed later by the arrival in the Ḥejāz of the Jews, who also settled around Yathrib and Khaybar etc:—probably during the reign of that mighty King of Babylon, Nebuchadnezzar (d.562BCE), who had destroyed Jerusalem and carried most of them away into captivity. Again, when that City was occupied by the Romans under Adrianus Titus in 70CE, more of the fleeing Jews were to join the earlier settlers.[19]

Then, there are those too who assert that many of the Jews met with in the Ḥejāz were actually of Arabian stock and had converted

to Judaism. One of the prime reasons presented for this change was sheer antagonism towards Christianity. For they had often suffered much at the hands of Christian rulers, such as in the Yaman and Syria-Palestine; but this could only have been much later. The Prophet Muḥammad's biographer Ibn Hishām (d.213H/828) is one of the earliest of those who subscribe to the view of mass conversion of Arabs to Judaism, particularly during the four centuries prior to Islām.

Be that as it may, an inscription of Salmanassar of 854BCE, by its very existence establishes that, by this time, the Arabs had moved on to some extent from the sphere of mere references in oral traditions into a fuller purview of history and though no ancient settlements in and around Makkah and al-Madīnah have been properly excavated professionally till now from an archaeological angle, but from the work undertaken so far in the neighboring regions, a reasonable amount of information may be deduced and a basic type of chronology established for a large number of events. For example, in 880BCE, they had fought against the Assyrians and Tiglat-Pilesar III (d.728BCE) of Assyria had invaded Arab lands between 738BCE and 732BCE, defeating their queens Zabībah and Shamsī and extracting tribute. Sargon II (d.705BCE) and Ashurbanipal (d.626BCE) had also made war against the Yaman and later, Arabs had fought alongside Cyrus the Great (d.529BCE), when he had succeeded in defeating the Babylonians.

Whether it was the 'Amāliqah who had first settled in the Valley of Makkah, or the Jurhum and regardless of whoever had followed in the settlement there, after the discovery of the Zamzam by Hājir and peopled it along with the seed of Ismā'īl, as the fame of 'the House' as a site of pilgrimage spread far and wide, internecine feuding about primacy, sinecures and the collection of dues was eventually to lead to their fall despite attempts, dictated by mutual interest, to patch up these quarrels. Such memorable events calling for and leading to the composition of differences, would then inevitably have been followed by feasting and celebrations, like the one held by the Jurhum and the Qaṭūrā' in the 'Shu'b' or 'Ravine' of Ibn 'Āmer and remembered since, in lore, by the name of "al-Maṭābekh' or "the Kitchens", as alluded to earlier.

Along with the passage of time and contacts through trade with the great civilisations, not merely in the south, but in other neighbourhoods such as Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, Persia and beyond, the people of the Ḥejāz began to mingle the worship of one God with a multitude of other deities and idols, several of them borrowed from the cultures of these neighbouring lands. According to the Prophet's biographer, Ibn Is'ḥāq (d.151H/768), the Chief 'Amr ibn Luḥayy was the first to introduce idols into Makkah's Holy Sanctuary, actually installing Hubal, fashioned out of pieces of cornelian or agate (for the term in Arabic for both is "Aqīq') in the Ka'bah itself. As one of this idol's arms was broken, perhaps in transportation, a replacement in gold had been provided. 'Amr had also introduced many innovations in the Pilgrimage's rites and other acts of worship.[20]

It is established that camel caravans, by rendering the deserts navigable, had succeeded in promoting regular commercial links between distant lands as far as India, apart from the closer Mesopotamia, the Red Sea and the Mediterranean regions, well before the dawn of the first millennium BCE.

While sea vessels brought goods from the east to the Arabian coast, the caravans would start in Eastern Arabia, say from Zafār and halting at various depots, centres and marts, follow a route hugging the coast along the Arabian Peninsula's perimeter in order to skirt the desert, deviating but little, until they reached Ḥuṣn al-Ghurāb ('Raven's Castle'), a name for Cana (Can'ā') in Ḥaḍramaut, and then Mauza' in the Yaman. From there, they headed north via Timna' in the Kingdom of Qatabān, stopping at Shabwah or Mā'rib and Qarnau and then on to Najrān—(all in South-West Arabia)—wending their way ultimately towards Midian along the Red Sea Coast, this route taking them through Makkah and past or via Yathrib, before they reached their above destination. From Midian, they would set off for Ailah (al-'Aqabah), then Ghazzah (Gaza) and Egypt. Another route from Qarnau headed towards the eastern Arabian coastline and from there northwards, up along the Gulf coast. Other caravans having reached the oases of Taimā, al-Ḥijr (Egra), or the land of the Nabataean Arabs, Petraea, after journeying north, would head east via Tadmur (Palmyra) towards the Euphrates Valley, Mesopotamia. These rich commercial arteries, for the control of which, the Assyrians, the Pharaohs of the early dynasties and later on the Ptolemys, as well as the Seleucids of Syria had been competing fiercely, were responsible for introducing such wealth in the region, particularly in South-West Arabia, that the Roman Prefect of Egypt, Aelius Gallus, who led a military expedi-

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tion down the Red Sea Coast to the Yaman between 26BCE—24BCE, had been moved to observe that not only do "the Cerbani and Agraei, but especially the Chatramotitae excel as warriors", but that "taken as a whole … the Homeritae (Ḥimyar) are one of the richest races in the world because vast wealth from Rome and Parthia accumulates in their hands, as they sell the produce they obtain from the sea (by trade) or their forests (reference to the cultivation of Frankincense) and buy nothing in return".[21] However this prosperity of South-West Arabia, but not of the North, had begun to decline, when the Seleucids and the Parthians finally succeeded in diverting trade from the coastal route via "the Incense Country", to the central overland route via the Persian Gulf.

Later on, as this (first) millennium (BCE) began to draw to a close, the influence of Graeco-Roman culture and civilisation also began to cast its influence, making inroads into the existing overland trade patterns through the discovery of the secret of the monsoons in the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea during the first century CE, an achievement with which the name of Hippalus—some call him Hipparchus—is associated.[22] It is probable that the former name, which sounds more correct, is derived from the Arabic name of the Makkan Idol 'Hubal'! In this vein, it may also be of interest to mention here that Ptolemy (d.167CE), in his writings, refers to Makkah as "Macoraba", a name most probably derived from "al-Muqarrabah", one of that City's appelations meaning "the Near and Dear One" (to God). Again, the Prophet Muḥammad's famous biographer Ibn Hishām and many others, while reporting about the three hundred and sixty idols housed in the 'Ḥaram' prior to the conquest of Makkah by him, also refer to the existence then of murals and paintings in the Ka'bah of the Prophets Ibrāhīm, Ismā'īl, as well as 'Īsā (Jesus) and Maryam (Mary) etc.[23]

Reverting back once again to the early days of strife between the 'Amāliqah, the Jurhum and others, it is difficult to establish with certainty how long Jurhum's ascendancy over Makkah and its environs lasted. It is however accepted that, with the passage of time, the race of Ismā'īl having inter-married with the Jurhum, also multiplied and scattered in the region, establishing several other matrimonial links as they spread, though many had also stayed on in Makkah to play priestly roles and enjoyed religio-social eminence. For example, while each of the sons of Nizār (ibn Ma'add ibn 'Adnān) was subsequently to become the patriarch of the four

clans of the Ismā'īlites destined to become eminent in the story of the Arabian society of that period, in Makkah, the branches that attained importance were also to assume distinguishing features. These they would put to use on occasions of assemblage, particularly the Pilgrimage. According to al-Ṭabarī, two of these clans were to come to be recognised later as "the Possessors of 'the Scarlet Tents'" and "the Owners of 'the Black Tents'". It is to the line of the first Possessor of 'the Scarlet Tents', Muḍar, that the Prophet of Islām would trace back his lineage. To place events at this stage into some form of historical time perspective, it may be added here that Ma'add's father 'Adnān is said to have been a contemporary of that great king of Babylon, Nebuchadnezzar, who had reigned between 605 BCE and 562 BCE.

Reduction in trade and the spread of lawlessness, followed by lengthy periods of drought, famine and pestilence were to prove some of the major portents of general decline in Arabia. To this list of causes and results and in order to present a more complete picture, tradition also adds the universal spread of tyranny, idolatry and the laxity of morals. Arabian traditions and lore also date this decline as contemporaneous with the period of the slow disintegration of the great "Sadd Mā'rib"—the Mā'rib Dam, which occurred due to general neglect—between the fourth century BCE and the fifth century CE. According to some however, the Dam is actually supposed to have burst following a great flood, some time between 542CE and 570CE. To illustrate further the extent to which views tend to diverge over the chronology of this event and its causes, immediate or long-term, within the given frame-work, it may be mentioned here as an example that the famous professor from Ḥaidarābād, the late Muḥammad ḤamīdAllāh (Ḥamīdullāh) of Sorbonne fame etc, who amongst his many great academic achievements had also edited the 'Kitāb al-Muḥabbir' of Ibn Ḥabīb (d.245H/859), actually determines this event to have taken place during the short reign of the Emperor Decius, to whom there is a reference in that book, but not directly to the event.[24] Decius had ruled between 249CE and 257CE.

During this lengthy period of decay and decline, many clans, observing and recognising the portents and led on by sooth-sayers and oracles, started a migratory movement northwards. One of these was the Azd, who, upon reaching Makkah, encountered and overwhelmed the Jurhum with the aid of those Ismā'īlites disenchanted

with them, such as the Banī Bakr ibn ʻAbd Manāt. However, compelled by the general conditions of the time and with an epidemic amidst their ranks, they had decided to scatter, that is, with the exception of the Khuzāʻah, who were to stay on in Makkah. The Aus and the Khazraj, traveling northwards, settled at Yathrib, while others moved further on into Syria–Palestine, where they eventually prospered. Some of their descendants later on were to found the powerful Christian dynasty of the Ghassānid princes, traceable according to some chroniclers like al-Masʻūdī, to al-Ḥārith (Aretas) ibn ʻAmr and destined to last till the caliphate of ʻUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, with the greatest of these being al-Ḥārith ibn Jablah (r. 528–569CE). Some of the other Azd clans had chosen to wend their way southwards and towards ʻUmān.

Again, it is hard to determine precisely when these events occured, but it is probable that the migratory movement and some of the others must have taken place by approximation during the last century BCE!—It may also be of interest to know here that this rough approximation was arrived at by awarding for reasons of calculation, conjectural ages to the thirteen generations that separate the Banī Bakr (ibn ʻAbd Manāt ibn Kinānah), the allies of the Khuzāʻah, from the Prophet Muḥammad and the further ten generations that divide them—(i.e.) the above Banī Bakr, from ʻAdnān (the father of Maʻadd and the grand-father of Nizār), who himself, as just reported and rather conveniently for reasons of comparison, was averred to have been the mighty Nebuchadnezzar's contemporary.

Some while after their victory over the Jurhum, the Khuzāʻah, under the banner of their chiefs, the Banī Luḥayy—perhaps the "Lichienii" of the elder Pliny (d.79CE), the first leader of whom was the famous ʻAmr ibn Luḥayy, who has already been referred to—had succeeded in establishing their authority over Makkah in such a firm manner, that it was to last according to al-Azraqī for no less than five hundred years, though he then goes on to quote Ibn Is'ḥāq in his book a little later as reducing this duration by two centuries, that is, until Makkah was to witness the eventual rise of the Quraysh. This was to come about through inter-marriage, when Quṣai ibn Kilāb married Ḥuba, the daughter of Khalīl (several sources read this name as Ḥulayl) ibn al-Ḥabashīyyah ibn Sulūl, destined to be the last ruler of Makkah from the ranks of the Khuzāʻah.[25]

Al-Azraqī also records the tradition that, during this period, the Khuzāʻah had to defend Makkah against the rulers of the Yaman, the 'Tubābaʻah' (singular: 'Tubbaʻ') on a number of occasions, which they did valiantly and successfully. Two of these had been at great cost in terms of blood, but the third encounter had ended peacefully. It is related of the 'Tubbaʻ' who led this last expedition that, after entering the precincts of 'the House', he had chosen to perform the rites then observed in the Sanctuary and offered a hundred camels a day in sacrifice throughout the duration of his stay, with their meat to be consumed solely by the local inhabitants, untouched by his retinue.[26]

Ibn Is'ḥāq, identifying this ruler as Ḥassān ibn Tibān Asʻad Abū Karib ibn Kulī Karib ibn Zayd (alias Asʻad Kāmil), adds that, on this occasion, after shaving his head in the fashion of pilgrims who have fulfilled their rites, the 'Tubbaʻ' had stayed on for six days, offering the people meat and honey to consume, while having the Kaʻbah cleaned and covered with palm fronds which had been inter-woven, then dressed with ordinary Yamanī cloth, which was further covered with fine striped Yamanī calico in implementation of dreams he had seen. It is said that he was the first ever to provide the Kaʻbah with a 'Kiswah' or cloak in the manner illustrated, a tradition which has been maintained unbroken till now and particularly since the first century of Islām on an almost regular annual basis.[27] This 'Tubbaʻ' is also credited with having provided it with its first ever door and a key (more appropriately, a lock). He had reigned approximately between 385 and 415 CE.

On this occasion, Asʻad Kāmil was returning from an expedition which had taken him past Yathrib. There, he had come into contact with Judaism which had won him over. However, the idea of the attack on Makkah had been inspired in him by two men of the clan of Hudhayl, who had tempted him through tales of the treasure housed in the Kaʻbah, either seeking by this the destruction of their rivals in Makkah at the hands of the 'Tubbaʻ', or that of the latter himself and his followers through Divine retribution for the anticipated violation. For it was believed that destruction was sure to visit those who dared to interfere with "the House's" sanctity and security. It is also related that he had desisted from following their advice upon consulting the two Rabbis from Yathrib who had converted him to Judaism and were then accompanying him back to the Yaman, where they were to prove successful through

debate ordeals and above all, royal backing, in converting the people 'en masse' and if not, then at least in large numbers, to Judaism.[28]

To provide this event with an approximate date, it is worth observing that a successor of his, Shuraḥbīl Ya'fur (r.425-455CE) had repaired some of the damaged parts of the great Dam at Mā'rib in 450CE. It is also worth noting here that some Hebrew "Midrashim" refer expressly to the flight of the priests into Arabia and that these "two tribes" referred to in Arabic as "al-Kāhinān", were the descendants of the Prophet Hārūn (Aaron), the brother of Mūsā (Moses). In fact, the Talmūdic records state that as many as 80,000 "children"—the descendants of priests—fled to "the Ishmaelites after the destruction of the Temple".[29]

Prior to this, apart from the conjugal union of King Solomon (the Prophet Sulaymān to the Muslims) with Bilqīs (the Queen of Sabā' or Sheba), his kingdom, according to the Scriptures, was already trading with Ophir. Also, when Aelius Gallus had mounted his expedition against the Sabaeans (around 26BCE or 24BCE) along the coastal route down the Red Sea, a Jewish contingent is supposed to have participated along with the Nabataeans, indicating the presence of Jews, at least at the northern end of this route.[30]

Procopius of Caesaria, in his 'History of the Wars' also recognises the existence of Jews and Christians in South and North-West Arabia by referring to this episode thus: "Hellesthaeus, the King of the Aethopians, who was a Christian and a most devoted adherent of the faith, discovered that a number of the Homeritae on the opposite mainland were oppressing the Christians there outrageously; many of these rascals were Jews and many of them held in reverence the old faith which men of the present day called Hellenic. He therefore collected a fleet of ships and an army and came against them, and he conquered them in battle and slew both, the king and many of the Homeritae".[31]

Thereafter, the grip of this religion upon the region was strengthened for a time, particularly due to Ethiopian military activity in support of Christianity. This had been upon the behest of the Byzantines. However, this first Abyssinian occupation of the Yaman lasting from 340CE till 378CE, was greatly to serve to antagonise the local people towards this religion, the spread of which had begun to gather momentum for a while, thanks primarily to the efforts of Monophysite and Nestorian monks, hailing from lands as far apart as Syria, Abyssinia and even India.

Although the legend may not be true that, on his way to India, St. Bartholomew (one of the twelve disciples of Jesus), or later on Frumentius, a Syrian appointed to the Bishopric of Abyssinia during the fourth century CE, had preached in the Yaman, Theophilus Indus, the Deacon of Nicomedia and an Arian, had succeeded in 356CE, during the reign the Emperor Constantinus (d.361CE), in getting local permission, to establish churches at Ṣana'ā, 'Adan, Zafār and also further east at Hurmūz. It may be recalled here that Arians were followers of Arius (d.336CE), who denied that Jesus was of the same substance as God, but only the highest of created beings and that the term "son" in the Scriptures in reference to him was but a mark of His (Divine) grace, not to be taken literally, for it was God who had created Jesus.

In addition, conversions had been made amongst the great tribal confederations of the Rabī'ah, the Ghassān (referred to earlier), the Bahrā', the Tannūkh, the Taghleb and the Quḍā'ah, as well as other tribes in the vicinity of Yathrib and amidst the populace of Najrān. This is said to have been mostly at the hands of a Syrian ascetic with healing powers called Faimiyūn (Phemion), who according to the Prophet's biographer Ibn Hishām, had been initially brought to Najrān as a slave and such was the success of this all round drive to spread Christianity amongst the Arabs, that the Arabian peninsula at one time had no less than four bishoprics.[32]

A fair amount of credit for this should be accorded to the monks from the monasteries built by the Byzantines on their frontiers with the region, from where and supported as best as possible, they would set out, traveling far and wide in order to attend fairs and gatherings and preach. In fact, prior to the mission of Theophilus, the Arabs had already provided Rome with an Emperor in Julius Philippus "the Arab", a native of Shahbā', who had been proclaimed thus in 244CE.

According to the 'Ecclesiastical History' of Eusebius, Julius Philippus was a Christian and his short reign, only lasting for five years, is famous for the peace he concluded with the Sassanian Persians upon his accession, as well as for the spectacular and exotic secular games he organised during 247/248CE, to mark the millenial anniversary of the founding of Rome. However, since there was little that was said to be "Christian" about these Games or the celebrations and as he had furthermore ordered the deification of his father at Philippopolis, there are naturally many detractors, who

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question his Christianity. Philippus was killed along with his son during 249CE in a rebellion organised against him by a Trojan called Decius.[33] This Decius is the same Emperor referred to earlier in the narration concerning the bursting of the Dam at Mā'rib.

Another notable and romantic pre-Islāmic character of great literary fame to be associated with Christianity is the Poet-Prince Imru' al-Qays al-Kindī (d.540CE). In order to avenge the death of his father, Ḥujr, the son of the great Ḥārith (Aretas), both of whom had been rulers over the clans presided by the Banī Asad in Central Arabia and were rivals of the King al-Mundhir ('Almundarus' or 'Alamundaros'–d.544CE) of al-Ḥīrah, a noted client of the Sassanian Empire, Imru' al-Qais had proceeded to Constantinople to seek the help of their chief rival, the Byzantine Emperor, Justinian. Well received and promised help in return for embracing Christianity, he was dismissed with honour and appointed the Phylarch of Palestine. Unfortunately, while there, he had got embroiled in a clandestine 'affaire de coeur' with the Emperor's daughter. When Justinian discovered this, which was shortly after Imru' al-Qays's departure, he sent him a poisoned robe of honour, as a result of wearing which, he gradually died of ulcers. Hence, this Prince of poets and the Composer of the first 'Mu'allaqah' or 'Mudhahhabah' / 'Mudh'habah'—a ("Suspended" or "Golden" Ode) to be hung in display on the walls of the Ka'bah as was said to have been the custom according to tradition—is also known as "Dhī'l Qurūḥ" ("He with the Ulcers") and as "al-Malik al-Dhalīl" ("the Vagabond Prince").

In order to refute those who accord his existence a dismissive and legendary nature, it may be worth adding here that, when Procopius of Caesaria, who has already been mentioned, was writing about the era of Justinian (518CE—610CE) in his 'History of the Wars', he refers to this Emperor's desire that the "Homeritae establish Caisus, the fugitive, as captain over the Maddeni and with a great army of their own people, and of the Maddene Saracens, make an invasion into the land of the Persians". "Caisus" here is none other than Imru' al-Qays.

As already referred to, these successful encroachments by Christianity were observed with dismay and bitterly opposed by the adherents of the older monotheistic faith, Judaism. Of this, Reverend S.M. Zwemmer in his 'Arabia, the Cradle of Islam' says that: "no sooner did the followers of Judaism gain power than persecution

began". How incensed some of these were is best illustrated by the extreme reaction of the Ḥimyarite King Yūsuf (Joseph) Dhū Nuwās, who, instigated by the Rabbis, put "all" who refused to renounce their faith to death "without respect of age or sex and the villages of Nejran were given over to plunder. Large pits were dug, filled with fuel, and many thousands of monks and virgins were committed to the flames". The Holy Qur'ān refers to this event in the 'Sūrah' (85)—'al-Burūj' ('The Mansions of the Stars') and while lamenting the event, warns in Verse 10 thus: "Lo! They who persecute believing men and believing women and repent not, theirs verily will be the doom of hell, and theirs the doom of burning". It also reminds mankind of "the fate of the hosts of Pharaoh and the (people of) Thamūd". Dhū Nuwās—(about the dates of whose reign sources differ, some placing his accession as early as 515CE or 523CE and his death in 525CE)—was the son of Ma'dīkarib Ya'fur and a Jewess from Nisibis in Armenia, from whom he had first learnt about Judaism. However, it is interesting to note here that, while this version of events has commonly been accepted till now, Dr. 'Umar Farrukh, in his book 'Tārīkh al-Jāhilīyyah', after analysing the text of the Verses (4 to 9) of the above-mentioned Qur'ānic Chapter (85), raises the query as to whether Dhū Nuwās, by this policy of suppression, was not actually calling his Christian countrymen to return to the ancient polytheistic belief of their fathers as opposed to reverting to Judaism![34]

The Verses (4 to 9) of the Chapter 'al-Burūj' inspiring Dr. Farrukh to take up this line of thought are: 4) "(Self-) destroyed were the owners of the ditch 5) Of the fuel-fed fire, 6) When they sat by it, 7) And were themselves the witnesses of what they did to the believers. 8) They had naught against them save that they believed in Allāh, the Mighty, the Owner of Praise, 9) Him unto Whom belongeth the Sovereignty of the heavens and the earth; and Allāh is of all things the Witness. 10) Lo! They who persecute believing men and believing women and repent not, theirs verily will be the doom of hell and theirs the doom of burning".

The same Reverend Zwemmer alluded to above, later on mentions with some passion how speedy retribution overtook Dhū Nuwās in 567CE (not 525CE!)—at the hands of the invading Abyssinians under Abrahah (nicknamed "al-Ashram"—"the Split Face"—because of a wound he had received), "who avenged the massacre on its perpetrators, the Jews, with heathen fury. The whole

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tract was once more a scene of bloodshed and devastation". "The churches ... were again rebuilt ... and new bishops appointed in place of the martyrs". "Large numbers of Jews ... were baptised. Many idolators were added to the church". Foundations were also laid for a magnificent cathedral at Ṣana'ā, which he built using stone from the "Maḥram" or Palace of Bilqīs (the Queen of Sheba) at Mā'rib. Arabic sources mention that he then wrote to the Negus of his desire not to rest until he had seen the Arabs making pilgrimages to it instead of 'the House' in Makkah.

This Abrahah al-Ashram is also the very ruler, who, mounted on an African elephant, had led an expedition against Makkah during "the Year of the Elephant" (570CE)—the year during which the Prophet Muḥammad was born. However, as this was during the era when the clans of Quraysh were exercising authority over Makkah, this incident will be referred to in more detail later in their account.

The rise of the Quraysh in Makkah also coincides approximately with some of the best days of the "Aiyyām al-'Arab" or "the Battle Days of the Arabs"—that period of the days of the 'Jāhilīyyah' ("the Era of Ignorance") generally recognised by scholars to have been responsible in many ways for what is recalled as the golden age of pre-Islāmic Arabic poetry. Through the eloquent medium of the 'Qaṣīdah' or 'Ode', a composition of over twenty lines according to 'Le Pére' Cheikho of the Lebanon, but normally consisting of between sixty to a hundred verses, the composers of these forms of poems have preserved for posterity valuable historical information and portraits of life and values cherished then in Arabian society and particularly amongst the tribes in the desert, amidst whom, poetic skills were the most developed. A major factor that must have helped this particular feature was the time at the disposal of these composers of verse and their closeness to nature and the elements, as well as their loneliness, as they traversed the vast, barren steppes of their desert environment in order to support their subsistence. It is not for nothing that the early Arab philologists like Abī Tammām (d.231H/846), al-Jāḥiẓ (d.255H/869) and al-Jumaḥī (d.305H/917) subscribe to the view that poetry was used as a vehicle "to immortalise events", with the latter going on to stress that: "Verse during the 'Jāhilīyyah' was to the Arabs the 'Dīwān' (register) of all they knew and the utmost compass of their wisdom", which was memorised and preserved in the breasts of men and passed on from generation to generation.[36]

According to al-Azraqī, the name of Quraysh is either derived from the term to gather around, as the Ismā'īlite clans in the vicinity of Makkah had done around Quṣai upon his call, or because, as traders, in the course of promoting, haggling, buying and selling, they had to prod, provoke, meddle, quarrel, incite and agitate as fish constantly appear to be doing in the sea. He also adds that, according to the Prophet Muḥammad's cousin 'AbdAllāh ibn 'Abbās (d. 68H/687), it was actually the 'Tubba'' who had first referred to these clans thus, assimilating them in the practice of their trade to "Sharks which consume the fat with the lean, leaving nothing...".[37]

The Ismā'īlite clans in the vicinity of Makkah, collectively referred to as the Quraysh, found themselves in the ascendant there as mentioned earlier, when Quṣai ibn Kilāb, catching the eye of the Khuzā'ah Chief, Khalīl or Ḥulayl, was allowed to marry his daughter, Ḥubā, during a visit to the land of his birth. Quṣai's real name was Zayd and he had grown up in the vicinity of 'Adhrah and the river Yarmūk on the borders of Syria–Palestine with his stepfather, Rabī'ah ibn Ḥarām's folk and it was the Quḍā'ah who would refer to him as "al-Quṣai" or "the Distant One" until this nickname became better known than his real name. There are many versions concerning how he came to be Khalīl's successor, the most plausible account appearing to be his appointment by Khalīl himself out of love for his daughter, as well as regard for Quṣai's many admirable qualities. This decision was naturally not likely to be found acceptable to several members of the Khuzā'ah, particularly their elite, who attempted to oppose him. Upon this, Quṣai managed to gather around him—(an allusion to the event that is also looked upon by some as a probable source for the term "Quraysh"!)—such Ismā'īlite clans and others, with whom his mother had matrimonial links. According to al-Azraqī, a bloody encounter took place at Minā following the Pilgrimage that particular year—(hard to determine with any precision which)—between Quṣai's supporters and those of the Khuzā'ah opposed to handing over the reins of this prestigious office, almost describable as that of a "Priest-King", "Keeper" or "Custodian"—(the Arabic term most commonly used being "Ḥājib")—to one not of their rank, after they had held it for so long.

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However, both sides failed to win the day outright and as was usual in such cases, induced to submit to arbitration. Thereupon, while the Khuzā'ah were allowed to remain in Makkah due to their kinship with Ḥubā, authority over 'the House' was awarded to Quṣai. Thus did it return once again to the progeny of Ismā'īl after a long gap, traceable back almost to the days of his son Nābit.[38]

True to his great qualities, according to al-Azraqī, once he had taken over, Quṣai began to re-organise the Makkan settlement, which hitherto had hugged the southern slopes of the Mountain, Abū Qubays, out of fear of flash-floods. Along with a fresh layout, he devised ways and means to improve the administration of the Pilgrimage through the definition of responsibility for various essential functions, careful enough however, to retain these at first within his own hands before transferring them to his sons.

He was to bestow on 'Abdal-Dār (pronounced "ud-Dār") the keep of the Ka'bah ('al-Sadānah' or 'al-Ḥijābah'), the charge of 'al-Liwā" or 'the Standard' and also of the 'Dār al-Nadwah' ('the Assembly House'). This he had provided Makkah with for the discussion and conduct of the community's affairs, functions and celebrations etc:—fixing for the purpose of participation in the discussions and deliberations to be held there, the minimal age requirement of forty years, it being a common belief then that men did not attain their full all-round potential and particularly in terms of maturity and wisdom, till they had reached that age. It must be emphasised here though that he had exempted his own progeny from this rule.

'AbdMunāf received the responsibilities for 'al-Siqāyah' (ensuring the provision of suitable water for man and beast, particularly during the Pilgrimage), the collection of 'al-Rifādah' (the Charity Due collected from the Makkans for feeding the poor Pilgrims) and 'al-Qiyādah' or the 'Command of the Troops'.

Since Makkah, because of its peculiar religio-historical background, development and evolution as an institution, had never had a "King" as such, it continued to be administered as an oligarchy, with a paramount leader or 'primus inter pares' always very much in the picture, that now being Quṣai.[39]

It is said that, during the days of the "Aiyyām al-'Arab" (mostly contemporaneous with the sixth century CE), the Byzantine Emperor had attempted to appoint a Phylarch, referred to in Arabic as a "Malik" or "King". This was a Makkan called 'Uthmān ibn al-Ḥuwayirth, who had converted to Christianity. However, the citizenry, though at first excited by the idea, decided against it after recalling that Makkah, because of its uniquely peculiar background and as the possessor of 'the House' (of God), had never had one in its history.[40] Indeed, it is reported that "al-Bayt al-'Atīq"—(the word "'Atīq" in Arabic means both, "Ancient" and "Liberated")—had indeed been named so, because, according to the Caliph 'AbdAllāh ibn al-Zubayr (r.64H/683 till 73H/692), God had always intended it to be free of the grip of tyrants.[41] The cases of those who had held sway over Makkah in the past, until their misdeeds had brought an end to their hegemony, was cited as proof of this supposition.

Hitherto, as everything around 'the House' had been regarded with something of awe and suspicion and thus left untouched, a veritable jungle of shrubbery and thickets, such as can survive in the climate upon the soil, debris and water that the flash-floods bring, had grown in the Valley. Having these cleared, Quṣai decided to build a settlement there. He was the first to do so, almost using 'the House' as a navel around which to lay them in concentric circles, guided when it came to allocation, by the importance and function of the citizen concerned, ordinarily as well as during the Pilgrimage. The less distinguished found themselves peopling the outskirts, further up or down the Valley and a motley crowd these were too. It is said that these houses, constructed then, were of stone and brick and mostly cubical in shape, with a single entrance.[42]

Wells too were excavated far and near, wherever there were felt to be prospects of finding water and many ancient Arabic sources have understandably devoted chapters to these and their history, due to the importance of this vital, yet scarce commodity to the environment. Zamzam too was to be re-discovered somewhat later on, following a dream by the Prophet Muḥammad's grandfather 'Abdal-Muṭṭalib as he fell asleep in the 'Ḥijr' or 'the Enclosure' of Ismā'īl by the Ka'bah.[43]

Soon, in order to emphasise their importance and distinction, the Qurayshite elite began through some need of the hour or sheer caprice to introduce a number of fresh practices and add to the Pilgrimage's rites as known till then, some of which are worth mentioning, as they provide an insight into the minds of the Quraysh and their own view of themselves. One of these new practices introduced by them was to force men other than their own who had hitherto never performed the Pilgrimage and could not afford to buy, hire or borrow from them the attire prescribed for the 'Ṭawāf'

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of the Ka'bah, to circumambulate on the first occasion in the nude. Specific days and times were also fixed for the women to perform their rites in segregation. This ritual was to last till the ninth year of the "Hijrah" (631 CE). After the peaceful conquest of Makkah the earlier year, the Prophet, in order to emphasise the equality of man and woman under the 'Iḥrām' or state of consecration and in the conditions governing it, as well as the 'Ṭawāf' around the Ka'bah, and the 'Sa'ī' between the hillocks of the 'al-Ṣafā' and 'al-Marwah', had it abolished through his chief Companion Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, who was representing him in leading the Ḥajj that year. It was then that its performance was also declared to be a 'Cardinal Pillar' of Islām, though some suggest the sixth as an alternate date for it.[44]

Again, to mention some other of these innovations introduced by the Quraysh in order to emphasise their distinction from Pilgrims arriving from other destinations, they had formed a sort of brotherhood of their own. Calling themselves 'al-Ḥums' which broadly means 'the Steadfast', they had proceeded to invent for themselves a number of practices and rites to be observed during the Pilgrimage when in the state of 'Iḥrām'. For example, they had decided to refrain themselves from touching curds or butter, carding, weaving, wearing or sheltering under fabric made of hair and gathering dung for fuel! Furthermore, upon the basis that they were progeny of "the Builder of the Ka'bah", and asserting that what applied to the ordinary Pilgrim need not apply to them, they had also taken to deviating and refraining from performing a number of the Ḥajj's principal rites, even such as going to 'Arafāt on the appointed day and participating in the ritual of 'Wuqūf' or 'Standing' there, which later came to be regarded by Islām as the most essential part of the Ḥajj, without which, the Pilgrimage is deemed not valid. As with this day (of the 'Wuqūf' at 'Arafāt), they would often remain in the 'Ḥaram' on those days also that the Pilgrims spent at Minā', deigning to deny themselves the use of the shade, refusing meanwhile to enter houses by their doors and excavating specific holes in their house walls for this purpose, if needed.[45]

Under the organisation and leadership of Quṣai and after him, his progeny, Makkah had begun to prosper commercially, though long spells of drought were to increase want amongst the needy, particularly beyond its environs, widening the gap between the rich and the poor, who were unable to benefit from the trade. In fact poverty was to reach such a level amongst the latter, that many

were forced to look upon female babies as a liability and bury them alive. This cruel practice, with the passage of time, had come to be looked upon as an unquestionably acceptable ancestral tradition. The early Sūrahs (Chapters) of the Qur'ān covering Islām's initial period and the Prophet Muḥammad's Makkan years are replete with vivid references to the lot of the poor and the heartless materialism of many of the rich, with an allusion to this pagan Arabian custom as well. For example, in the 'Sūrah' (81), 'al-Takwīr' ('the Overthrowing'), Verses 8 and 9 remind man how on "that day" he will be called to account; a day "... when the girl child that was buried alive is asked, for what sin she was slain".... History also reminds us that even the great Caliph 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb was guilty of this sin and would often weep in repentance when recalling the occassion he was digging a hole to bury a female-child of his during his pagan days; and how as he was doing so, she would often dust off grains of sand from her father's beard, clutching as she did her doll of rags.

Quṣai, upon his death was succeeded to the six offices he had identified by his two sons, 'Abdal-Dār and 'AbdMunāf, already mentioned earlier, between whom he had divided these responsibilities. With the passage of time however, this started to prove to be not always a smooth process, as the sons of 'AbdMunāf, namely: 'AbdShams, Hāshim, al-Muṭṭalib and Naufal, tried, according to the Prophet's biographer Ibn Is'ḥāq, to deprive their cousins of the 'Abdal-Dār of their offices, thus splitting Makkan society for a while into two. Common sense however was to prevail in the end and the former status was restored. The rift is remembered in tradition as the clash between "the Confederacies" of "the Scented" and "the Confederated Ones". In this, supporters of the former had dipped their hands in a bowl of scent and rubbed them on the Ka'bah in a sacred oath to stand fast till the end and the adherents of the latter had taken an equally binding undertaking in response in the Holy House's shadow. Hence, in this episode, the supporters of the Banī 'AbdMunāf had come to be called 'the Scented Ones" and their opponents, 'the Confederates'. As for the office of 'al-Qiyādah' or 'the Command of Troops', al-Azraqī asserts that it continued to remain with the Banī 'AbdMunāf—first with 'AbdShams ibn 'AbdMunāf, then Umaiyyah ibn 'AbdShams, to be followed by Ḥarb ibn Umaiyyah (d. 588CE) and then Ṣakhr (Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb—d. 31H/652), who commanded the Makkan troops in battle well into the Prophet's era, with the exception of the battle of

Badr.[46] On this occasion, 'Utbah ibn Rabī'ah ibn 'Abd Shams (d. 2H/624) was to lead the Quraysh, as Abū Sufyān was then away with the commercial caravan returning from Syria, whose attempted interception by the Muslims, was to provide grounds for that battle. As for Abū Sufyān's father Ḥarb, he had led the Qurayshites in the battle against the Qays 'Eilān alongside the Kinānah; then on the day of "Dhāt Nakīf" against the Abyssinians in Makkah's vicinity followed by the two battles against the Hawāzen, remembered by the title of "Fujjār", because conflict had broken out during a month when fighting was forbidden. It is said that the Prophet Muḥammad had witnessed these as a youth between the ages of fourteen and twenty.

Another 'Confederacy' to come into existence during this time was that of 'al-Fuḍūl', whereby a number of Makkah's elite, mostly of the line of Quṣai, had bound themselves by a solemn agreement to help any Makkan or outsider wronged, until his property had been restored to him, or the wrong in question appropriately redressed.[47]

When 'Abdal-Dār ibn Quṣai passed away, the keep of the Ka'bah had been inherited in accordance with his wish by his son 'Uthmān (ibn 'Abdal-Dār ibn Quṣai), while his brother 'AbdMunāf (ibn 'Abdal-Dār ibn Quṣai), had received charge over the 'Dār al-Nadwah'. 'AbdMunāf was then succeeded in the supervision of the 'Dār al-Nadwah' by his son Hāshim. The 'Ḥijābah' ('Keep of the Ka'bah') had remained with the children of 'Uthmān ibn'Abdal-Dār ibn Quṣai. The first of these to succeed him was his son 'Abdal-'Uzzā ibn 'Uthmān, to be followed by his grandson, the latter's son (Abū Ṭalḥah) 'AbdAllāh ibn 'Abdal-'Uzzā. 'AbdAllāh's (Abū Ṭalḥah's) successor was his grandson, 'Uthmān ibn Ṭalḥah ibn Abū Ṭalḥah (d. 42H/662), who was later to migrate to al-Madīnah to join the Prophet there, leaving the charge of the Ka'bah's keys with his cousins and retrieving them from the latter only after the Muslim conquest of Makkah. Likewise, the office of 'al-Liwā''—'the Standard', had remained in the line of the senior-most of the progeny of 'Abdal-Dār ibn Quṣai.

At the same time, the three remaining offices of 'al-Siqāyah' ('the Provision of Water'), 'al-Rifādah' ('the Charity Due collected for feeding the poor during the Pilgrimage') and 'al-Qiyādah' ('the Command of Troops'), that had been the lot of 'AbdMunāf ibn Quṣai, were divided after him between his sons Hāshim ibn

'AbdMunāf and 'AbdShams ibn 'AbdMunāf. The former had received the offices of 'al-Siqāyah' and 'al-Rifādah', while 'AbdShams was to acquire the right of 'al-Qiyādah'. Hāshim, the Prophet Muḥammad's great-grandfather, whose real name is sometimes said to have been 'Amr ibn al-'Ulā', was said to have been called so according to the Prophet's biographer Ibn Is'ḥāq amongst others, because, as the bearer of the office of 'al-Rifādah', he had introduced the provision of 'Tharīd' (a dish of sopped bread, meat and broth, which required bread to be crushed or crumbled) to the poor during a particularly severe year of drought. Indeed, Hāshim is also credited as the first of the Quraysh to travel north and south along the caravan routes and successfully negotiate 'Īlāf' or pacts governing safety of passage and trading rights for his people with the bodies holding sway over them. This had enabled them to trade northwards during the summer and southwards during the cool of the winter, in security. Reference to this is found in the 'Sūrah' (106) of the Qur'ān referred to as 'al-Shitā'' ('Winter') or 'Quraysh', which reads: "For the covenants (of security enjoyed) by the Quraysh. Their covenants (covering) the journeys of the winter and the summer. So, let them worship the Lord of this House, Who provides them with food against hunger and with security against fear".

In addition to securing permission from the Byzantines to trade freely with the north (Syria), in order to ensure greater or total safety, Hāshim had further gone on to conclude agreements as well and on a profit-sharing basis with the tribal chiefs living along the route. Likewise, it was his brothers 'AbdShams and Naufal, who, according to some sources, had proceeded in emulation to conclude similar agreements with the Sassanians and the Negus of Abyssinia and the Yaman. The movements of these caravans were of course timed to take place in synchronisation with the dynamics and pattern of activity of international trade then and while the Quraysh acted as guides and escorts for caravans from the South destined for markets such as 'Ukāẓ and others further north, Southern clans for example such as the Ḥaḍramaut and Kindah reciprocated these services towards caravans headed for any 'Sūq' or fair in their territory, such as Rābiah and al-Shiḥr. Needless to add, this pattern of exchange of services was emulated wherever needed. To enable people to attend them, violence during that period was declared and widely accepted as taboo.[48]

Ibn Ḥabīb in his 'al-Muḥabbir' refers to these 'Aswāq' or markets ('Sūq' in the singular) and the months in which they were held in order to coincide with the expected arrival and departure of the caravan traffic in some detail. Hāshim ibn 'AbdMunāf, who was destined to die in Ghazzah (Palestine) around 524 CE while on a commercial trip, had married Salmā bint 'Amr of the Banī 'Adī, a lady of noble birth from Yathrib, who gave birth to al-Muṭṭalib, better known in history as 'Abdal-Muṭṭalib. Al-Muṭṭalib (b. 500CE) had grown up in Yathrib with his mother and was unknown in Makkah. Hence, when people saw him for the first time upon his arrival in Makkah, riding behind his Uncle, al-Muṭṭalib (after whom he had been named), assuming from his alien appearance—(for he had in addition, silver or platinum blond hair as well, the reason why he had been nicknamed "Shaybah" or "White Haired" and "Old Man" upon birth)—and perceiving that al-Muṭṭalib had brought a new slave with him, referred initially to the newly arrived nephew as "al-Muṭṭalib's slave" ('Abd al-Muṭṭalib) and the reference stuck to acquire the guise of a name.[49] Al-Muṭṭalib the Uncle, was to die later on in the Yaman, at Radmān.[50]

Assuming after the death of his Uncle the offices once held by his father, 'Abdal-Muṭṭalib (d.579 CE) rose to great eminence amongst his people. His many praise-worthy deeds in the service of his community and the Pilgrims visiting Makkah, his affluence because of his success at commerce and his unparalleled generosity were all legendary. He was also to rediscover the Zamzam spring following a recurring dream in the 'Enclosure of Ismā'īl', while he rested in the shade of the Ka'bah wall as was his habit. Despite great oppsition, 'Abdal-Muṭṭalib had vowed to retain the rights over this spring for himself and his line and in this design he had succeeded despite all.

Another somewhat different vow of his had been to offer one of his children in sacrifice in emulation of his great ancestor, the Prophet Ibrāhīm and at the Ka'bah, if he were to be blessed with ten children who would grow up and be by his side. When this wish was realised and the time came to fulfill the vow, as was the common custom throughout most of pre-Islāmic Arabia, lots were drawn with "Azlām" (marked arrows) in the presence of an idol, in this case Hubal, housed in the Ka'bah since the time of 'Amr ibn Luḥayy. This was in order to select which one of the ten sons he ought to offer. The arrow drawn thus had selected 'Abdillāh (b.

544CE), the youngest and also the dearest to his father. As the latter was steeling himself to abide by his vow, fellow clansmen of the Quraysh discovered what he was about to do. Sensing in the words of the Prophet's biographer Ibn Is'ḥāq that, after this precedent "there will be no stopping men from coming to sacrifice their sons, and what will become of men then", they decided along with his other sons, to prevent him from doing so, suggesting that he redeem his vow with an expiatory sacrifice to be determined by a famous sooth-sayer, a female residing at Khaybar, to which he finally agreed.

Enquiring what the blood-wit was amongst the Quraysh, which then was ten camels, the Sooth-sayer advised them to cast lots upon returning home and to keep adding to the number of camels, until the lot fell in favour of the expiation instead of the human sacrifice. This they did with the result of the exercise coming out each time in favour of sacrificing the youth until the figure had reached a hundred camels. Then, the arrow fell in favour of offering the camels. To reassure himself, 'Abdal-Muṭṭalib had the lots drawn thrice more and each time, the arrow indicated acceptance of the expiation. So, he proceeded with the sacrifice, slaughtering a hundred camels instead for the poor and the needy and all to consume.[51]

When 'Abdillāh was twenty-five years old, his father married him to Āminah, referred to by Ibn Is'ḥāq as "the most excellent woman among the Quraysh in birth and position at that time". She was the daughter of Wahb ibn 'Abd Munāf, "the leading man of the Banī Zuhrah (of the Quraysh) in birth and honour". This does not necessarily mean however that he was as affluent as his social status would suggest. 'Abdillāh was to pass away within a year amongst his maternal folks, the Banī 'Udai ibn al-Najjār, near Yathrib, while on an errand there on behalf of his father to bring back dates. Hence, he was not destined to witness the invasion of Abrahah nor to see his son, who was born in Makkah on the twelfth night of Rabī' al-Awwal, a Monday, some fifty-five days after the invasion according to some accounts, the Christian year of which is computed to have been 570CE. This child was named Muḥammad (meaning "the Praised" or "the Laudable" One).[52]

Abrahah's invasion, which has been referred to earlier in brief, is such a major and well-known landmark in pre-Islāmic history and of such a stature, that, as mentioned by al-Azraqī amongst others, the Arabs used to date events, be they documents, loans or

other transactions, from "the Year of the Elephant". As referred to earlier, after restoring Christian authority in the Yaman and avenging the deeds of Dhū Nuwās, Abrahah, alongside building his famous Cathedral in Ṣana'ā, had started a proselytising campaign aimed at converting as many Arabs as possible to Christianity and had written to the Negus of his intention not to rest until they were making pilgrimages to Ṣana'ā instead of Makkah.

Abrahah found himself furnished with a 'casus belli' soon enough, when a man of the clan of Kinānah decided to defile this Cathedral and fled towards home. Then in a separate incident, an envoy of his, bearing a diploma of chiefship over the clans of Muḍar and charged with inviting the Arabs to visit Ṣana'ā in pilgrimage, was killed. When this news was relayed back to Abrahah by the brother of his murdered candidate, he immediately mobilised some sixty thousand troops and set out for Makkah, overcoming any tribes daring to resist him 'en route' such as the Khath'am, whose chief Nufayl ibn Ḥabīb he only agreed to spare upon the latter's willingness to act as his guide. Reaching al-Mughammis, about two miles or so from Makkah, he dispatched some cavalry in advance under an officer called al-Aswad, who sent back the booty he had captured in his foray. Amongst this were two hundred camels belonging to 'Abdal-Muṭṭalib also.

The clans in the Ka'bah's vicinity, the Quraysh, the Kinānah and the Hudhayl 'et al' were all at first bent upon resistance, but deciding soon enough that discretion was the better part of valour, vacated Makkah for their shelters, leaving Allāh to defend "His Sanctuary" if and as He willed. When 'Abdal-Muṭṭalib waited upon Abrahah in connection with his camels, the latter, impressed by his person and bearing, treated him kindly and asked him about the reason for his visit. Then, upon hearing the request for the return of the camels, he is said to have replied: "You pleased me much when I saw you; then I was much displeased with you when I heard what you said. Do you wish to talk to me about two hundred camels... and say nothing about your religion and that of your fore-fathers which I have come to destroy?" To this, 'Abdal-Muṭṭalib's reply, which has become eternally famous, was: "I am the owner of the camels and 'the House' has an Owner, who will defend it".[53]

While 'Abdal-Muṭṭalib received back his camels, Abrahah prepared to advance and enter Makkah. It is related that every time he decided to goad his elephant into that direction, the animal would

refuse with great alarm and rush off in other directions with equal alacrity. It was at this stage that the event referred to in the Qur'ānic 'Sūrah' (105), titled "the Elephant" took place. It reads: "Hast thou not seen how thy Lord dealt with the owners of the Elephant? Did He not bring their stratagem to naught, and send against them swarms of flying creatures, Which pelted them with stones of baked clay, and made them like green crops devoured (by cattle)". Exegetists of the Qur'ān explain that, these flights of birds resembling swallows and starlings, had come from the direction of the sea and that the stones they bore were the size of a grain of lentil or pea. The outcome of this, as mentioned in the above 'Sūrah', was the retreat of the now terrified hosts towards the Yaman, their mission unaccomplished.

In view of the above fact that the Prophet of Islām, Muḥammad was an "Ummī"—("Unlettered"), it is truly amazing and wonderful that he gave such immense importance to the acquisition of knowledge by all, demanding of his followers and without differentiation between the sexes, to seek it "from the cradle to the grave", even if it be found "upon the confines of China". Hence, during the era of his Apostolic mission, several women had come to learn to read and write. This list, for example, included his wife Ḥafṣah bint 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (604-45H/665), while 'Ā'ishah bint Abū Bakr (613-58H/678) could read, but was not proficient in writing. He would ask polytheist prisoners of war to ransom themselves by instructing a mere ten of his followers to read and write and placing literacy and knowledge on a uniquely high pedestal, had even gone on to declare men of learning to be "the (true) heirs of Prophets and Apostles". Since the era before the dawn of Islām is generally referred to by Arabs as the 'Days of al-Jāhilīyyah' ('Ignorance') for a number of reasons, it is of interest to establish when the Arabic alphabet as it is known now, was introduced into the Ḥejāz and how widely the knowledge of reading and writing was common amongst the elite in Makkan society. It is of particular interest and relevance that Ibn al-Nadīm in his 'al-Fihrist' ('the List' or 'Catalogue') refers, on the authority of the historian of the Holy Cities, 'Umar ibn Shibbeh (d.262H/876) to the existence in the treasury of the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Mā'mūn of a commercial document on leather in the hand of 'Abdal-Muṭṭalib ibn Hāshim, the style of which resembled "the hand of women".[54]

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Modern scholars agree that, when the ancient civilisations of Arabia came into existence at about the dawn of the first millennium BCE, along with a homogeneous art, what may be described as "a proto-Arabian" alphabet came into use. It was cuneiform at first in the North-East, North-West and the South and cursive later on in the North allied to the Can'ānite alphabet of Syria–Palestine, as suggested for example by W. Phillips in his 'Qataban and Saba'.[55]

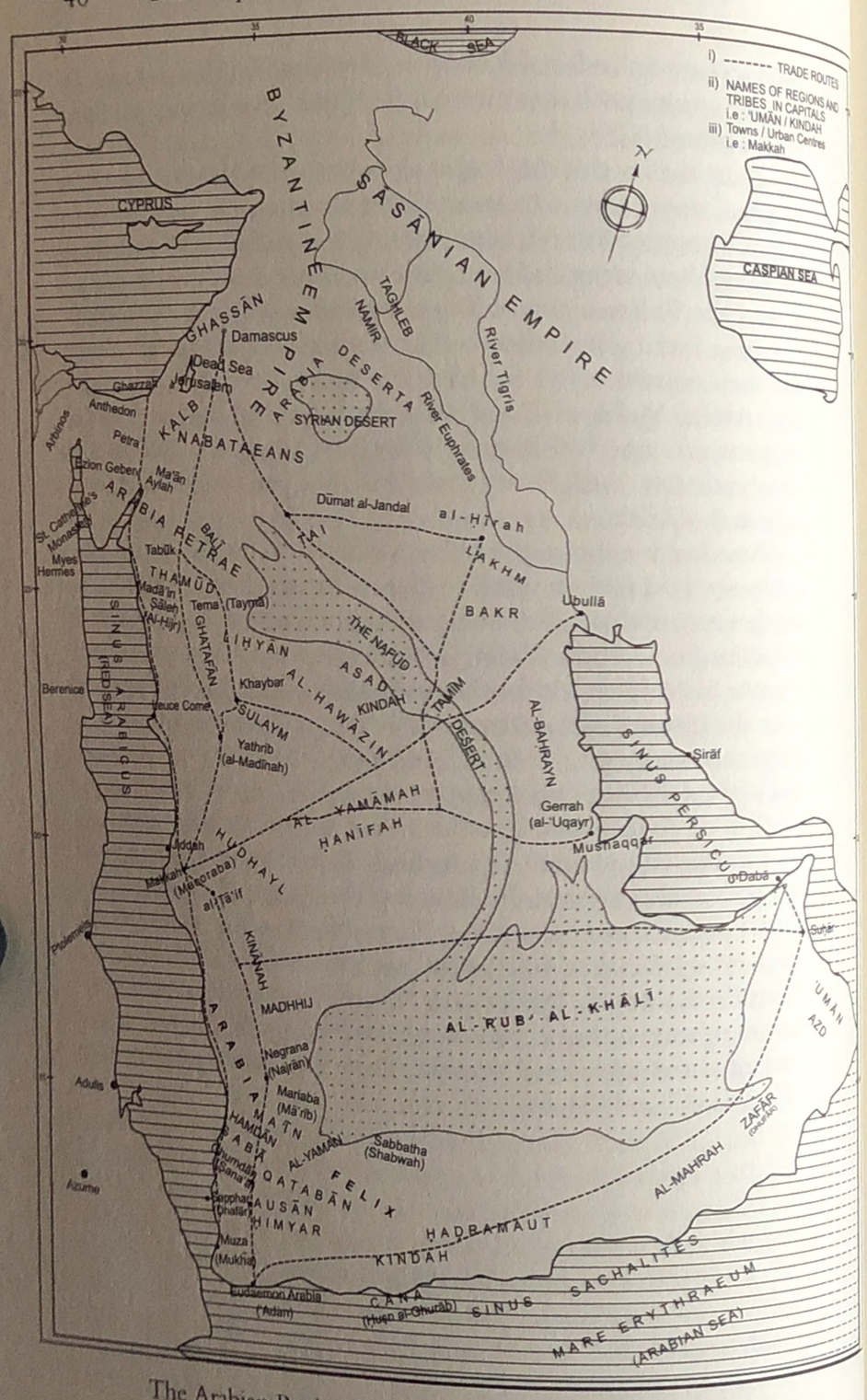
Ancient and modern scholars are also in agreement that, even during the 'Jāhilīyyah', the Arabs were aware, at least to some extent, of reading and writing and in the Holy Qur'ān there are no less than 296 direct or indirect references to writing, with terms such as "tablets", "rolls", "scrolls", "recorder", "pens" and "ink" often recurring. Amongst the ancient Arab (Muslim) scholars, views on the historical origins and evolution of the Arabic alphabet and script proferred by such scholars as Ibn Is'ḥāq, Ibn Hishām, Ibn 'Abd Rabbuh (d.328H/940), Ibn al-Nadīm (d.5thcH/11thcCE), Ibn Khaldūn, al-Balādhurī, al-Mas'ūdī (d.345H/956), al-Qurṭubī (d.463H/1071), and al-Qalaqashandī (d.821H/1418) are of particular interest. Whereas amongst those modern scholars who have used epigraphic and archaeological evidence to support their theses, the painstakingly thorough efforts of Jawwād 'Alī, Ibrāhīm Jum'ah, Ṣalāḥal-dīn al-Munajjid and both, Maḥmūd and Suhaylah al-Jabbūrī are greatly laudable.

Amidst the views of the early scholars, Ibn 'Abd Rabbuh on the authority of the Prophet's cousin, Ibn 'Abbās, traces the origins of the Arabic script to the Prophet Ismā'īl, while Ibn Khaldūn links it to the 'Musnad' of the Yaman, asserting that the script had arrived in the Ḥejāz via al-Ḥīrah.[56] Jawwād 'Alī, while questioning the link with the 'Musnad' on the grounds that no clear proof in support of this view exists, however, then joins a number of modern scholars, who follow the ranks of such early scholars as al-Balādhurī, Ibn al-Nadīm, al-Baṭalyūsī (d.7th cH/13th cCE) and al-Qalaqashandī in associating the origins of the Arabic script with al-Ḥīrah.[57] There are others too who claim that its roots may also be found to be traceable to the early hieroglyphics, just as they suggest many other Asian, European and African scripts are and this via the Phoenician script. Aramaic roots are also subscribed to it via the Nabataeans, whom, scholars emphasise, were of Arab origin, sharing many common features with the Quraysh and the inhabitants of South-West Arabia. Amongst those modern scholars supporting

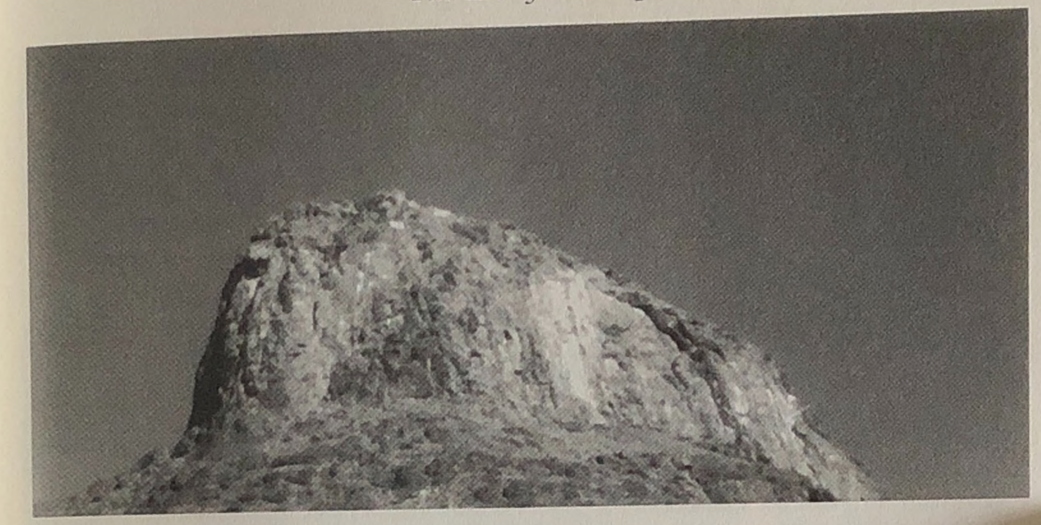
this view are Suhaylah al-Jabbūrī and Ibrāhīm Jum'ah, who assume that the script may have arrived in the Ḥejāz at the beginning of the sixth century (CE).

If the theory that the Arabic script had arrived from al-Ḥīrah is adopted, then as far as its transmission is concerned, those chroniclers who agree with this contention such as al-Balādhurī state that, after the Ḥīran script had been developed in al-Anbār, three members of the Bolān, a clan of Ṭaiyy, evolved and modified it further by using Syriac for purposes of measurement and comparison. It was then transmitted to the Ḥejāz via trade. It is related that Bishr ibn 'Abdal-Malik al-Kindī (al-Sakūnī—a clan originating in Ḥaḍramaut), who had learnt it in al-Ḥīrah, taught it to Sufyān ibn Umaiyyah ibn 'Abd Shams and Abū Qays ibn 'Abd Munāf ibn Zahrah ibn Kilāb.

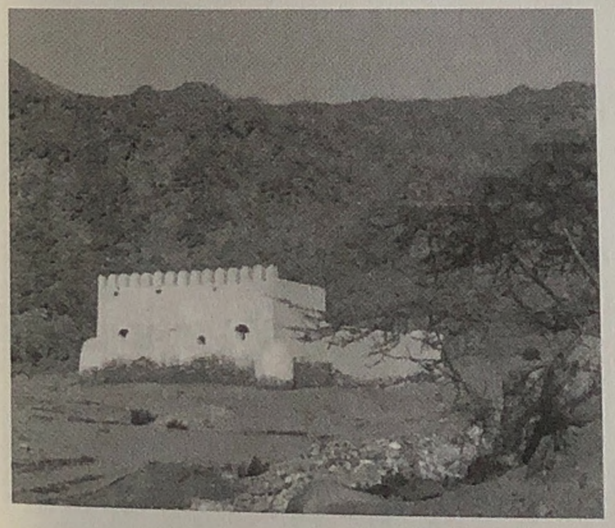
Another version suggests that it was not to the above two but to Umaiyyah ibn Ḥarb that he—Bishr—had taught the alphabet. In another account, al-Qurṭubī mentions that Umaiyyah had acquired the script from 'AbdAllāh ibn Jad'ān, a native of al-Ḥirah, who had a house in Makkah. As for the above Bishr al-Kindī, he happened to be the brother of the Akaydar, the ruler of Dūmat al-Jandal, one of those seventy plus "Mulūk" or "Kings" (in reality tribal chiefs and neutral arbiters) presented by the noble clans of Kindah to a number of Arab tribes, in order to put an end to their perpetual internecine competition and feuding. A large number of ancient chroniclers also support the view that the origins of the Arabic alphabet are derived from the spelling sounds of the names of six brothers of the race of 'Adnān, namely, "Abjad", "Hawwaz", "Ḥaṭṭī", "Kalmūn", "Ṣa'fas" and "Qurisht", to which, in the interests of greater accuracy, two more names were added, each representing three additional sounds. These two latter names were "Thakhadh" and "Ḍaẓagh".[58]



The Arabian Peninsula Prior to and at the Rise of al-Islām.



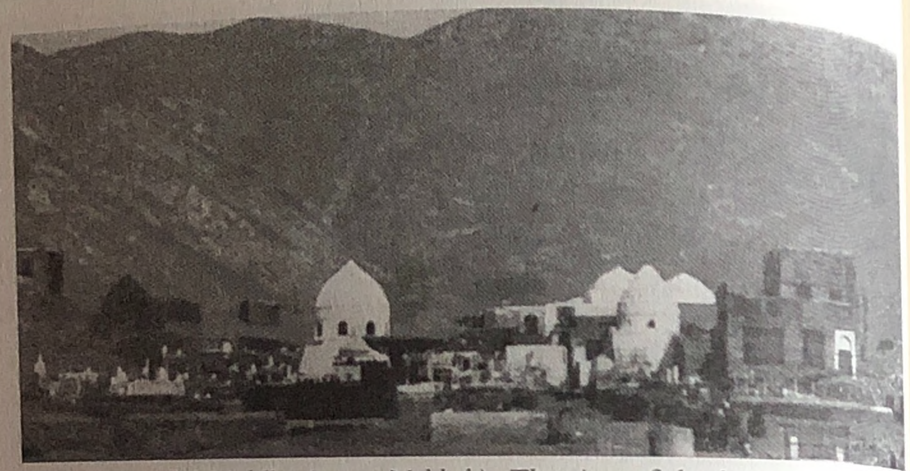




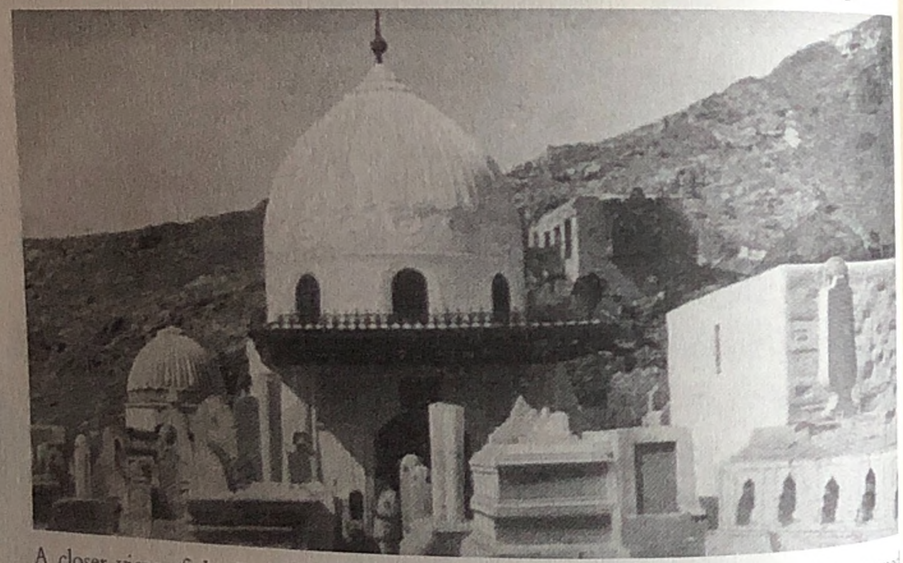
(i) – Jabal al-Nūr (Mountain of Light) or Ḥirā (the Mount of the Cave), where the Prophet received the first Qur'ānic Revelation. It is some 634 metres high and was three miles north of Makkah.

(ii) – Jabal al Raḥmah (the Mountain of Mercy) at 'Arafāt on 9th Dhū'l Ḥijjah.

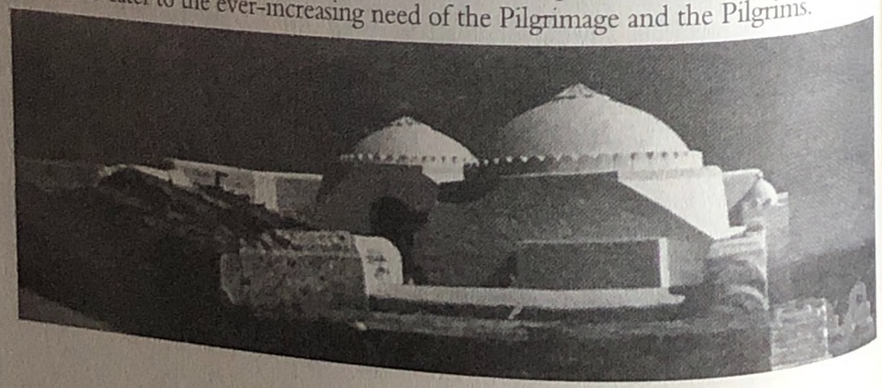
(iii) – ''Aqabat al-Bayʿah' on the outskirts of Makkah, where the Prophet received the 'Bayʿah' (Pledge of Allegiance) of 70 of the people of Yathrib in 619 C.E. to recognise his mission, obey him and offer their protection. This is marked by a 'Muṣallā' or open-aired mosque.



An old view of al-Muʿallāt (upper Makkah). The sites of the houses of the Ladies Khadījah and Āminah and the Prophet's ancestors 'Abdal-Muṭṭalib, 'AbdMunāf and Abī Ṭālib, rebuilt and covered with domes by later generations, appear in the background.

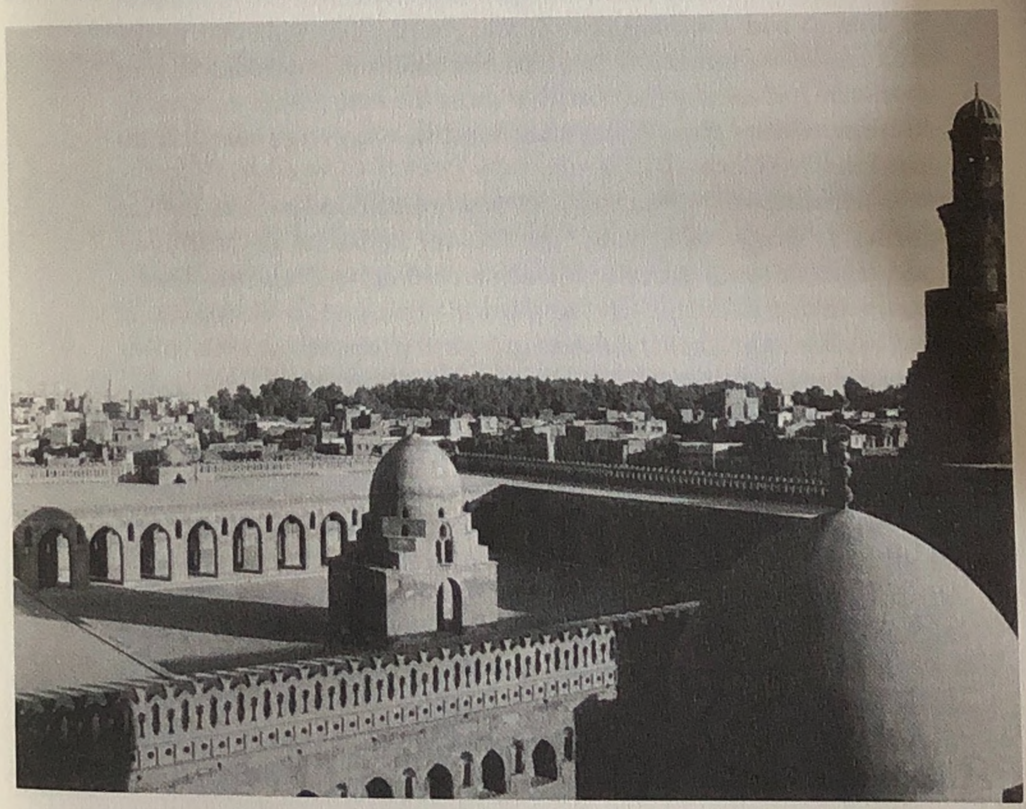


A closer view of the Lady Khadījah's house. The site of the Prophet's above-named ancestors are shown below. All these sadly had to be incorporated into Makkah's expansions in order to cater to the ever-increasing need of the Pilgrimage and the Pilgrims.





"Al-Jāmiʿ al-Kabīr" (the Great Cathedral Mosque) of Ṣanaʿā, one of the world's oldest cities along with Damascus. Dating back to the 1st cH (7th c C.E.), it remains a fine example of the layout and architecture of early mosques in Islām. Compare the layout of its courtyard with that of the Jāmiʿ of Ibn Ṭulūn (d. 270 H / 884) in Cairo below.



CHAPTER II

The Era of the Prophet Muḥammad ﷺ and the 'Rightly Guided' Khalīfahs (11H/632–40H/661)

A: Makkah and 'the Honoured Sanctuary'

It is not the objective of this book to go into any phase of the birth and life of "the Unlettered Prophet" at length and explore how his Apostolic Mission, lasting just over two decades, was to attempt to bring together mankind to universal brotherhood in the direct worship of one God without associates or intermediaries and how successful his efforts were. These aspects have been covered in detail over the centuries by many scholars of much greater ability, erudition, scholarship and other gifts than myself for me to claim to be able to add anything new to their study. Nevertheless, in the interests of continuity, I feel that the following episodes at least should be included in this narrative about the man whom the Qur'ān addresses thus: "And We did not send thee save as a mercy unto mankind"—(Ch 21;V107).

"Unlettered" ("Ummī"), he was miraculously made literate during a "Night of Destiny" or "Power" ("Laylat al-Qadr"), an odd night in serial numerical order according to Prophetic Tradition, which falls during the last third of the month of Ramaḍān. It was on this night that the Archangel Jibrīl (Gabriel) came down to Muḥammad as he was secluded in devotion in the cave called "Ḥirā'" on Mount "Thaur", just outside Makkah and, revealing to him a coverlet of brocade on which there was some writing, asked him to: "Read". When he said: "I cannot read." He pressed him with the request again and upon receiving the same reply, repeated it a third time, saying: "Read in the name of thy Lord Who createth, Createth man from a clot. Read and thy Lord is the Most Bounteous; Who teacheth by the pen, Teacheth man that which he knew not". This was the earliest of the Qur'ānic Revelations—(Ch 96; V 1-5).

On another occasion, Muḥammad was asked: "O thou enveloped in thy cloak, Arise and warn!" (Ch 74; V 1,2). The nucleus of

the message he was asked to spell out being: "Say, we believe in God and that which is revealed unto us and that which was revealed unto Ibrāhīm (Abraham) and Ismā'īl (Ishmael) and Is'ḥāq (Isaac) and Ya'qūb (Jacob) and the tribes, and that which was revealed unto Mūsā (Moses), 'Īsā (Jesus) and the Prophets from their Lord. We make no distinction between any of them and unto Him we have submitted." (Ch 3;V84). To submit unreservedly to the will of God, the Creator, was the real meaning of the message of "Islām" which literally means "submission", as already alluded to, and it was to remind man in the same measure of the equality and brotherhood of fellow-beings thus: "O mankind! Lo! We have created you male and female, and have made you nations and tribes that ye may know one another. Lo! the most honoured (noblest) amongst you in the sight of God is the most righteous of you in conduct. Lo! God is Knower, Aware". (Ch 49;V13).

Of Muḥammad himself ("the Praised One" or the one "Worthy of Praise"), the Qur'ān says: "And thou verily (standest) on an exalted standard of character". (Ch 68;V 4). Later, his wife 'Ā'ishah was to mention: "His nature was the Qur'ān".

The Prophet at times would refer to himself as "al-Māḥī" ("the Effacer" with whom God effaces disbelief), "al-Ḥāshir" ("the Summoner", by whose step forward mankind shall be summoned), "al-'Āqib" ("the Last to follow" after whom no prophet shall be sent), "Nabī al-Taubah" ("the Prophet of Repentance") and "Nabī al-Raḥmah" ("the Prophet of Mercy") and there are over another hundred such epithets by which he is referred to or recalled.

To his followers, he is the realisation of several ancient prophecies in the Scriptures of the major religions that had preceded Islām's advent, such as Judaism and Christianity, to name but only two of the monotheistic faiths. For example, some of the Biblical and Gospel texts assumed by Muslim theologians to be connected with the subject on the bases of interpretation in the Old Testament are in: the book of Genesis, chapter XXI (v.13 and 18), in which God promises to make Ishmael "a great nation", the book of Deuteronomy, chapter XVIII (v.18), where Moses "the Law Giver" is told: "I will raise them up a Prophet from among their brethren (a reference to the Ishmaelites or Arabs), like unto thee, and will put My words (the Qur'ān) in his mouth, and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him". The book of Isaiah, chapter XLII (v.1-13), reports "I have put my spirit upon him, he shall

bring forth judgment to the Gentiles…". This same book's chapter XXVIII (v.10) also foretells of the manner the Qur'ān would be revealed (over a duration of twenty-three years as it came to pass), "… precept upon precept, line upon line, …, here a little and there a little", while the next verse (11) speaks of the way the Prophet Muḥammad would utter the Divine revelation every time he received a portion: "For with stammering lips and another tongue will he speak to these people".

Where the New Testament is concerned, while the book Acts, chapter III (v.22), reiterates Moses' prophecy in the Old Testament that "A prophet shall the Lord your God raise unto you of your brethren, like unto me…", the book of Mathew, chapter XXI (v.43) has Jesus warning thus: "There say I unto you. The kingdom of God shall be taken away from you and given to a nation bringing forth the fruit thereof" and the next verse (44) reads: "And whomsoever shall fall on this stone shall be broken, but on whomsoever it shall fall, it will grind him to powder" (this foretells the early dazzling successes of Islām, while the "rejected" stone here is a reference to Ishmael's seed). However, of all the Gospels, John's is the one that the earliest biographers of the Prophet Muḥammad like Ibn Is'ḥāq and Ibn Hishām focus on the most, and specifically on its chapters XIV (v.16), XV (v.26) and XVI (v.7-8).

In this, they base their attitude upon the interpretation of such prophecies of Jesus as in the Gospel of John (XIV-v.16, XV-v.26, XVI-v.7), which had led many Christian communities of the time to believe in the appearance of a "promised one", referred to in translation into Greek in this case as a "Parakletos", a "Paraclete" or "Comforter" (which also means an "Advocate" or "Intercessor") yet to come. However, since Aramaic (referred to later on as Syriac), and a language close to Arabic was used in Palestine during the era of Jesus and for several centuries onwards and as the original Gospels, mostly lost, since their early translation into Greek and from it later on into Latin would have been composed in that language, in which the direct translation of the term "Periklytos" is "Mawhamana"—("Munahemmana" in its successor language Syriac as indicated by Ibn Is'ḥāq and Ibn Hishām)—and which also happens to be the precise equivalent of the Prophet of Islām's name Muḥammad or "Aḥmad" as in the Qur'ān, both of which mean "Much-Praised", it must therefore be understood that the confusion between "Periklytos" (the "Much-Praised") and "Parakletos"

("the Comforter") must have arisen due to an error made by later scribes in view of the phonetic closeness and the common route that these two terms are derived from in Greek. Not that this matters much, for Muḥammad is viewed by his followers as both, a "Comforter" and "Intercessor" for them in favour of mercy on the Day of Judgement, despite Islām's dislike of this role in general between the individual and his relations with his Creator. The Gospel of John, chapter XVI (v.13) also emphasises that "when he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he will guide you into all truth; for he shall not speak of himself but whatsoever he shall hear…". Then there was also another Gospel, that of Barnabas, which mentions the Prophet Muḥammad by name in the Arabic form and was read in the churches until 496 CE, when it was classified as apocryphal and declared "heretical" by the Pope Gelasius (d.496 CE).

In distant India too, some of the ancient Scriptures of its peoples dating back to well over four thousand years bear such references. For example, the 'Sama Veda' (11: 6,8) mentions that "Aḥmad shall acquire religious law from his Lord. This religious law is full of wisdom…" and the 'Atharva Veda' (in the first 'Mantra' or verse of 'Sukt' or 'Section' 127, 'Kand' or 'Message' 20), presages the advent of a "Parikshit" ('Mantra' 8) almost synonymous with the meaning of "Periklytos" (not "Paraklytos") and with "Aḥmad". This 'Mantra' referred to above reads: "… Worthy of praise among all the peoples, will be eulogised and praised". The 'Parikshit's' name has been given in some editions of the 'Veda' as "Mamah", again meaning "Splendid and Great" or "Worthy of Praise". Some scholars of late such as Dr. 'Abdal-Ḥaq Vidyarthi (author of 'Muḥammad in World Scriptures'), Dr. Ẓahūr-ul-Ḥaq ('Prophet Muḥammad in Hindu Scriptures') and the Brahmin Professor Pundit Vaid Prakash in a work with a similar title, have gone to considerable lengths to establish the veracity of their theses. For example, the latter, using nine important parallels between the 'Sīrah' (the life of the Prophet Muḥammad) and the references in the ancient 'Vedas' that presage and refer to the advent and events in the life of the last "Kalki Avtar"—(i.e. "a Guide and Prophet of the whole Universe")—emphasises that they can apply to none other than the Prophet of Islām.

Be that as it may, after the Prophetic mission of this Apostle, who was born as an orphan and brought up amidst the most trying of environments amongst an "unlettered" and "ignorant" people,

as presaged by some of these ancient Scriptures, the world was never to be the same again, with his eternal message commanding today the allegiance of at least a fifth of mankind.

The Prophet Muḥammad ﷺ received his first Revelation in his fortieth year and his Apostolic Mission was to last twenty-four lunar years, with the Islāmic lunar calendar known as "Hijrī" actually being computed from the year of "the Hijrah"—the Prophet's migration to Yathrib. He had arrived there on a Monday and the twelfth of the month of Rabī' al-Awwal.[59] This date was repeatedly to play a key role in his life. His arrival there was to coincide with his fifty-third birthday and the thirteenth year of his Apostolic Mission. The first of the lunar month of Muḥarram that year corresponds to sixteenth July 622CE and the twelve months of the Islāmic lunar calendar are based on the revolution of the Moon around the Earth, which takes twenty-nine days and a third of a day. Each month, depending upon the sighting of the Moon, could be of twenty-nine or thirty days. Normally, the second, fourth, sixth, eighth, tenth and twelfth months have twenty-nine days, while the rest have thirty days each—a total of 354 days in a year. The Prophet was to pass away on Monday, the twelfth of Rabī' al-Awwal of the eleventh year of the Hijrah, having spent some ten years of his mission in al-Madīnah.

During his life-span, the Prophet was also destined to participate once in the reconstruction of the Ka'bah. This was five years before the beginning of his Apostolic Mission, when he was some thirty-five years old. Eighteen years later, he was also to lay the foundations of the Mosque in al-Madīnah associated since with his name, immediately after his arrival there, whence he had turned fifty-three as indicated earlier. If it is accepted that 'the Year of the Elephant', which was also the year of the Prophet's birth, corresponds to 570CE, then, on this occasion, the Ka'bah could be assumed to have been rebuilt around 605CE. The construction of the Prophet's Mosque in al-Madīnah was started around 622CE and completed a year later.

This time, the reconstruction of the Ka'bah had been necessitated, not by one, but both the causes normally calling for such drastic measures. Firstly, there was a fire and it was followed in its wake by a major flash-flood. On this occasion, the water had caused severe damage all around and fissures and cracks in 'the House's' structure. The fire had been started by a flying spark from an incense burner held by a woman fumigating the Ka'bah. This had set the 'Kiswah' alight and also damaged 'the Black Stone'. The waters of the flood that followed had done the rest, calling for the whole structure to be pulled down and rebuilt. Yet, none dared to do so first, lest some calamity befall them.

Then, led, by one of their nobles, al-Mughīrah ibn Shu'bah, the Makkans cautiously started their work by first bringing down the edifice, then excavating right down to the foundations of the Prophet Ibrāhīm and rebuilding on them anew as much as was possible. Stone for this purpose was brought from the vicinity, a labour, in which Muḥammad, not yet charged with his Apostolic Mission, had participated alongside his fellow clansmen and Makkah's other denizens. However, due to shortage of material and means, its width in the 'Enclosure of Ismā'īl' was reduced by some six to seven ells. It is said that it was because of this that the Prophet ﷺ had refrained from kissing these two Corners of the Ka'bah in salutation unlike the Corner with 'the Black Stone' and 'al-Rukn al-Yamānī' ('the Corner facing the Yaman), as the former two were not the Edifice's original Corners, like the latter ones.

Some accounts mention that the clans of Makkah had divided themselves into four groups, each attending to the reconstruction of a wall. When the rebuilding had reached the level for 'the Black Stone' to be placed in its appropriate Corner, a dispute arose between the clans over which of the groups ought to have the honour of doing so and was on the verge of turning violent. In fact, such was the conflagration, that as per tradition, bowls of blood were produced, fingers dipped and oaths sworn, cementing mutual alliances and pledges to their particular cause unto death. Those taking the oath thus were called "the Blood-Lickers". Then, an elder of the Quraysh, identified as Abū Umaiyyah ibn al-Mughīrah of the clan of Makhzūm suggested to them that the arbitration of the matter be left to the first man to enter the Sanctuary even as they were gathered there. This was accepted by all as a way out of their impasse.

Then, it so happened that the first to enter 'the Sanctuary' was Muḥammad, popularly known amongst them as "al-Amīn" or "the Trustworthy One", for the Makkans were given to depositing their valuables with him for safe-keeping at times of need, and had come

to appreciate his great honesty. Upon seeing him, they decided to place their dispute in his hands and informed him of their decision. Agreeing to comply with their request, he placed 'the Black Stone' in a cloak and asked the head of each of the four groups to take hold of it and to lift it to a level which would enable him to place it in its intended position. This was accomplished to the satisfaction of all and so the rebuilding continued until it was completed.

As providence would have it, a "Roman" vessel was shipwrecked off al-Shu'aybah, the port for Makkah at that time. When the Quraysh heard of it, they bought its wood from the crew and in order to assist the merchants who had been on board, they decided to allow them to bring such wares as were saved, to Makkah, free of any tithes and to offer them for sale in its mart. There had been a carpenter too on board the vessel, whose name the sources invariably quote as "Bāqūm". So, his services were eagerly sought in order to provide the new structure with a flat roof once the walls had been raised to eighteen ells, that is, double their former height of nine ells. Sixteen layers of stone and fifteen rows of wooden planks were laid to accomplish this and the 'Mīzāb' (the Water-Outlet) was placed above the wall overlooking the 'Ḥijr' or the 'Enclosure of Ismā'īl'. It would appear that the decision not to include the 'Ḥijr' in this new structure, was most plausibly due to paucity of means, as formerly, it had formed a part of the old edifice and had been enclosed by it. However, its (the 'Ḥijr's') limits were now marked by a low mud-brick wall. Wooden stairs, leading to the roof from within, were also installed by 'the Syrian Corner'. The door of the Ka'bah was placed an ell above 'the Black Stone's' height, though previously, it had been at ground level. The roof was provided support with six pillars in two rows of three each, ranging from the side facing Syria towards that looking in the direction of the Yaman.

Once completed, the structure, that is the ceiling, the interior walls and the pillars, were painted. These were then decorated with paintings of prophets, including Ibrāhīm (portrayed using the divining arrows), 'Īsā (Jesus) and Maryam (Mary) and a number of angels and trees. This undoubtedly betrays strong traces of Byzantine influence at least on indigenous thought and artistic conception. Once this process was completed, the treasures, normally preserved within the Ka'bah were returned to their former place and

the idol of Hubal too was re-installed where it had formerly been and also provided with a ladder or stairs. The horns of the ram offered in sacrifice in place of Ismā'īl by his father Ibrāhīm, were also installed in display along with other ornaments and the Ka'bah was dressed in pieces of Yamanī cloth. The paintings mentioned above were destined to be erased along with the removal and destruction of the idols in the Sanctuary, upon the peaceful conquest of Makkah by the Prophet ﷺ in 8H(630), though the Prophet, according to some accounts, is said to have covered those of Jesus amd Mary in protection when it was their turn.[60]

The first 'Khalīfah' to initiate the expansion of the 'Ḥaram' in Makkah was 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (d.23H/643), the second of the 'Orthodox' or 'the Rightly Guided' Caliphs. An administrator of outstanding genius and merit to whom many Islāmic institutions owe their origins, 'Umar was the first 'Khalīfah' in Islāmic history to surround the courtyard of 'the Holy Sanctuary' with a wall. It was less than a 'Qāmah', an average man's height, with gaps at appropriate points for use as entrances.[61] This was following a visit by him to Makkah in 17H(638) from al-Madīnah, the Capital then of the Islāmic State, for the purpose of performing the "'Umrah" or "the lesser Pilgrimage". During his visit, he had observed how inadequate the area around the Ka'bah had become for accommodating large numbers. Hence, before the construction of the wall, he had ordered the acquisition and demolition of houses in the vicinity, not returning to "the City of the Prophet" until the work had been initiated under his very sight and supervision, even though the visit itself was brief. The 'Khalīfah' also availed of the opportunity of his presence in Makkah to mark the limits of the area to be deemed as 'Ḥarām' or 'inviolable'. For the purposes of this demarcation, he was to utilise the services of four Makkans known for their knowledge in such matters, namely, Makhramah ibn Naufal (d.54H/674), al-Azhar ibn 'Auf, Ḥuwayṭib ibn 'Abdal-'Uzzā (d.54H/674) and Sa'īd ibn Yarbū'.

Again, during this 'Umrah, when people who were settled along the route between Makkah and al-Madīnah in order to provide provisions and most importantly, water to Pilgrims, travelers and merchants, sought his permission to build shelters and premises for resting at relevant locations, he realised the great significance of this request and immediately assented, observing that: "Wayfarers held

priority (over others) in being provided with shade and water".[62] 'Umar also made arrangements for the adequate illumination of the Ka'bah with lamps during the night, before returning to al-Madīnah. Besides, as this visit of 'Umar's to Makkah had been preceded by a flash-flood, which had gravely affected both 'the Ḥaram' and the City alike, he had an earthen dyke built to alter the course of flow of the Wādī Ibrāhīm, the benefits of which were to last for a very long time.[63]

Like in other fields, the initiative shown by 'Umar regards the repair, construction and expansion of the two Holy Mosques of Makkah and al-Madīnah and his keen concern for the safety, care and facility of the Pilgrims, have since been treated by the generations to follow as precedents, examples, as well as guide-lines to be utilised for all such work till this day. Known throughout most of his life and since by the sobriquet of "al-Fārūq"—"he, by whom God chose to distinguish truth and righteousness from error and wrongdoing"—'Umar was also the first Caliph to be addressed by the style and title of "Amīr al-Mu'minīn" (Commander of the Believers). This was by popular assent at the time of his election to the Caliphal office and at the suggestion of a renowned Companion of the Prophet, al-Mughīrah ibn Shu'bah (d.50H/670). The lunar Islāmic calendar was also instituted during his Caliphate, though the suggestion of the event and the date from which to compute it—the Prophet's "Hijrah" or migration from Makkah to Yathrib (al-Madīnah, later on)—is said to have come from 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law, known and respected amongst his peers for his sagacity and erudition, apart from valour. The first of Muḥarram that year coincided with July 16th 622CE. It was also during 'Umar's reign that the work on assembling the text of the Qur'ān in a single, verified and authorised codex was initiated, though it was destined to be completed during his successor, 'Uthmān's era.

'Umar's successor, the third 'Rightly Guided' Khalīfah, 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān (d.35H/656) also was responsible for a further expansion of the Makkan 'Ḥaram'. This was during 26H(647), while his extension of and improvements in the Prophet's Mosque in al-Madīnah were carried out in 29H(649).[64]

Due to the rapid expansion of Islām and the security on the highways, the extensions of the Makkan and the Madinese Mosques

as ordered by 'Umar were already being found inadequate come the Caliphate of 'Uthmān. Hence, with riches flowing in from all fronts thanks to the success of Islāmic arms, 'Uthmān decided to purchase a number of properties adjacent to the Makkan 'Ḥaram' and after demolishing them, had the area incorporated into 'the Sanctuary'. In addition, he also renovated the demarcation work implemented under the orders of his predecessor, the Caliph 'Umar.[65]

B: Al-Madīnah (The Prophet's City) and Mosque

The Chronicler 'Umar ibn Shibbeh in his 'History of al-Madīnah' reports on the strength of a 'Tradition' of the Prophet ﷺ and other accounts that al-Madīnah was known by several other names too: Ṭaibah, Ṭābah, al-Ṭaiyyibah, al-Miskīnah, al-'Adhrā', al-Jābirah or al-Jabār, al-Majbūrah, al-Muḥabbabah, al-Maḥbūbah, al-Maḥbūrah, Yandad and Yathrib.

Upon migrating from his beloved Makkah under duress, secretly, the Prophet had arrived in Yathrib, later to be named "Madīnat al-Nabī" ("the City of the Prophet")—on Monday, the twelfth of Rabī' al-Awwal, his fifty-third birthday and the thirteenth year of his Apostolic Mission as already stated earlier.

After staying in the district of Qubā' among the Banī 'Amr ibn 'Auf till Friday, he let loose his she-camel, Quṣai ("She with the Clipped Ear"), to wander until she finally came to the home of the Banī Mālik ibn al-Najjār and knelt at a place used for drying dates, which belonged to two orphans, Sahl and Suhayl, the sons of 'Amr. Upon this, the Prophet ﷺ exclaiming, "This, God Willing, is the place of alightment" and uttering the prayer: "Our Lord, Make our alightment and stay here a blessed one, for indeed, Thou Art the best of those who decree a welcome settlement", decided that this was the appropriate location for his quarters and his mosque. Thereupon, the land was purchased from the guardian of the two orphans Mu'ādh ibn 'Afrā' al-Ḥārithī, after all offers of a gift had been refused. The agreed upon price of ten Dīnārs was paid by Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq. Work on the construction then started in earnest, with the Prophet ﷺ also participating actively throughout this phase; the work took from that Rabī' al-Awwal (the third lunar month), till the second month of Ṣafar of the following year to complete.[66]

For the construction, the Prophet ﷺ had marked out the site to be used with the tip of a spear he had inherited from his father and

the area covered measured seventy ells in length and sixty ells in width. The Mosque's foundations had been dug three ells deep and its height above the surface level was over a 'Qāmah' ('the height of a man'). In this construction, mud was used throughout for the walls, the trunks of the date palm for the columns and inter-woven palm fronds for roofing. Later on, the floor of the Mosque was covered with stone. Initially, when the 'Qiblah' or direction to be faced during the offering of Prayers was towards al-Quds (Jerusalem), the Mosque had three entrances, one facing the east and the other two, the west and the south. When the 'Qiblah' was altered by Divine Revelation and al-Quds (Jerusalem) was replaced by Makkah, the entrance facing that direction, the south, was sealed and the Mosque was provided with an alternate entrance facing north. These entrances were subsequently given names, with the eastern entrance being associated with the Prophet and called "al-Nabī", the western one with the Archangel Jibrīl (Gabriel) and named after him and the third one in the north and facing the house of a Makkan lady called 'Ātikah, was to come to be known by her name. Of this lady, it is said that she was the daughter of a Zayd ibn 'Umar and had married Abū Bakr's son, 'AbdAllāh, after migrating to al-Madīnah. Upon the death of her husband, she had married 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, during 12H(633) and after his assassination, the other notable 'Companion' and cousin of the Prophet, Zubayr ibn al-'Awwām, also destined to be killed on 'the Day (Battle) of the Camel' (35H/656).

A particular feature of the Mosque was 'al-Ṣuffah', a shaded area, at first at the southern end of the Mosque and transferred to the northern end after the change of the 'Qiblah'. This had been assigned by the Prophet ﷺ to provide shelter to the poor. The event of the change of the 'Qiblah' is said to have taken place "during the 'Ẓuhr' (Noon) Prayers", some sixteen or seventeen months after the 'Hijrah' and at a spot, where once stood the settlement of the clan of Banī Salamah. According to the 'Ṭabaqāt' of Ibn Sa'd (d.230H/845), this was during the middle of the month of Rajab of the second year of the 'Hijrah', whilst Ṭabarī in his 'Tafsīr' (Exegesis) believes it to have been in Sha'bān. This place is now recognisable as the 'Masjid al-Qiblatayn' ('the Mosque with the Two Qiblahs').

Prior to this change, ever since prayers had been made obligatory some three years earlier, Muslims had been facing al-Quds

(Jerusalem) for this purpose. This switch was brought about by the revelation to the Prophet ﷺ of the Qur'ānic Verse: "We have seen the turning of thy face to heaven (for guidance, O Muḥammad). And now verily We shall make thee turn (in Prayer) toward a 'Qiblah' which is dear to thee. So turn thy face toward the Inviolable Place of Worship, and ye (O Muslims), wheresoever ye may be, turn your faces (when you Pray) toward it. Lo! those who have received the Scripture know that (this Revelation) is the Truth from their Lord. And Allāh is not unaware of what they do". (Ch. 2; V144).[67]

After the arrival of the Prophet ﷺ in al-Madīnah, Islām began to expand so rapidly, that, come the end of the Khaybar campaign against the constantly inimical Jewish tribes fortified in their castles during 7H(628), the Mosque built there by him and his 'Companions' and catering to multipurpose utility, was seriously calling for an expansion. Not only was the Prophet's Mosque in al-Madīnah a place for offering the 'Furūḍ' or 'Obligatory Prayers' at the five appointed hours and other congregational ones such as at times of communal feasting and of crises, but also a consultative assembly, a reception hall for holding affairs of official and social import such as: receiving delegations and conducting negotiations, as well as a place for lecturing and instruction. In addition, apart from providing shelter to the poor, the needy and the way-farer, it was also housing the Prophet's residential quarters. In other words, it was a multi-functional institution in keeping with the nature of the large variety of facets covered by Islām's comprehensive teachings.

Hence, 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān, the Prophet's dear 'Ṣaḥābī' ('Companion'), twice son-in-law and later on, his third 'Khalīfah' ('Caliph' or 'Successor'), who was known for his wealth and legendary charity and generosity, purchased with the Prophet's permission, some adjacent land from one of the 'Anṣār'. The latter term means 'Helpers' and was used in reference to the residents of al-Madīnah in recognition of the aid they had extended to the Prophet and this acquisition was in order to enable the Mosque's area to be doubled. After the expansion during the seventh year of the Hijrah, the Mosque's area had become the equivalent of 2,475 square metres.

The Mosque was also provided with a wooden 'Minbar' or pulpit in response to the Prophet's and the Community's needs. It was then fashioned out of Tamarisk wood by a Christian convert to

Islām, a carpenter called Tamīm al-Dārī and is described to have been about two ells high and the seating surface, a square, about an ell in length and likewise in width. Provided with a back-support rising some two hand spans high and arm rests of about a hand span, it also had two steps, the tread and riser of which were a hand span each. This wooden 'Minbar', based on a similar object seen by that Craftsman in Syria, was then in replacement of a platform of mud. Prior to this, the Prophet ﷺ had used a tree trunk in its lieu.[68]

The features of this Mosque were later to become a precedent for all other mosques to follow and though naturally primitive at first, they evolved in sophistication, as may be expected, primarily in answer to the rise and modification in needs.

During the era of the first of the 'Rightly-Guided' Khalīfahs, Abū Bakr 'al-Ṣiddīq' ('the Veracious'), whose Caliphate was to last no more than two years (till 13H/634) and yet was full of tremendous achievement, the old palm trunk supports used as pillars in the Mosque, were replaced by new ones.[69]

Abū Bakr's successor, the second Caliph, 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb expanded the area of the Mosque in the directions of the south, the west, as well as the north, with foundations of stone about a 'Qāmah' in depth. The new walls however were of mud brick and eleven ells in height. Again, palm trunks were used for pillars and palm fronds to cover the ceiling. 'Umar also added three new doors to bring their number to six and the total area now measured 140 ells from south to north and 120 ells from east to west. The floor too was covered with matting of inter-woven palm fronds after it had been graded and covered with soft pebbles where necessary. In addition, the use of incense to perfume the atmosphere in the Mosque on Fridays and during the holy month of Ramaḍān was introduced, nay even institutionalised, for there are Traditions, that this practice dates back to the Prophet's era. Certainly, his love of perfume and commendation for its use, hardly needs to be emphasised.[70]

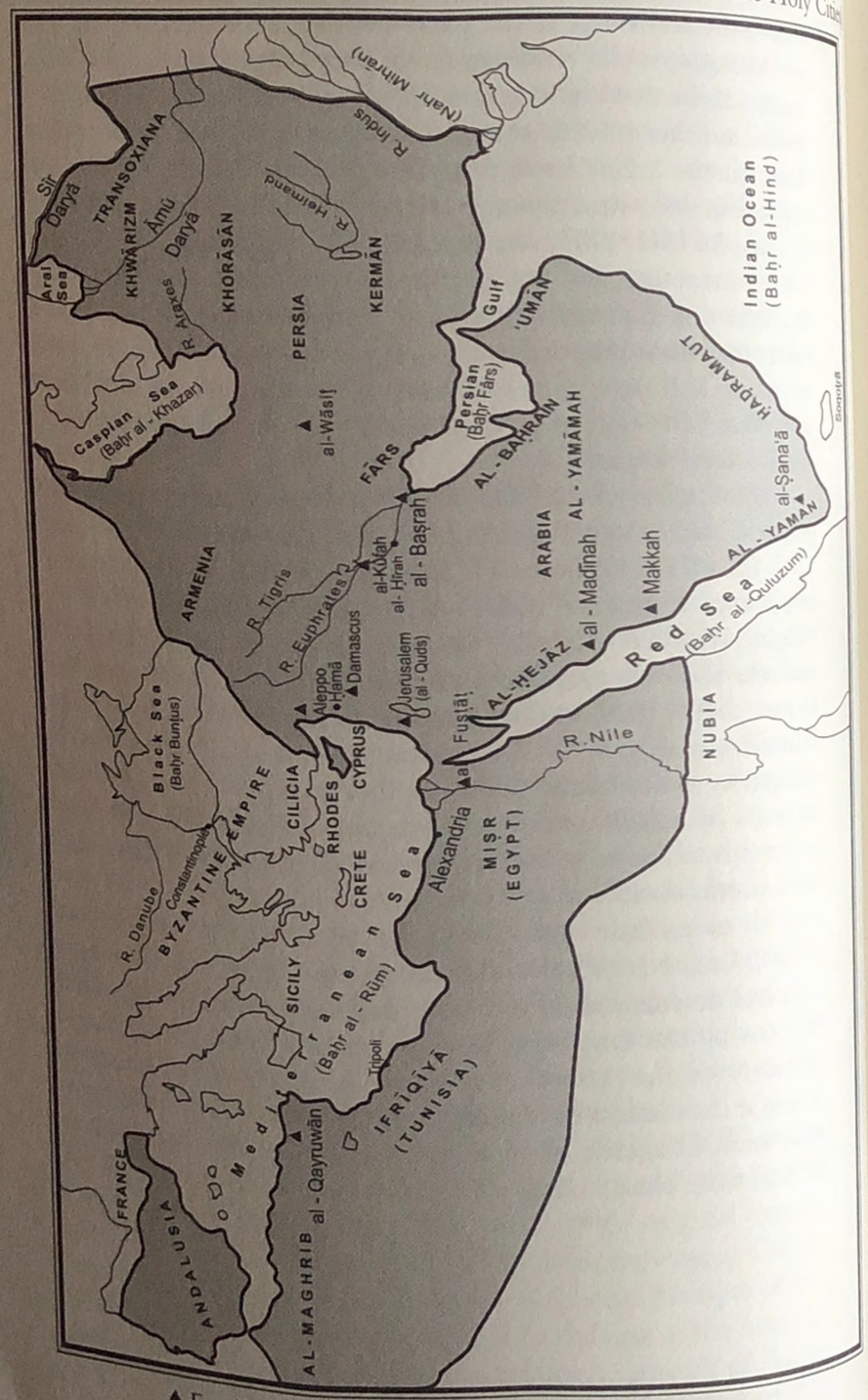
The Caliphate of 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān (d.35H/655CE), who has already been referred to earlier in connection with the extension of the Holy Sanctuary in Makkah, was a period of great expansion for the frontiers of Islām and his many achievements as Caliph were also to encompass the extension of the Great Mosque of al-Madīnah along with the Makkan 'Ḥaram'. In the case of the former, after consulting his colleagues, he initiated in the month of Rabī' al-Awwal 29H(649) a major reconstruction and expansion of the

Prophet's Mosque, so that, when the work was finished about a year later, according to the great historian and exegetist al-Ṭabarī, the Mosque, while retaining its six doors, appeared almost to be a square, about 160 ells long and 150 ells wide. Al-Samhūdī (d.911H/1505), another reliable source on the history of al-Madīnah, mentions on the other hand that the width was 130 ells. 'Uthmān's expansion was primarily towards the north and according to Ibn al-Najjār (d.643H/1245), he had added 50 ells in that direction. In this construction and expansion, stone was transported from long distances and appropriately cut and chiseled for use as needed. The pillars too, now supporting a ceiling of teak, were of stone injected with lead and iron in order to add to their strength and durability and were crowned in pairs by arches, undoubtedly another new architectural feature.[71]

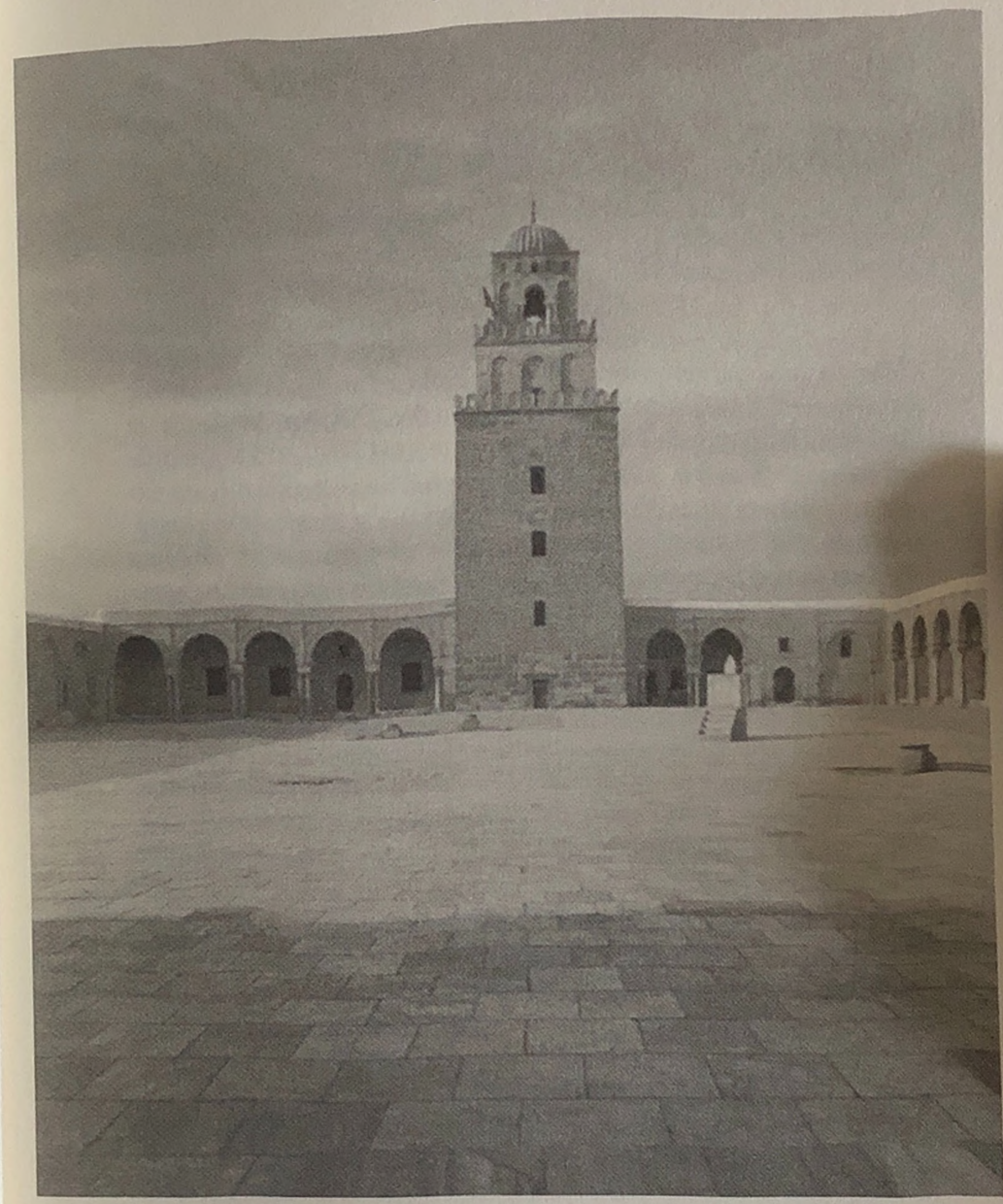
The Capital of the Islāmic State was transferred in response to political and strategic needs during the caliphate of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (d. 40H/660) from al-Madīnah to al-Kūfah. When the epoch referred to in history as the era of the 'Rāshidūn' (the 'Well' or 'Rightly-Guided' Caliphs), formally came to an end in 41H(661) with the abdication of all claims to this office by 'Alī's elder son, al-Ḥasan (d.49H/669) in favour of Mu'āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān of the clan of Umaiyyah, it also heralded the dawn of what history recognises as the Umaiyyad State. This dynasty was to control the destinies of Islām for some nine decades, till 132H(750), presiding in the process over an empire larger than Alexander's—the largest the ancient world was to know.

Sad to say however, during this era, the sanctity of both the Holy Cities, al-Madīnah and Makkah, was to be subjected to violation and desecration of the worst order in protection of dynastic interests by the Umaiyyad forces, in keeping with the might and affluence of this house. Yet, not withstanding its unpopularity amongst the citizens of Makkah and al-Madīnah, considerable benefits were to accrue to these two Holy Cities and the Mosques therein from time to time.

The Islāmic Empire from the Era of the Orthodox Caliphs (11H/632 – 40H/661) th
end of the Umaiyyad State (41H/661 – 132H/750) – (Custodians of the Holy Cities



▲Fast Developing Centres of Intellectual Activity.



The Cathedral Mosque (Jāmiʿ) of al-Qayruwān in Tunisia – a rare combination of simplicity and grandeur. Built by 'Uqbah ibn Nāfiʿ during 105 H (723/4) under the orders of the Umaiyyad Caliph Hishām ibn 'Abdal-Malik, it was to remain a great centre of learning for centuries and an outstanding and lasting monument to that dynasty, witnessing some early refurbishments and expansion under the Aghlabids and then, the Ḥafṣids.

CHAPTER III

The Era of the Banī Umaiyyah (41H/661–132H/750)

A: Makkah

The Banī Umaiyyah took over the helm of affairs of the Islāmic world after the abdication of al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib in favour of Muʿāwiyah I ibn Abī Sufyān in 41H (661) and the mantle of the capital of the Islāmic dominions fell on that ancient and fair city, Damascus, then the seat of Muʿāwiyah's gubernatorial power, regards which, the Prophet ﷺ is attributed to have once said that he had found himself hesitant to enter it, as his desire was to enter Paradise but once!

In spite of Muʿāwiyah I's great shrewdness, political acumen, diplomatic flair and administrative skills, Umaiyyad rule under him was accepted by the Islāmic 'Ummah' or Community' at large with misgivings and more than some resentment. However, the reign of his son, the profligate Yazīd (r.60H/680 till 64H/683), whose succession Muʿāwiyah I had engineered against the wishes of the masses, was found by all to be totally intolerable on a number of wholly justifiable counts.

The result of this universal disapproval was a number of revolts against his succession and authority, including in al-Madīnah and in Makkah, where ʿAbdAllāh ibn al-Zubayr, a grandson of Abū Bakr through his daughter Asmā' and (along with ʿAbdAllāh ibn Saʿd ibn Abī Sarḥ—d.37H/657), the conqueror of 'Ifrīqiyyah', was offered allegiance as 'Khalīfah'. Following this episode, members of the clan of Banū Umaiyyah in al-Madīnah were either deported or their homes had some to with that objective in mind. They had then sent urgent appeals to the head of their clan, Yazīd I, for succour. The latter, a grandson of that Hind bint ʿUtbah, who had tried to eat the liver of 'the Lion of God', the Prophet's uncle, Ḥamzah ibn ʿAbdal-Muṭṭalib after having him treacherously killed during the battle of Uḥud in order to satisfy her lust for vengeance, was totally lacking in the proverbial sagacity of his father, whose intellect even the

great ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb had been induced to acknowledge, once actually going to the point of exclaiming in wonder: "Woe unto you! I have seldom debated an issue with you with the intent of faulting you, when you have not left me wondering whether I ought to approve or interdict!"[72]

True to his nature, Yazīd I, in response to the call of his fellow clansmen, swiftly mobilised an army and dispatched it under the command of Muslim ibn ʿUqbah al-Murrī, with Ḥuṣayn ibn Numayr al-Sakūnī—(the Sakūn being a noted clan from Ḥaḍramaut)—as his deputy. Their instructions were to call upon the people of al-Madīnah to surrender and to obedience thrice and failing this, to fight them. Further orders were: "If you prevail, then deem al-Madīnah violable for three days and whatever is found there in the guise of wealth, animals, weapons and grain shall be for the soldiery". Armed with these instructions, the Umaiyyad force, after laying siege to al-Madīnah for long enough to draw out the defenders into a bloody, pitched battle and defeating them, subjected the City of the Prophet to the worst depredations imaginable. Of these, historians of calibre such as ʿAlī al-Madāʾinī (d.225H/840) report that, amidst the plunder and rapine, such were the violations that "it was said, a thousand women became pregnant without husbands, and God knows best!"

Muslim ibn ʿUqbah died on the way to Makkah and as per Yazīd I's orders, the command devolved onto Ḥuṣayn ibn Numayr, who now laid siege to Makkah. The 'Holy Sanctuary' where ʿAbdAllāh ibn al-Zubayr had established his command post, was subjected to bombardment by naphtha and stone with the aid of mangonels. One of these, nicknamed "Umm Farwah", an undoubted reference to the hides used in this engine of war, was destined to acquire fame in history because of a verse: "How see you the work of 'Umm Farwah' as it takes them between 'al-Ṣafā' and 'al-Marwah'!"—An outcome of this was that, on Saturday, the third of Rabīʿ al-Awwal 64H(683), the Kaʿbah itself caught fire and was damaged so severely, that, according to the historian al-Ṭabarī, "even if a bird were to perch on it, the masonry (stones) would come reeling down".[73]

However, the hitherto two months long siege was suddenly to be brought to an end by the unexpected death of Yazīd I, followed within forty days by that of his son and heir, Muʿāwiyah II and a

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succession crisis in Damascus, which induced Ḥuṣayn ibn Numayr to return to Syria during Rajab 64H(683). Now, while the supporters of the Banī Umaiyyah offered their allegiance to a scion of that clan, Marwān I ibn al-Ḥakam (r.64H/683 till 65H/685), the world of Islām at large had decided to offer its fealty to 'AbdAllāh ibn al-Zubayr as 'Khalīfah'. 'AbdAllāh's writ, was to last till 73H(692) and end with his martyrdom in another vicious siege by an Umaiyyad force, this time under the command of the ruthless al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf al-Thaqafī (40H/660-95H/714). This force had been dispatched there by the orders of 'Abdal-Malik ibn Marwān (r.65H/685 till 86H/705), the successor of Marwān I ibn al-Ḥakam, who too had died within a calendar year of his succession, in 65H(685), but not before re-establishing at least a semblance of his clan's authority over Syria and Egypt and in addition, naming his son as his successor.[74]

Apart from sustaining a serious challenge to Umaiyyad authority for so long, 'AbdAllāh ibn al-Zubayr's other great accomplishment was the demolition and re-construction of the Ka'bah after due consultations. This he had done on the original foundations of the Prophet Ibrāhīm and only after taking a solemn oath that it was how the Prophet Muḥammad would have liked to see the Ka'bah rebuilt, and that this had been outlined and explained to him by none other than the Prophet's wife, the 'Mother of the Believers', the lady 'Ā'ishah, who happened to be his aunt. After the peaceful conquest of Makkah, the Prophet ﷺ had revealed to her that "had it not been that the people have just left polytheism, I would have demolished the Ka'bah and reconstructed whatever they (the Quraysh) had left out from it (due to paucity of means when they had rebuilt it last). I would have provided it with two doors at ground level, an eastern door through which people would enter and a western door through which they would leave…".[75]

It is said that 'AbdAllāh ibn al-Zubayr nevertheless had to face stiff opposition from a number of quarters, as there were some like the Prophet's cousin 'AbdAllāh ibn al-'Abbās, who felt that the demolition and reconstruction of the Ka'bah would encourage the people to take its sanctity lightly. According to Makkah's historians al-Fākihī and al-Azraqī, the area of the 'Ḥaram' was also expanded beyond 'al-Ṣafā" to overlook the Wādī after the acquisition of

neighbouring property.[76] It had come then to measure around 3,600 square ells.

The way 'AbdAllāh ibn al-Zubayr approached and handled this issue, was also to establish for future generations, several juridically clear, well reviewed, valid, and generally approved precedents to be followed in cases of similar need. To cite an example, while this work was going on, upon the advice of 'AbdAllāh ibn al-'Abbās, he had wood placed around the Ka'bah and covered with cloth, so that the people may continue performing the 'Ṭawāf' (Circumambulation) uninterrupted and pray from beyond it. This practice has been observed since in like circumstances.[77]

For the reconstruction, stone was brought from ancient quarries used by the Quraysh in earlier times and "Qassah", a type of gypsum for which the Yaman was famed then, was specially imported for the purpose. Volunteers and Abyssinians from Makkah's vicinity engaged for the Project, finally managed to level down the Ka'bah's structure with the 'Khalīfah' himself leading the demolition work in order to discourage the superstitious from staying away and then going on to participate in other phases of reconstruction as well. This day and date were to coincide with Saturday, the fifteenth of Jamād al-Thānī 64H (684).

When the Ka'bah's original foundations were struck and found to run into the 'Enclosure of Ismā'īl' by some six ells and a handspan, the 'Khalīfah' invited about fifty notables of the 'Ummah' (the Community) to bear witness, before starting the re-construction. The framework for the two doors facing opposite directions at ground level was also catered for, but this time with two leaves for each of them instead of the previous one, and with a height of eleven ells. In addition, the 'Mīzāb' (roof drain or gutter) was installed to overlook the 'Enclosure of Ismā'īl' and a wooden stairway, leading from 'the Syrian Corner' to the roof of the Ka'bah, was also built. The height of the Ka'bah before it was pulled down had been eighteen ells. Now, with the incorporation of the 'Ḥijr' of Ismā'īl in this reconstruction on the foundations of the Prophet Ibrāhīm, when the structure had reached that height, it began to appear "broader" and "less high". Thereupon, exclaiming, "Before the Quraysh, it (the Ka'bah) was nine ells high and they had added another nine ells to it. So, I too will increase its height by nine more ells", 'AbdAllāh ibn al-Zubayr, who had raised the walls with

a thickness of two ells, added to its formerly planned height accordingly, now making it twenty-seven ells. Three columns were also provided in a row to support the structure and the ceiling, which was covered with a type of marble found in the Yaman called "al-Balaq", that tends to be white, but with traces of shading, gray and black in hue.

After the completion, of the whole structure from within and without, it was coated in perfume and draped with "Qubātī", the textile from the Yaman. Of course, 'the Black Stone', which till then had been kept safely in the 'Dār al-Nadwah's' precincts, was brought out and placed in the socket made for it by Ibn al-Zubayr's son, 'Ubād, helped by some others, after the 'Ẓuhr' (Noon) Prayer one day. The 'Stone', which had also needed support against fragmentation after the bombardment of the Ka'bah by mangonels, was encircled by a band of silver in order to prevent it from splintering further.[78]

This new structure, built with such painstaking care, was not destined however to stand for long, because of the second siege of Makkah by Umaiyyad forces during 'AbdAllāh ibn al-Zubayr's stormy reign. Yet, the precedents that he was to set in approaching the matter, arriving at decisions and implementing them, are still being followed to his eternal credit.

When Marwān I ibn al-Ḥakam died during the Ramaḍān of 65H (685) under mysterious circumstances, allegedly of the plague, after a brief reign of no more than nine months, he was succeeded by 'Abdal-Malik ibn Marwān, generally regarded by historians as one of the greatest and shrewdest rulers of his dynasty. Al-Dhahabī (d.748H/1348) for example, while referring to his abstemious nature in his 'Al-'Ibar Fi Khabar Man Ghabar', also refers to the esteem in which he was held in his day for his knowledge of the Qur'ān and Islāmic jurisprudence, as well as for his eloquence.

Soon after his accession, he decided to lock horns with 'AbdAllāh ibn al-Zubayr, by first challenging his authority in al-'Irāq and the Islāmic East, the major source of his support. There, his forces were successful in overwhelming the latter's army after 'AbdAllāh's brother and right hand man Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubayr (b.26H/647) was slain at the battle of Maskan, by the river Dujayl, in 71H (689-690). Following this success, come Jamād al-Awwal 72H (691), 'Abdal-Malik dispatched a large force from al-'Irāq under the command of the

forceful and unscrupulous al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf, to directly lay siege to Makkah. He was challenged upon arrival in Makkah's vicinity by 'AbdAllāh ibn al-Zubayr's force on the Plain of 'Arafāt and though a bloody engagement took place, it proved to be indecisive for either side. During that year's Ḥajj, 'AbdAllāh ibn al-Zubayr and those loyal to him could not complete the essential ritual of the 'Wuqūf' or 'Standing' at 'Arafāt on 9th Dhū'l-Ḥijjah, because of al-Ḥajjāj's control there, while the latter, who had been appointed the "Amīr" of the Ḥajj that year by his master, 'Abdal-Malik, could not enter Makkah with his followers to circulambulate around 'the House' in 'Ṭawāf' and perform the 'Sa'ī' between the hillocks of 'al-Ṣafā' and 'al-Marwah', as 'AbdAllāh ibn al-Zubayr was firmly in possession of the City.[79]

However, as the siege dragged on, the defenders, who at the same time were under constant bombardment with mangonels, began to run short of provisions and thus in numbers, until ultimately forced to fortify themselves in the 'Ḥaram', just as they had done earlier, when laid siege to by the forces of Yazīd I. Thereupon, seizing advantage of the ground now accessible to him, al-Ḥajjāj had catapults mounted on the heights of Mount Abū Qubays and naphtha and stone were showered onto the besieged mercilessly. This, apart from wreaking general havoc in the 'Ḥaram', again severely damaged the structure of 'the House'. The siege was finally to end after a little over five and a half months, with the martyrdom of the brave 'Khalīfah' and with it, the authority over the dominions of Islām was once again to revert more or less in full to the House of Banī Umaiyyah.[80]

In comparison with some of his predecessors and many of his successors, 'Abdal-Malik ibn Marwān's lengthy reign of two full decades was blessed with a large range of reforms and innovations covering a wide spectrum of fields. For example, the dotting of certain similar looking Arabic letters in order to distinguish them better from each other and thus protect them from mispronunciation, particularly where the reading of the Holy Qur'ān was concerned, was one. The re-organisation of the administration, the jurisdiction of officials, the 'Barīd' or the official postal system, the Islāmisation of the currency and the successful introduction of Arabic for the purposes of the maintenance of all official records are some of his other major administrative achievements.

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In comparison with some of his predecessors and many of his successors, 'Abdal-Malik ibn Marwān's lengthy reign of two full decades was blessed with a large range of reforms and innovations covering a wide spectrum of fields. For example, the dotting of certain similar looking Arabic letters in order to distinguish them better from each other and thus protect them from mispronunciation, particularly where the reading of the Holy Qur'ān was concerned, was one. The re-organisation of the administration, the jurisdiction of officials, the 'Barīd' or the official postal system, the Islāmisation of the currency and the successful introduction of Arabic for the purposes of the maintenance of all official records are some of his other major administrative achievements.

'Abdal-Malik, encouraged in part by the prosperity of his reign, also proved to be a great builder and among his major architectural accomplishments was the construction on a grand scale of the majestic 'Qubbat al-Ṣakhrah' ('the Dome of the Rock') on the grounds of 'al-Masjid al-Aqṣā' ('the Further Mosque') in al-Quds (Jerusalem). In Makkah, he had the whole of 'the Holy Sanctuary' demolished and almost rebuilt anew, along with the Ka'bah.

The work on the demolition and reconstruction of the Ka'bah was initiated by al-Ḥajjāj, after he had written to 'Abdal-Malik advising him of the state of the whole 'Ḥaram', reporting to him alongside of the additions to the structure of the Ka'bah as had been built by the Quraysh, that had been made by 'AbdAllāh ibn al-Zubayr and seeking his authorisation to restore it to the way it had been "during the Jāhilīyyah". 'Abdal-Malik on this occasion rather short-sightedly decided to go along with al-Ḥajjāj's suggestion, ordering him to do so. Hence, when al-Ḥajjāj rebuilt the Ka'bah, he restored it to the size it was during the latter period of the 'Jāhilīyyah'. Six ells and a hand-span were reduced from the structure in the direction of the 'Enclosure of Ismā'īl' and the area leveled and compacted. The door facing the west was sealed off, while the other one was now re-installed at a height of four ells and a hand-span (above ground level). It is related that 'Abdal-Malik was remorseful later over departing from the reconstruction plan of 'AbdAllāh ibn al-Zubayr when informed that the latter had rebuilt it in keeping with the wishes of the Prophet ﷺ, as conveyed to him by his aunt, 'the Mother of the Believers' 'Ā'ishah.[81]

In 75H(694), 'Abdal-Malik ordered that the walls around the 'Ḥaram' be raised in height and the covered areas roofed with teak. He also had the crown of each pillar in the 'Ḥaram' adorned with fifty 'Mithqāl' of gold.[82] An Egyptian 'Mithqāl' for example, weighs twenty-four 'Qīrāṭ' (Carats) or 4.68 grammes.

Before passing away in Shawwāl 86H (705), 'Abdal-Malik fixed the order of succession to the Caliphate. It was to pass on after him to his two sons, firstly al-Walīd, and then Sulaymān. The latter was to be followed by his son-in-law and nephew, the pious 'Umar ibn 'Abdal-'Azīz, often to be referred to later on as the fifth of the 'Rāshidūn' (Orthodox) Caliphs. The 'Bay'ah', the oath of common allegiance in support and confirmation of this decision of his was taken during 84H (703).

Al-Walīd I (r.86H/705 till 96H/715), whose reign is unique amongst the Umaiyyads in several aspects, is also renowned for its stability, general security, reforms, construction of monuments, as well as conquests. Where the Makkan 'Ḥaram' was concerned, he ordered for the work undertaken upon his late father's orders to be re-executed and embellished to his own high standards of satisfaction, though the edifice of the Ka'bah, as far as its size went, was left untouched.

Apart from ensuring that the Ḥajj routes and other roads and the facilities and services available along them, such as wells for water, were repaired, he improved and ensured safety on all highways, particularly so the Ḥajj routes. The 'Ḥaram' was provided by him with columns of marble, crowned atop with arches and supporting a ceiling of ornately decorated teak. The inner walls and surface of the 'Ḥaram' were also covered with marble, while the upper portions of the facades of the arches and niches were decorated with mosaic for the first time in the Mosque's history. He also had the tops of the columns embellished with copper chased with gold, while the Ka'bah's door and the 'Mīzāb' (the drainpipe or gutter) were covered with gold sheet. The Mosque was also provided with crenellations, apertures and windows.[83]

In addition and as shall be seen, he had the Prophet's Mosque in al-Madīnah extended and reconstructed, along with a very large number of other improvements in the City under his cousin 'Umar ibn 'Abdal-'Azīz, who then happened to be his governor there.

B: Al-Madīnah

The City of the blessed Prophet ﷺ had been something of a sore point with the Sufyānid branch of the Banī Umaiyyah ever since Yazīd I ibn Mu'āwiyah had been publicly reviled and proclaimed deposed by the people of al-Madīnah. This was after they had sent a delegation to Damascus to meet him following the Ḥajj of 62H (682), in order to determine his suitability as a candidate for the leadership of the Muslim 'Ummah' (Community) and whether to proclaim their fealty to him or not. Thereafter, the siege and expulsion of Umaiyyad families from al-Madīnah had led amongst other causes to the battle of Ḥarrah and the subjection of that City to three full days of rapine and plunder during 63H (683CE) as referred to earlier.

However, fortune began to smile on the Prophet's City following the rise of the House of Marwān (also a branch of the Banī Umaiyyah) to power and the appointment of the pious 'Umar ibn 'Abdal-'Azīz ibn Marwān as Governor of al-Madīnah. 'Umar was a great grandson of the second 'Rightly Guided' Caliph, 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb through descent from his mother, Laylā bint (daughter of) 'Āsim ibn (son of) 'Umar. Although born in Egypt in (61H/681), he had been brought up in the pious atmosphere of al-Madīnah, away from the libertine influences of the court at Damascus. He was imbued with a just and pious spirit bent upon emulating in private and official life, as well as in matters of government and administration, the deeds and policies of the Prophet ﷺ and his 'Rightly Guided' Caliphs, whose lives were a constant source of inspiration to him.

Soon after his accession, al-Walīd I ibn 'Abdal-Malik had approved the proposals of his first cousin cum brother-in-law, 'Umar ibn 'Abdal-'Azīz, concerning the general repair and improvement of the roads and other amenities, the digging of wells and the building of water channels for agricultural and civic uses, amidst a host of other schemes for the improvement of local government, administration, justice and all aspects of social, communal and religious life. For example, while discussing these proposed improvements, al-Walīd I had once mentioned to his cousin by the by, that he also ought to install a fountain in the proximity of the Prophet's Mosque for the convenience of those in there and for general communal need. Upon hearing the suggestion, 'Umar had done so promptly. A little later, when al-Walīd I decided to perform the Ḥajj in 91H (710) and visited al-Madīnah, he was pleasantly surprised, as well as delighted and impressed to see the fountain built and functioning and the fine service that this fleeting thought of his was providing, particularly to those using the Prophet's Mosque, just as he had envisaged. So, as an indication of the level of his pleasure, he immediately decided to appoint attendants to maintain it and to ensure that people in the Mosque and its neighbourhood would continue to benefit from it well into the future.[84]

Due to 'Umar ibn 'Abdal-'Azīz's suggestion, al-Walīd I had also ordered the extension of the Prophet's Mosque along the lines of the plan proposed by the former, with the additional directive that the implementation too ought to be supervised by him. This

plan envisaged the demolition of the former structure along with the houses of the Prophet's wives and the incorporation of their area into the Mosque to be reconstructed, which, upon implementation, would make it a square, some two hundred ells long and as many ells wide. However, there is enough evidence in the writings of al-Madīinah's great chronicler al-Samhūdī (d.911H/1505) to prove that it did not turn out to be strictly so! An enclosure to the south-west of the Mosque was also bought and annexed in order to enable the 'Miḥrāb' for leading the Prayers to be pushed back, southwards.

Work on this project started in 88H (707) and thanks to the keenness of 'Umar ibn 'Abdal-'Azīz, the basic phase had already been implemented in advance of the arrival of the skilled architects, artisans and workers, that al-Walīd I had undertaken to send from Damascus. It is said that he had even sought the assistance of the Byzantine Emperor in this regard and the latter had responded by sending him craftsmen and materials such as fine tiles, mosaic pieces, chains for lamps and gold for ornamentation.[85] The new walls were built on a solid foundation of stone on rock, with the structure above the surface constructed with cut and chiseled stone dressed in plaster. This was later on to be covered with marble, or decorated with mosaics. The columns too were of stone and reinforced with lead and iron to add to their strength and durability. The ceiling was of teakwood, decorated with gold. The western wall was built of a thickness a little less than two ells, while the eastern wall was stouter and about two ells and four finger-breadths. This was so because, it lay on the fringes of the course of flow of the floodwater, hence when it would rain heavily, the structures along it had consequently tended to suffer.[86] A novel concept to which the Mosque was introduced was the minaret and one was provided for each of the four corners. These then were square in dimension and about fifty-five ells high, except for one, which was fifty-three ells. In fact, the pronouncement of the 'Call to Prayer', the 'Adhān', was encouraged to be made from an elevated position in order for its words to carry as far as possible since the Prophet's era and Bilāl in al-Madīnah would summon the people to Prayers from the roof of the highest house near the Prophet's Mosque. Then, upon the conquest of Makkah, he had proclaimed the first "Call" from the roof of the Ka'bah upon the Prophet's instructions.[87] According to

Ibn Shibbeh, 'Umar ibn 'Abdal-'Azīz also had all the mosques in al-Madīnah and its vicinity where the Prophet had offered Prayers, rebuilt as well in carved stone alongside the 'Masjid al-Nabawī', just as he was to order during 99H(717/18) the relaying and pavement of areas of the highway utilised by the Egyptian Ḥajj Caravan.

It is relevant to add here that it was also al-Walīd I who endowed his Capital, Damascus, with the great Umaiyyad Cathedral Mosque—"al-Jāmi' al-Umawī". It had taken some ten years to complete, and its construction had been supervised by his brother and heir, Sulaymān, under his personal directions. The breath-taking result of this keen interest on al-Walīd I's part still stands there proudly, serving the oldest city on Earth and remaining a rich monument and a glowing and eternal tribute to its builder. According to the great historian Ibn Kathīr (d.773H/1372), al-Walīd I utilised the lessons learnt and the experience gained in building 'al-Jāmi' al-Umawī', in the improvement of the 'Masjid al-Aqṣā' in al-Quds (Jerusalem), rebuilding, re-decorating and re-embellishing it only as his highly developed artistic and aesthetic sense dictated, without sparing expense.

While Umaiyyad architecture was initially much influenced by Byzantine traditions, it is also true to stress that it was nevertheless quick to adopt whatever appealed to it and suited its aesthetic needs as well as other practical concerns and requirements in the light of Islām's teachings and in conformity with them and to swiftly evolve attractive, nay even majestic utilitarian features of its own in a very short time. These were undoubtedly based on the best of building techniques and architectural and artistic methods and traditions of craftsmanship in the vast, diverse and rich lands and centres of great civilisations that the Umaiyyad Empire had come to incorporate in its fold in the directions of the east as well as the west. Some of the great public monuments that would have borne testimony to this in varying measures, for most of them have been through many phases of repair and reconstruction since, are: the Holy Sanctuary in Makkah, the Prophet's Mosque in al-Madīnah, the 'Masjid al-Aqṣā' and the 'Qubbat al-Ṣakhrah' ('the Dome of the Rock') in al-Quds (Jerusalem) and the 'Jāmi' al-Umawī' in Damascus. The Cathedral Mosque ('Jāmi'') of al-Zaytūnah (in present day Tunisia) and of 'Uqbah ibn Nāfi' (in North-West Africa) are another two examples. Some of the other great earlier mosques that had witnessed repairs, extensions and reconstruction during the Umaiyyad era are the 'Jāmi'' of al-Kūfah and that of 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ in al-Fusṭāṭ, Egypt, besides some other such monuments of public utility and religious import.

The 'Prophet's Mosque' in al-Madīnah, Islām's first full-fledged 'Jāmi'', had of course been generally adopted thenceforth to serve as a model in terms of role and features for all mosques to follow. Some reference has also been made to how that Mosque's features had developed and evolved in answer to the practical requirements of the moving sands of time and the occasion. In example may be cited the case of the evolution of the dais or platform of compacted mud that the Prophet ﷺ had used to rest on, as well as to be seen and heard better by the ever growing congregation when addressing them, and how this had evolved within his own lifetime to be replaced by a 'Minbar' ('Pulpit') of tamarisk. Then, according to the 'Ṭabaqāt' of Ibn Sa'd, while popular appeal to the Prophet also had a role in its installation, public clamour, a couple of decades later, was again to play its role in preventing Mu'āwiyah I from removing and transporting the 'Minbar' to Damascus, helped on this occasion by an eclipse and strong winds on the day the attempt was made to remove it from its station in the Prophet's Mosque. On this occasion, the 'Minbar', in order to placate irritated public opinion, was raised by six steps from the former two and dressed in "Qubṭī"– a fine white Egyptian material, by Mu'āwiyah's Governor, Marwān Ibn al-Ḥakam.[88] So, with the passage of time, the Umaiyyad era too witnessed the evolution, if not, the introduction of a number of novel features or architectural concepts in the construction of mosques. For example, the very early mosques had neither the 'Miḥrāb' (the niche) in the direction of the 'Qiblah' for the 'Imām' leading the Prayers, nor the high 'Minbar' requiring steps to climb onto it. They also neither had the 'Maqṣūrah' (the compartment for the 'Khalīfah' or the 'Wālī' or Governor for reasons of security), nor the 'Mināra' or minaret to announce the Call to Prayers from its top.

In fact, Maslamah ibn Mukhallad (1H/622–62H/682) is credited with providing the Cathedral Mosque or 'Jāmi'' of 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ during 53H (673) with the very first minaret in Islām. It was then referred to as a "Ṣauma'ah". This was upon the instructions of Mu'āwiyah I ibn Abī Sufyān. However, al-Balādhurī credits Ziyād

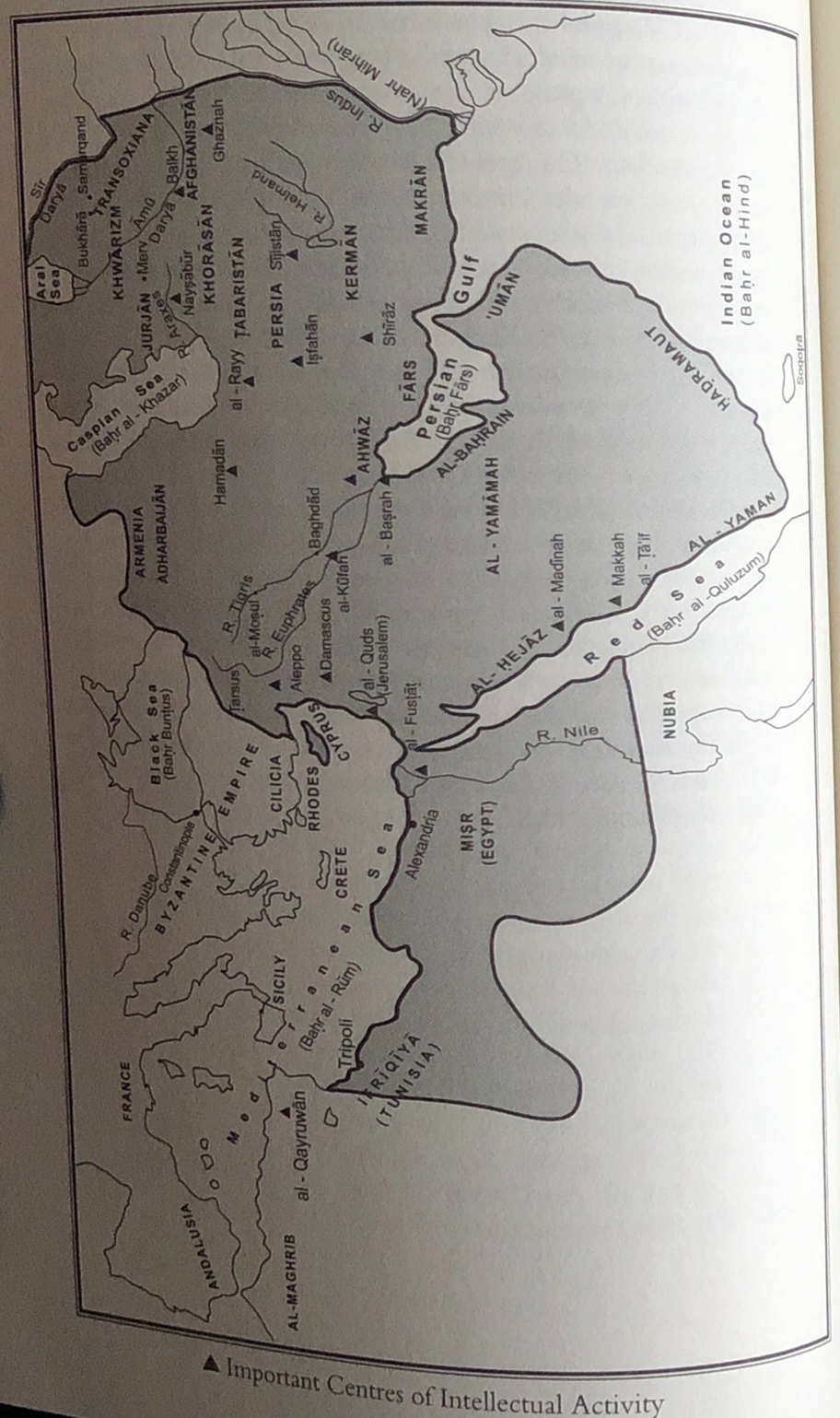
ibn Abīhī (1H/622–53H/673) with building the first 'Minārah' (minaret) alongside a mosque in 45H (665–66) in al-Baṣrah, where he was Governor. This also was during the reign of his natural brother Mu'āwiyah I. Umaiyyad minarets were square towers in appearance and once introduced, were soon to spread in their day to all the regions in the dominions of Islām. The 'Jāmi'' of 'Amr was also the first mosque in which the high pulpit was to make its initial appearance, though during an earlier era and without success. This was during the caliphate of 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, who, upon hearing what 'Amr had done and rather strictly perceiving in the decision a departure from the features established by his own predecessors, the Prophet and his first 'Khalīfah', Abū Bakr, ordered him to dismantle it forthwith.[89] Nevertheless, the high 'Minbar' with its obvious advantages, was to reappear soon enough and again in the same Mosque and this time to stay. On this occasion, the King of Nubia had presented 'AbdAllāh ibn Sa'd ibn Abī Sarḥ, a scribe of the Prophet met with earlier, who had apostasised before returning to the Islāmic fold and then a Governor of Egypt on behalf of the Caliph 'Uthmān, whose foster brother he was, with a beautifully carved wooden 'Minbar', sending along carpenters with his present to install it. 'AbdAllāh had successfully raided the Nubia during 31H (650/51) reducing it to submission. A year later, he was also to emerge victorious in the famous naval engagement remembered in Islāmic history as "the Battle of the Masts" ("Dhāt al-Ṣawārī"). Some five years earlier in 27H (647/48), he had subjugated large parts of 'Ifrīqīyyah' (North Africa).[90] By the end of the Umaiyyad era, the 'Minbar' had become a regular feature in all Mosques where Friday Prayers were held and sermons delivered.

The concave 'Miḥrāb' pointing in the direction of 'the House of God' in Makkah, towards which all Muslims have to turn when offering their Prayers, was first introduced in the shape that it has come to be recognised, into the Prophet's Mosque in al-Madīnah during al-Walīd's era by his kinsman and Governor, 'Umar ibn 'Abdal-'Azīz. It was next introduced into the 'Jāmi'' of 'Amr in al-Fusṭāṭ and then into other mosques.[91] The Qur'ān of course refers to the term in relation to the story of Maryam (Mary) and 'Īsā (Jesus) in 'Sūrah' 3—'Āl 'Imrān' (Verses 37 and 39) and in 'Sūrah' 19—'Maryam' (Verse 11), then in connection with the reference

to the Prophet Dā'ūd (King David) in 'Sūrah' 34—'Sabā'' (Verse 13) and perhaps in the sense of a palace in 'Sūrah'—'Ṣād' (Verse 21).

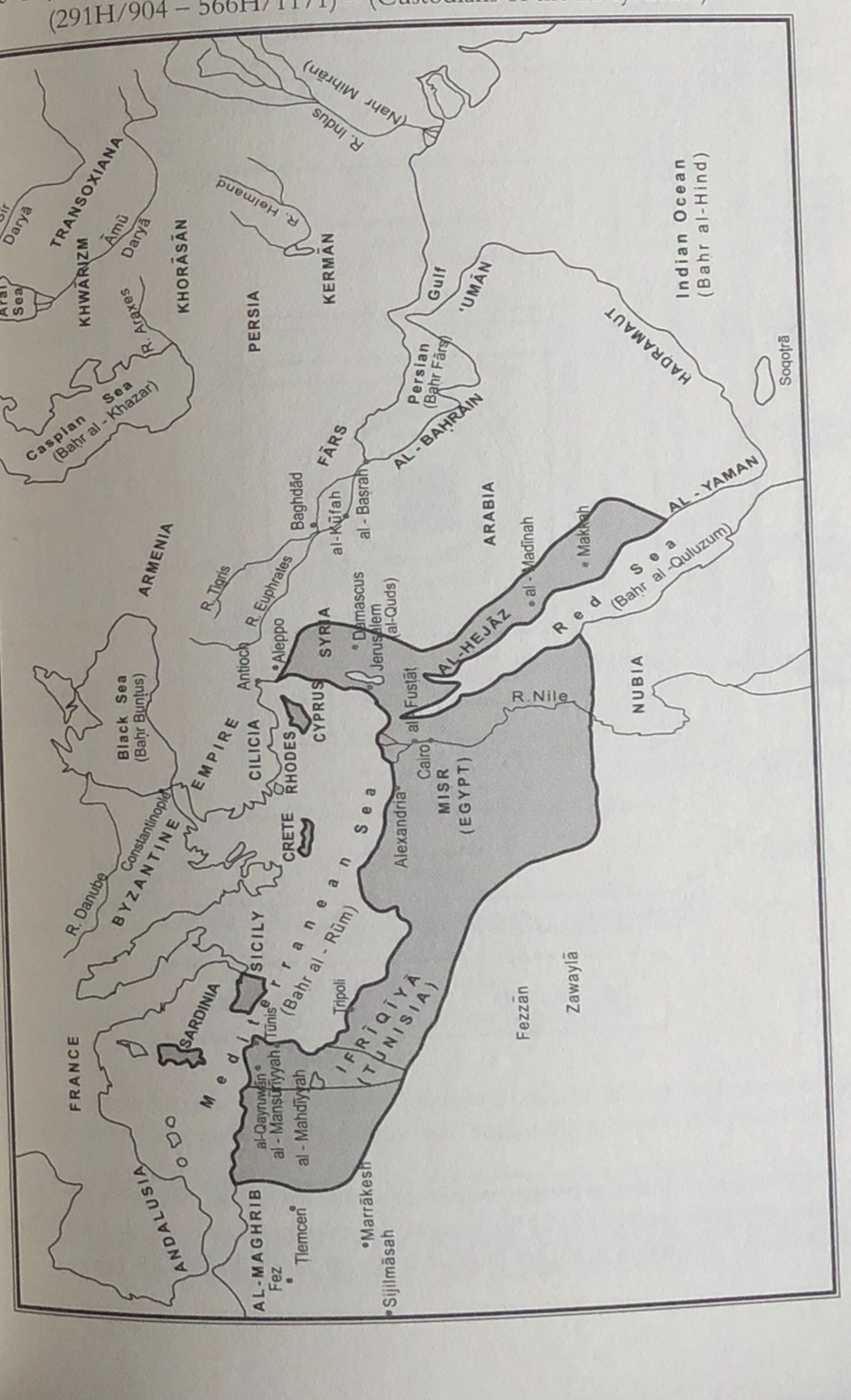
The 'Maqṣūrah' ('compartment') of course had come into being for reasons of security following the unsuccessful attempts of the 'Khārijites', a group of dissenters against the mainstream of Islām, on the lives of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ and Mu'āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān. The latter had luckily survived the assault with a mere wound in the buttock, while 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ (574–43H/664), the then Governor of Egypt, was also to succeed in escaping harm, as the assassin, who did not know him, was mistakenly to strike down another worshipper resembling him in the dull light of the early morning. The fate of the first of the trio on the list of the Khārijite assassins, the fourth of the 'Rightly Guided' Caliphs, 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, has already been referred to. Al-Balādhurī on the other hand suggests that it was Ziyād ibn Abīhī who was the first in Islāmic history to introduce the 'Maqṣūrah' in a mosque, that of al-Baṣrah. 'Umar ibn Shibbeh on the other hand actually includes an account in his history crediting 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān with the introduction of this novelty into a mosque—that is, in 'al-Masjid al-Nabawī' in al-Madīnah—upon assuming the Caliphal office. It was at first built in brick. 'Umar ibn 'Abdal-'Azīz is then said to have installed one in teak. The great father of social history and Islāmic historiography of Ḥaḍramī origin, 'Abdal-Raḥmān Ibn Khaldūn considered that the 'Maqṣūrah' also served to distinguish the ruler from his subjects and that it had become a common feature during times of affluence.[92]

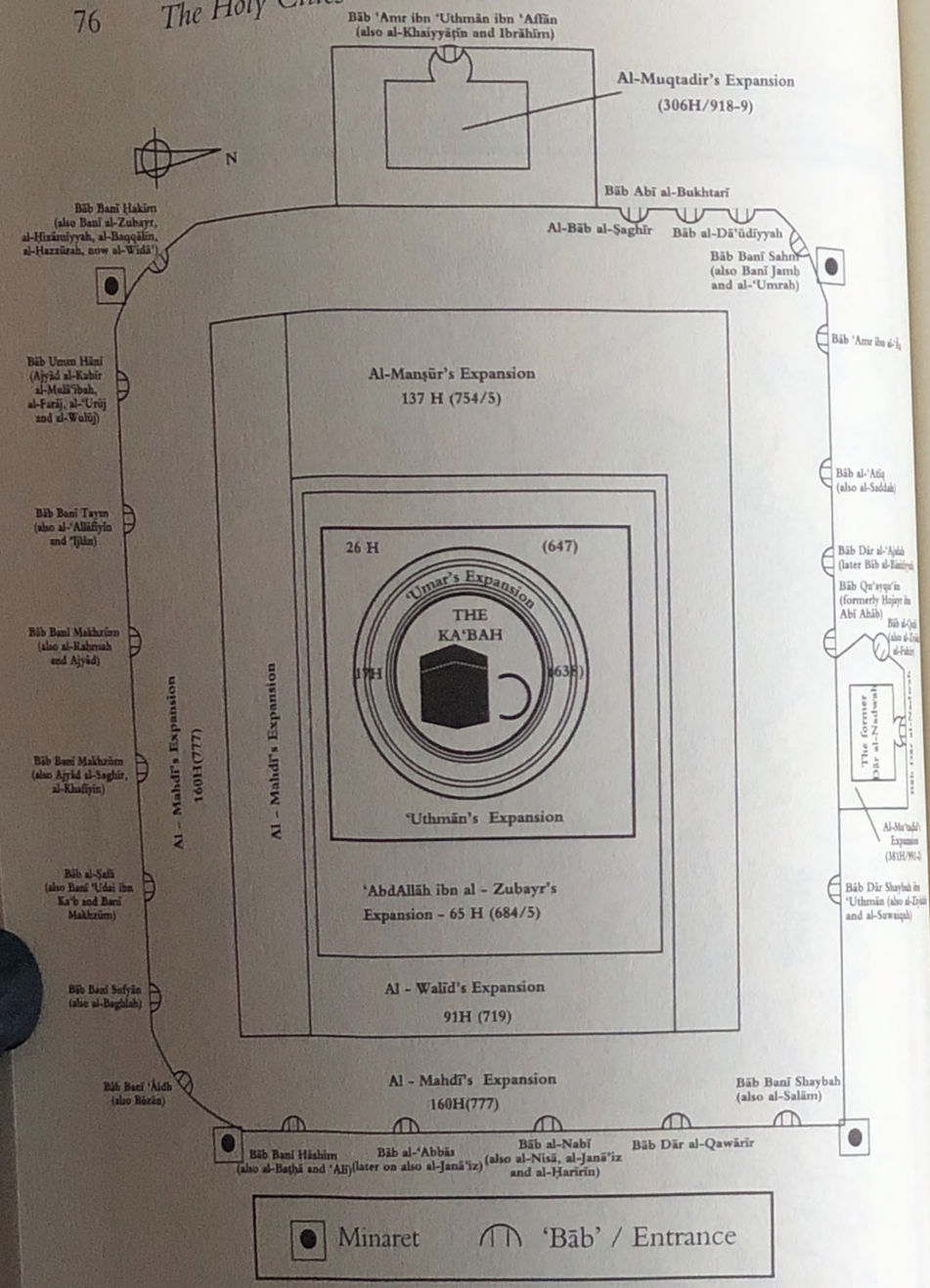
The 'Abbāsid Empire (b. 132H/750) at its zenith during the 2nd and 3rd cH (8th and 9th c C.E.) (Custodians of the Holy Cities)



▲ Important Centres of Intellectual Activity

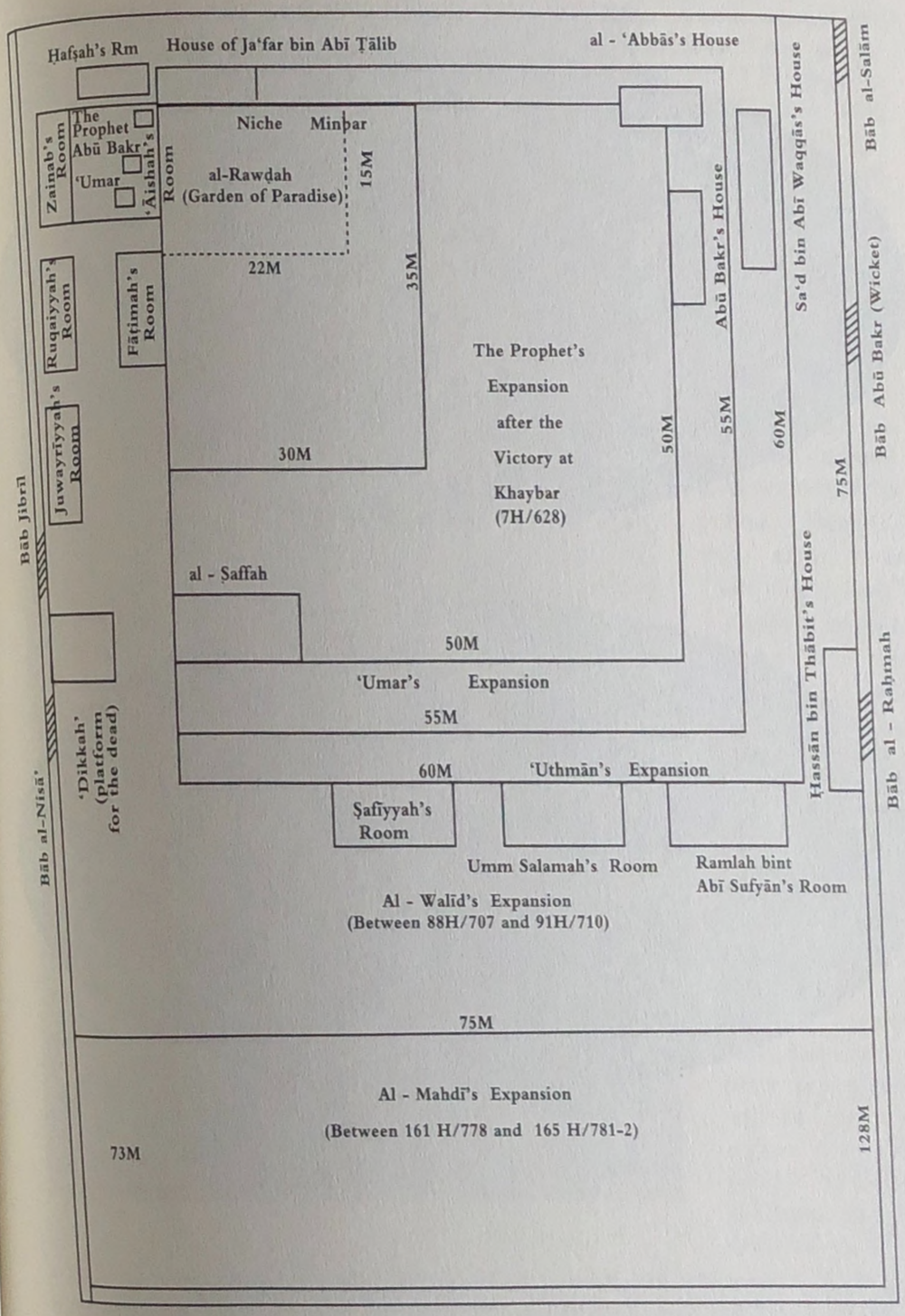
The 'Fāṭimid' ('Ubaydī) Empire in North Africa, Egypt, Syria and the Ḥejāz (291H/904 – 566H/1171) – (Custodians of the Holy Cities)





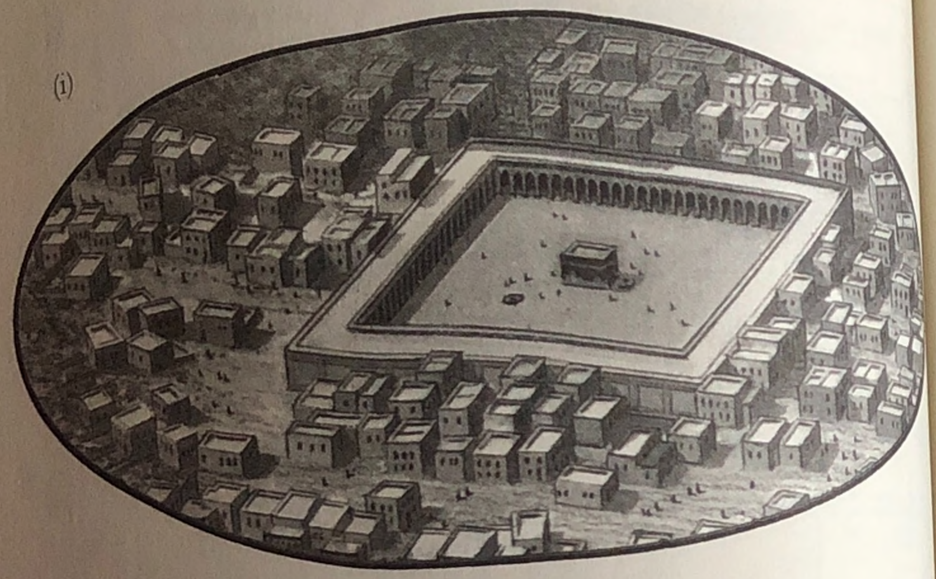
Expansions to the Makkan 'Ḥaram' from the Prophet's Era till the end of the reign of the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Mahdī, with minor later additions by al-Muqtadir and al-Mu'taḍid.

Its overall area at this stage according to al-Azraqī was 404 x 304 = 122,816 Sq. 'Adhru' (Cubits), or approximately 28,003 Sq. metres. The Mosque then had only four Minarets and 24 doors. The names given are those in usage up to the end of that era.

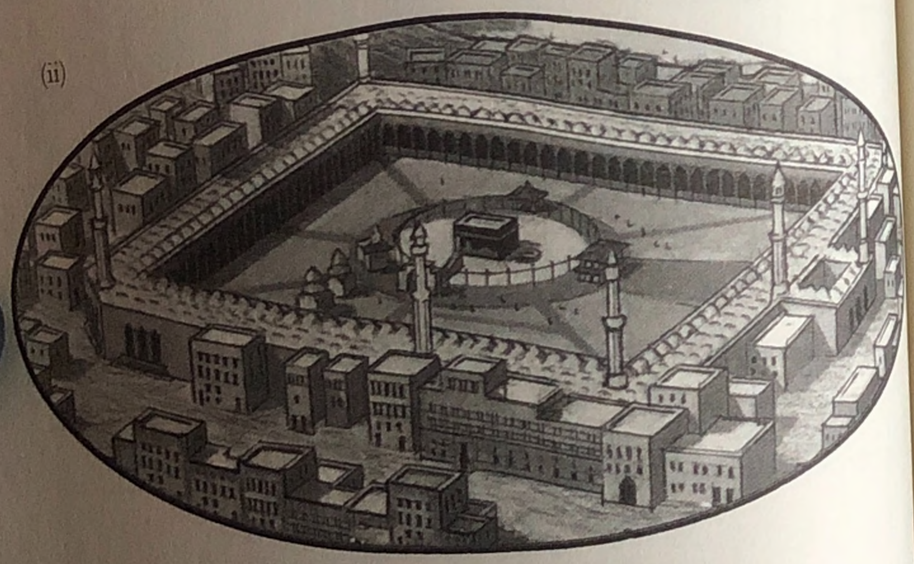


The Expansions of the Prophet's Mosque in al-Madīnah from (1H/662 till 165H/782). Principally after 'Alī Bey and Ibrāhīm Rif'at Pāshā.

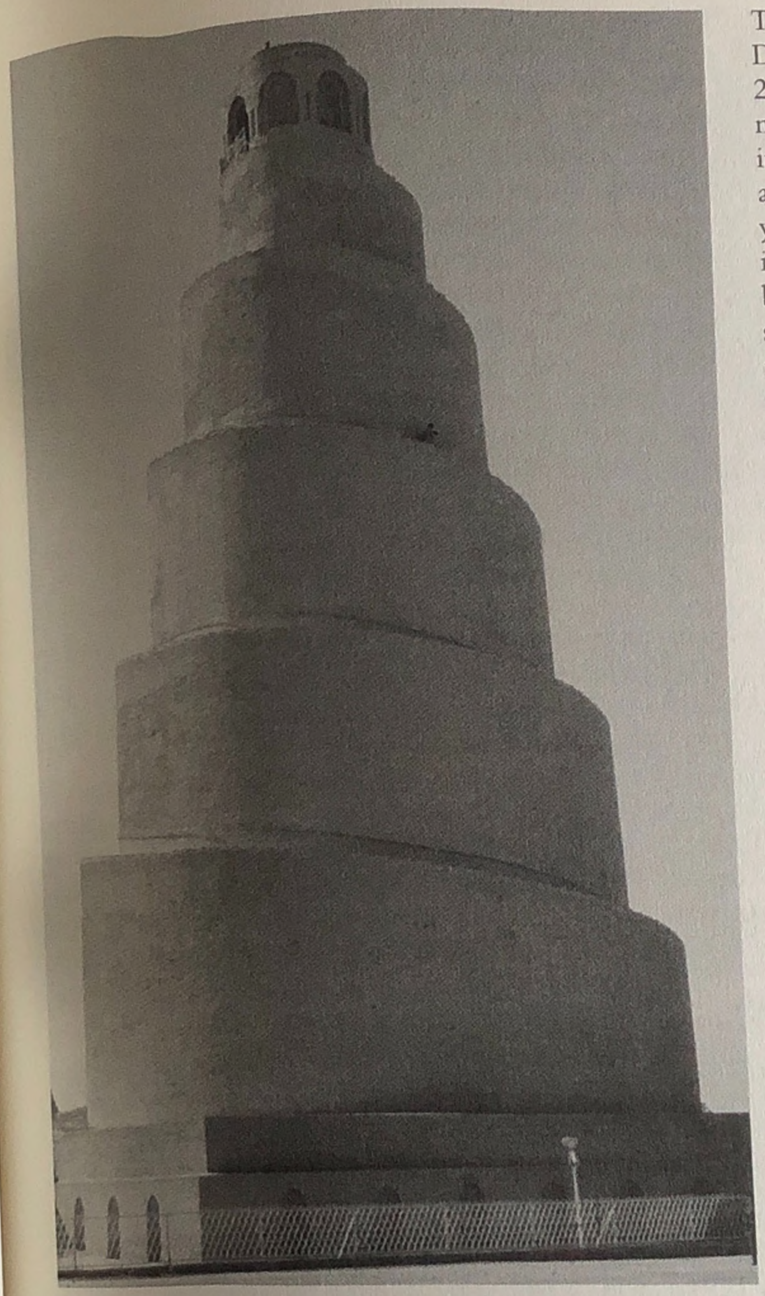
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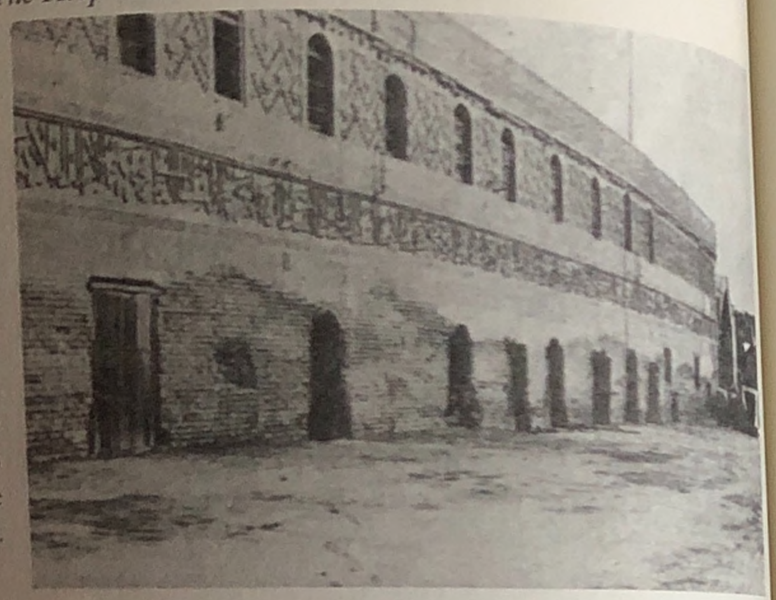
(ii)



Drawings of Makkah and the 'Ḥaram' based on descriptions during:
- i) The Umaiyyad Era (2nd cH / 8th c C.E.)
- ii) The 'Abbāsid Era (4th cH / 10th c C.E.).

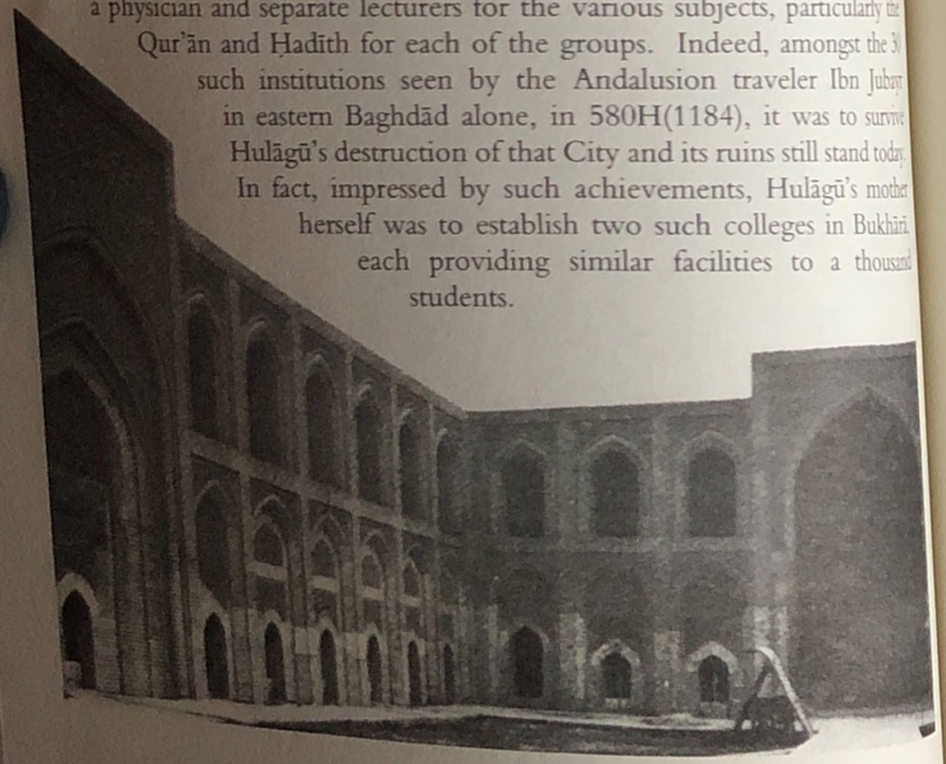


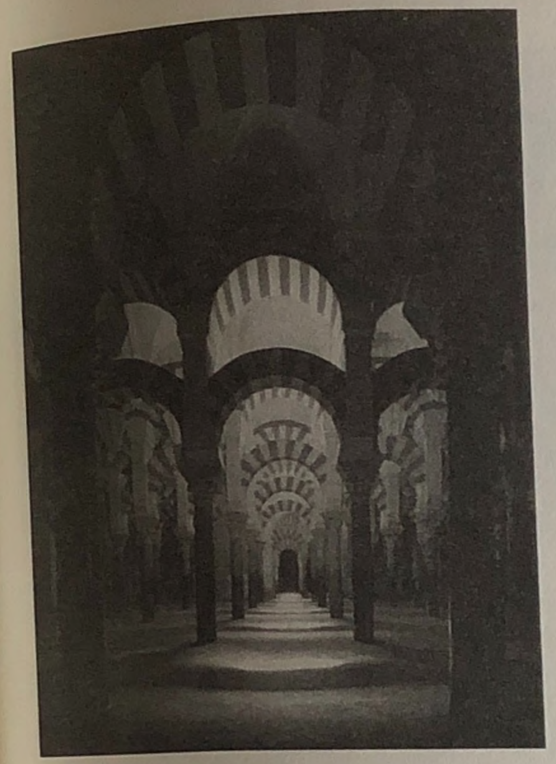
The Mosque of Abī Dalf, built around 246/7 H (860/61) near Sāmarrā. With its cylindrical Minaret and vast courtyard so characteristically 'Abbāsid, betraying strong streaks of Babylonian (Ziggurat) influence, it remains a strong reminder of the architecture and majestic achievements of that period. Sāmarrā's real name was "Sarr Man Ra'ā" ("Happy is he who beholds it"). It was cynically nicknamed "Sā'a Man Ra'ā", meaning the opposite and commonly pronounced 'Sāmarrā'. This "Jāmi'" is one of the very few grand monuments of that early 'Abbāsid era to have survived the earthquakes and other depredations suffered by that region since that period. Its builder al-Qāsim ibn 'Īsā Abī Dalf (d. 227 H / 842), who was known for his bravery and generosity, had served as a military commander under the Caliphs al-Mā'mūn and al-Mu'taṣim and was also a recognised scholar and author of works on military and political topics.

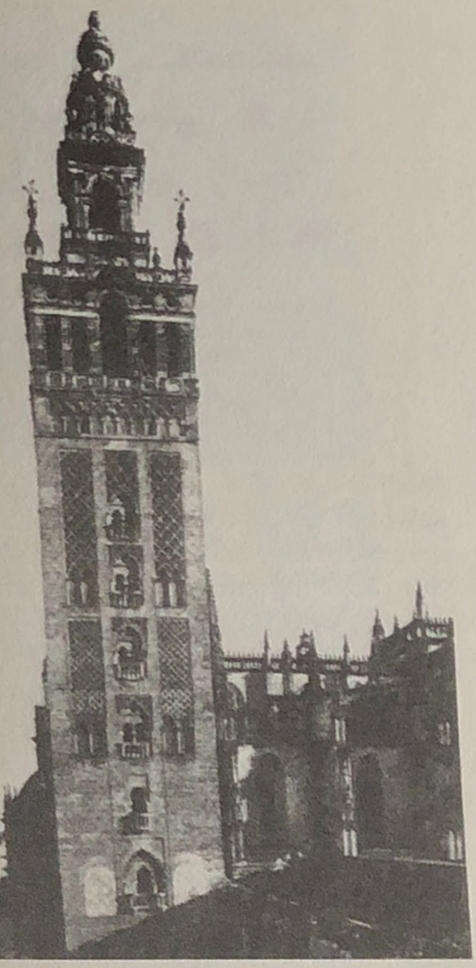


Note: The long band of extremely fine calligraphy in stucco on the wall.

Al-Mustanṣirīyyah was founded by the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Mustanṣir in 631H(1234) to cater to 300 residing students, 75 each from the four Sunnī Madhāhib (Schools), and provided with a library, baths, kitchens, a hospital, a clock, a senior tutor, a physician and separate lecturers for the various subjects, particularly the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth for each of the groups. Indeed, amongst the 30 such institutions seen by the Andalusion traveler Ibn Jubayr in eastern Baghdād alone, in 580H(1184), it was to survive Hulāgū's destruction of that City and its ruins still stand today. In fact, impressed by such achievements, Hulāgū's mother herself was to establish two such colleges in Bukhārā, each providing similar facilities to a thousand students.







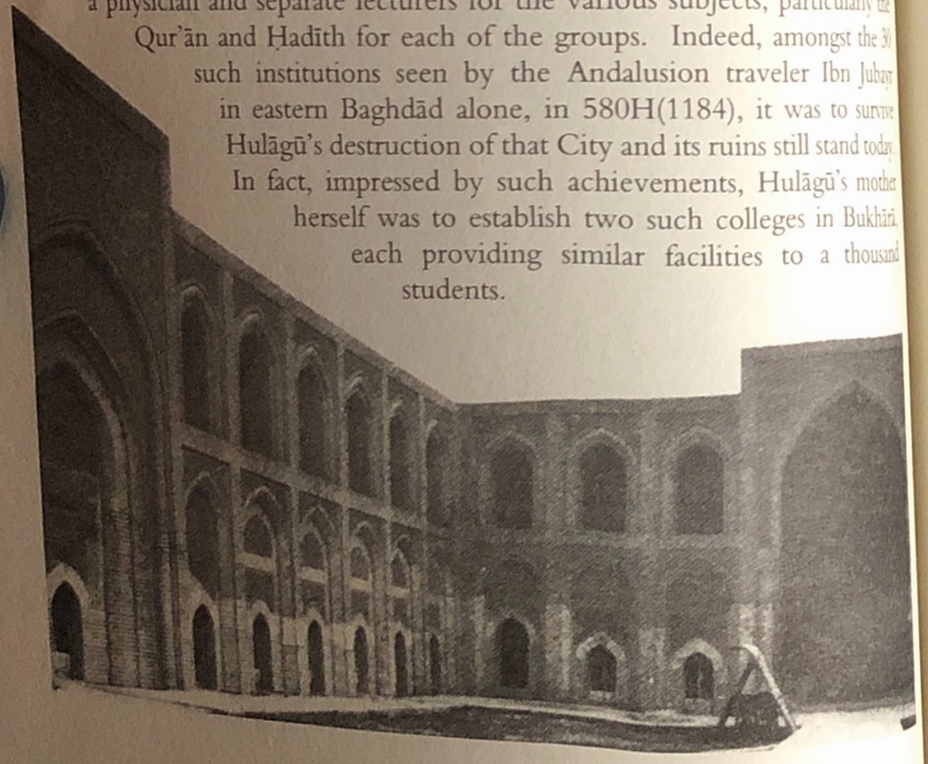
The colonnades of the Mosque of Qurṭubah (Cordoba), Capital of the Caliphate in Spain and a great centre of learning from mid-4th cH (10th c C.E.). It was to be overtaken by Ishbīlīyah (Seville) a century later in wealth, importance and intellectual activity. According to the scholar Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456H/1064), Cordoba then boasted of one of the greatest universities and libraries. Founded by al-Ḥakam II (d. 365 H/976), its catalogue alone ran into 44 volumes, covering 400,000 books.

Meanwhile, in Seville, the Cathedral and the tower of 'La Giralda' serve to remind of the once grand Mosque and University built there around 553 H (1158). These attractions would then draw scholars from afar regardless of creed. Many of the Muslim rulers in Spain were also scholars. For example, al-Muqtadir (d. 474 H/1082) of Saragossa was a "prodigy" in Astronomy, Geometry and (natural) Philosophy and his son al-Mu'tamin (d. 478 H/1085) in Mathematics; while al-Muẓaffar (d. 460 H/1068) of Badajoz was recognised for compiling a 50 volume Encyclopaedia covering art, sciences, history, poetry, literature, proverbs and biographical information etc.

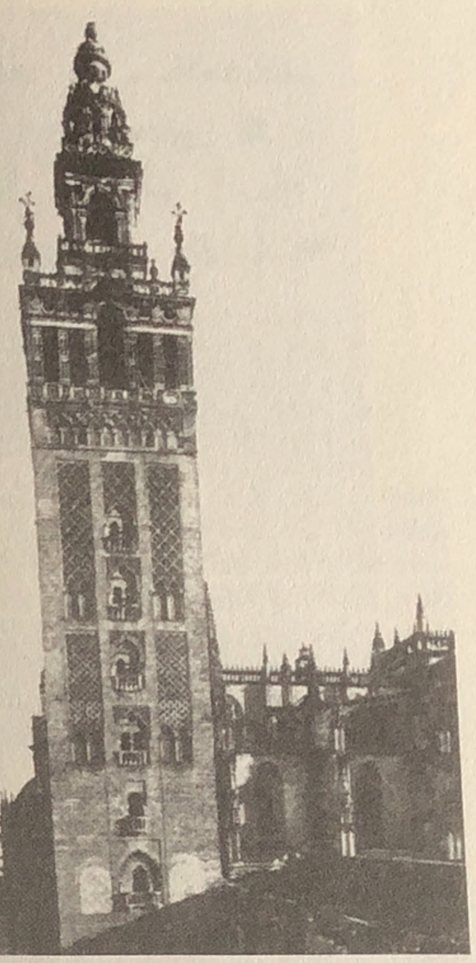


Note: The long band of extremely fine calligraphy in stucco on the wall.

Al-Mustanṣirīyyah was founded by the ʿAbbāsid Caliph al-Mustanṣir in 631H(1234 to cater to 300 residing students, 75 each from the four Sunnī Madhāhib (Schools), and provided with a library, baths, kitchens, a hospital, a clock, a senior tutor, a physician and separate lecturers for the various subjects, particularly the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth for each of the groups. Indeed, amongst the 30 such institutions seen by the Andalusion traveler Ibn Jubayr in eastern Baghdād alone, in 580H(1184), it was to survive Hulāgū's destruction of that City and its ruins still stand today. In fact, impressed by such achievements, Hulāgū's mother herself was to establish two such colleges in Bukhārā, each providing similar facilities to a thousand students.

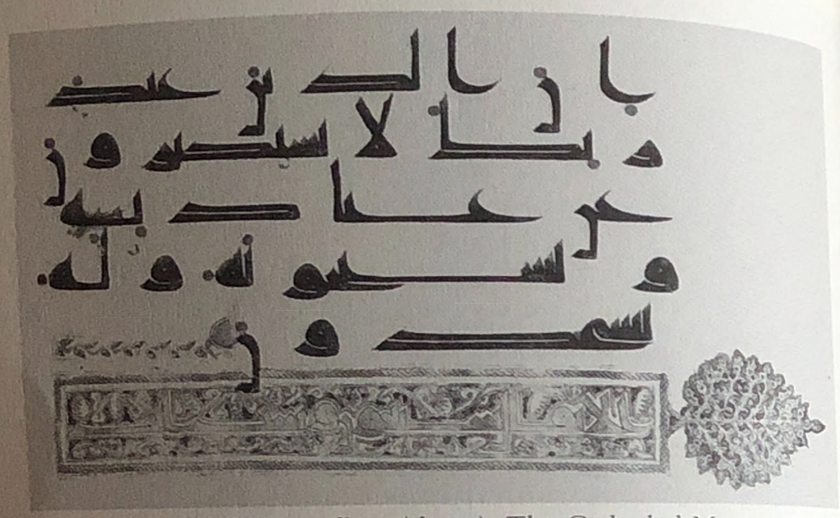




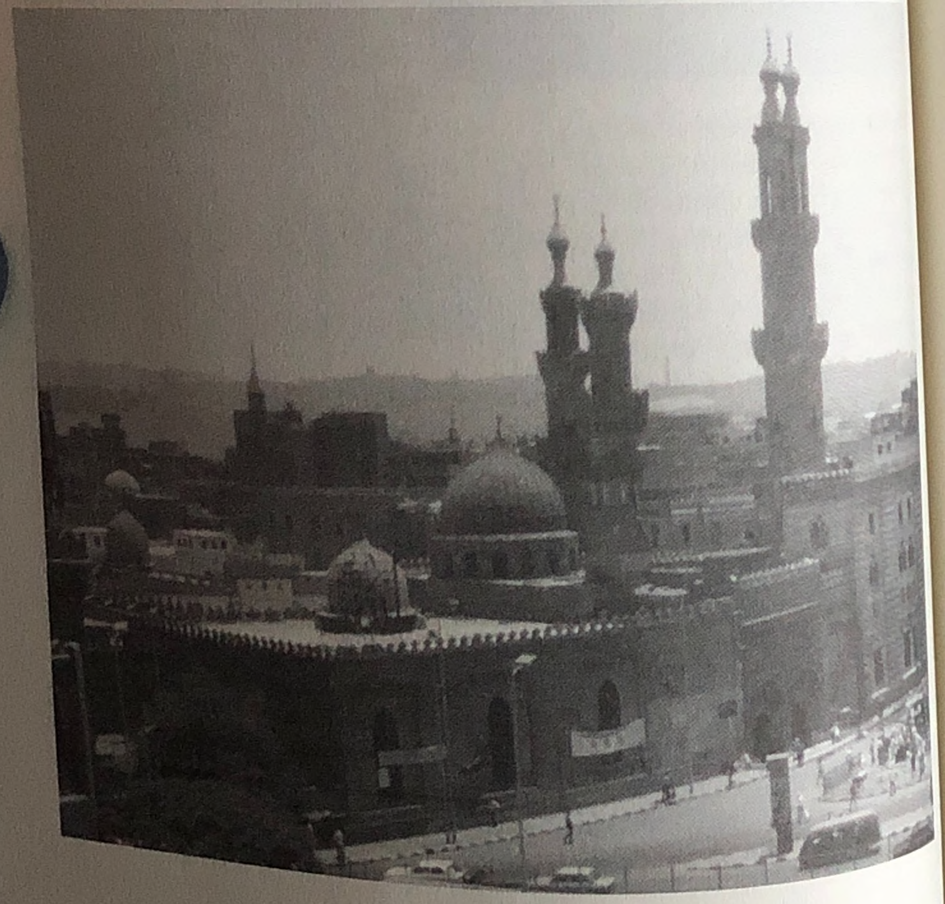


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Ninth Century Kufic Qur'ān on vellum (above). The Cathedral Mosque (Jāmi') of al-Azhar in Cairo, also the world's oldest university, whose tutorial system and traditions were said to have influenced those of several famous ancient universities. Built in 361 H (969), it is by far one of the greatest achievements of the 'Fāṭimid' ('Ubaydī) dynasty.



CHAPTER IV

The 'Abbāsid and the Fāṭimid Eras (132H/750–656H/1258)

A: Makkah

It is not for a book of this nature to go into the finer details of the political events that led to the fall of the Banī Umaiyyah and the rise of the Banī 'Abbās to power. The reasons for their eclipse are far too complex to be done justice to in any measure here. The former's defeat, followed by the murder of Marwān II (r.127H/744 till 132H/750), nicknamed "al-Ḥimār" ("the Wild Ass") for his tireless energy, was to signal the establishment of 'Abbāsid rule, though not without hiccups; for the 'Alīds, who felt themselves cheated by their 'Abbāsid cousins, managed to sustain a serious challenge to the latters' authority for quite some time to come. Then of course, there was the scion of the Banī Umaiyyah, 'Abdal-Raḥmān ibn Mu'āwiyah ibn Hishām, better remembered as "Ṣaqr Quraysh" ("the Falcon of the Quraysh") and also as "al-Dākhil" ("the Entrant" as opposed to conqueror), who managed to get away from the massacres perpetrated by the supporters of the 'Abbāsids, to found a rival dynasty in Spain that was to stake claims to the Caliphal office and find adherents in the western world of Islām, leaving behind a rich legacy, that was to burn bright independently for eight centuries, with Qurṭubah (Cordoba) as a recognised centre of splendour, civilisation and learning and boasting of hospitals, schools and a university and library that contained no less than 400,000 books, and yet it was its destiny to be overtaken in many of these attainments by Ishbīliyah (Seville), another Andalusian centre, by the sixth century Hijrī (12th cCE).

In his 'Akhbār Makkah', al-Azraqī, states that "after al-Walīd ibn 'Abdal-Malik, no Caliph carried out any construction work in 'the Holy Mosque' or added anything to it, until the 'Abbāsid Abū Ja'far 'AbdAllāh al-Manṣūr (r.136H/754 till 158H/775) became 'Commander of the Believers'" and that "the addition he made to it was the double of what it had been formerly". Al-Azraqī also mentions that "he—(al-Manṣūr)—had ordered its construction and

expansion during the Muḥarram of 137H(June/July 754) and it was completed... in the Dhū'l-Ḥijjah of 140H (April/May 758)". Al-Fākihī in his 'Akhbār' confirms in both instances what al-Azraqi states.[93]

This expansion too was realised by the purchase and incorporation of nearby properties into the Mosque's area and its focus was primarily on the sector facing Syria. "No additions" were made "to its upper (eastern) portion nor to its side which lies by the 'Wādi' (Ibrāhīm)" southwards. On this occasion, most of the area of the 'Dār al-Nadwah' ('the Assembly House') was incorporated into the 'Ḥaram' and a section of the 'Dār' (house of) Shaybah ibn 'Uthmān also. This came to form a part of the western corner of its north facing facade and a minaret too was built there.

This new construction work was then linked up with the extension that had been undertaken by the Umaiyyad al-Walīd I in the upper portion of the 'Ḥaram', where an arch was also constructed. This arch, located by the 'Dār Banī Shaybah' and the 'Dār al-Nadwah', was specifically decorated with mosaic inlay, as it was located at the front of the Mosque. The walls of the expanded area were built in stone and covered with marble. Extensive use of this stone was also made in covering the walls and pillars, as well as the floor area of the Mosque, particularly that utilised for Prayers. In addition, the columns and the facades of arches and niches were also inlaid with mosaic work.

The extension of Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr was crowned by a citation placed upon the 'Bāb' Banī Jumḥ by the man who undertook the execution of the work on his behalf, his Governor, Ziyād ibn 'Ubaydillāh al-Ḥārithī. This began in the name of Allāh and after supplications in favour of al-Manṣūr, cited the dates of the initiation and completion of the expansion in mosaic pieces of black and gold.[94]

In the account of the expansion undertaken by the successor of al-Manṣūr, the 'Abbāsid Caliph Abū 'AbdAllāh al-Mahdī (r.158H/775CE till 169H/785), al-Azraqī adds that counting from the lower end of the Mosque and starting with the entrance or 'Bāb' of Banī Jumḥ, which had three arches and below which ran the course of the flash-floods, Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr in his expansion cum re-construction had provided the 'Ḥaram' with seven doors.[95]

According to the chronicler Ibn al-Athīr, al-Manṣūr passed away in the Hejāz at the "Bi'r (Well of) Maymūn" while on his way to

perform the Ḥajj and was buried near Makkah. This was towards the end of 158H (775)[96] By then, he had ruled for some twenty-two lunar years and greatly strengthened the hold of his dynasty over the lands of Islām barring the extreme western fringes, where 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Dākhil had established Umaiyyad sway in the Iberian peninsula as stated earlier.

His successor, Abū 'AbdAllāh Muḥammad al-Mahdī, proved to be a more clement ruler. In addition to following a policy of general appeasement, particularly towards the 'Alids, he took great personal interest in the affairs of the two Holy Sanctuaries, sparing neither expense nor effort on their expansion, improvement and beautification.

According to the historian of Makkah, al-Azraqī, the Caliph al-Mahdī had performed the Ḥajj in the year 160H (777) and then again in 164H (781), while al-Fākihī suggests 161H (778) for his first Pilgrimage and 166H (783) for his second visit.[97] On the other hand, the great historian for the period, al-Ṭabarī states with reference to the latter one that, although al-Mahdī had set off for the Ḥajj during 164H (781), he was to return from his camp at al-'Aqabah due to poor logistical planning, shortage of water and a tussle with fever.[98] Al-Ṭabarī, Ibn al-Athīr and Ibn Kathīr also mention that the charity al-Mahdī distributed during his first Ḥajj amounted to some "thirty million dirhams (silver) and half a million Dīnars (gold), in addition to a hundred and fifty thousand dresses".[99] While departing for this Pilgrimage, he had taken with him his younger son, Hārūn al-Rashīd, leaving behind his elder son, Mūsā al-Hādī in Baghdād to act in his stead. It is said that, whilst in Makkah, he was even to have ice sent to him by his Governor in al-Baṣrah, the first Caliph ever to have received ice there so.

In keeping with his policies of clemency and appeasement, al-Mahdī made sure that the chief beneficiaries of his generosity, apart from the needy and the elderly, were the progeny of the Prophet's 'Ṣaḥābah' or 'Companions', the descendants of the 'Muhājirīn' and the 'Anṣār'. Prominent amongst these was the 'Alid, al-Ḥasan ibn Ibrāhīm ibn 'AbdAllāh ibn al-Ḥasan. Annual supplies of provisions and funds traditionally sent to the Ḥejāz from Syria and Egypt and stopped since the rebellion of the 'Alid, Muḥammad ibn 'AbdAllāh ibn al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī also (killed in 145 H/762), better remembered in history by the title of "al-Nafs al-Zakīyyah" ("the Pure Soul"), were once again re-instituted. In addition, de-

ciding to form a corps of Arabs of noble Islāmic antecedents to have around him in the guise of his personal body-guards and myrmidons, he selected in person five hundred suitable candidates from the Ḥejāz—al-Madīnah to be more precise according to al-Ṭabarī and Ibn Kathīr—to take back with him to his Capital. Then, bestowing on them the title of "al-Anṣār" ("Helpers"), he treated them with great consideration and generosity, sparing little.[100]

It was also al-Mahdī, who, as it turned out, was destined to take steps for the third and the last time, regards the safe-guarding of the Qur'ānic text from possible grammatical, pronunciational and punctuational errors of any type. This he did by commissioning the founding father of Arabic grammar, al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad al-Farāhīdī (d.170H/786CE) just before his death, to devise appropriate means to resolve on a permanent basis the issues raising concern.

The result was a cure in the form of the invention of particular signs to replace the diacritical dot devised by Abū'l Aswad al-Du'alī (d.61H/681), which was then being confused with the dots of the letters introduced by the jurists Naṣr ibn 'Āṣim al-Laythī and Yaḥyā ibn Ya'mur al-'Udwānī during the reign of 'Abdal-Malik ibn Marwān, in order to enable readers to distinguish better a number of letters of the Arabic alphabet, as both the sets of dots were usually in the same colour and often black also like the text. These signs invented by al-Farāhīdī were the 'Fat'ḥah', the 'Kasrah', the 'Ḍammah', the 'Sukūn', the 'Shaddah', the 'Madd' and the other signs that are known and referred to as the "'Alāmāt al-Ṣilah", have stood the test of time till this day for over a millennium and rendered Arabic and the Qur'ān in particular, safe and easy for all to read, understand and recite.[101]

During this Ḥajj of 160H(777), al-Mahdī, after consultations, had instructed the highest religious and juridical authority of the day in Makkah, its 'Qāḍī', Muḥammad ibn 'Abdal-Raḥmān ibn Hishām al-Auqaṣ al-Makhzūmī, to strip the Ka'bah of the large number of "Cloaks" that had come to dress it over a long period of time without being taken down, as these were causing the structure to support a considerable amount of weight unnecessarily. Al-Mahdī then sat and watched the proceedings from a vantage point at the back and in the proximity of the area of the 'Dār al-Nadwah', while the Ka'bah was relieved of 'Kiswah' after 'Kiswah'. The early ones were mostly of Yamanī textiles, 'Qubāṭī' and fine cottons, while one presented by the Umaiyyad Hishām, which was of heavy silk brocade, proved to be the heaviest. Repairs to the Ka'bah's structure were then attended to before it was painted, rubbed and coated from the inside as well as the outside with "Khalūq", a mix of rose, musk, ambergris and saffron, and then draped with a fine new 'Kiswah' of silk brocade, with another couple in 'Qubāṭī' and very fine cotton fabric beneath it.[102]

Al-Mahdī left the 'Qāḍī' with further instructions and funds to purchase all property at the Holy Sanctuary's "upper end", regardless of cost, in order to expand the 'Ḥaram's' area and add to the construction within it. Al-Azraqī comments that the venerable 'Qāḍī' paid as much as twenty-five Dīnārs (gold) per square ell for whatever was to be incorporated into the Holy Sanctuary at that end and fifteen Dīnārs per square ell for property located in the "Wādī". For example, he paid eighteen thousand Dīnārs for the house of the family of al-Azraq, which was to the right of the 'Bāb Banī Shaybah' and forty-three thousand Dīnārs for that of Khayrah bint Subā' al-Khuzā'īyyah by the 'Mas'ā'. Thus was all property between the Mosque and the 'Mas'ā' annexed and cleared of construction, as was the upper area over-looking the "Wādī".[103]

Al-Mahdī had also ordered for pillars of marble to be shipped from Syria to Jiddah. These were towed to Makkah and erected in rows at the Holy Sanctuary's "upper end" after foundations had been dug for them and quick-lime, ash and gypsum soaked in water added as adhesives to assist in holding them in place. The area between the arch by the erstwhile 'Dār al-Nadwah' that had been built by al-Manṣūr and the Mosque's lower end by the 'Bāb' Banī Jumḥ, was provided with two rows of these columns. Each pillar was inter-linked length-wise and width-wise with the four columns around it by walls resting on them at right angles.[104] These supported ceilings of teak. Due to lack of space, this expansion scheme did not affect the region between the 'Wādī' and 'al-Ṣafā', which, with its single arch, was left untouched. At this stage, the distance between the wall of the Ka'bah facing the direction of the Yaman and that by the 'Wādī' and 'al-Ṣafā' was forty-nine and a half ells. During this expansion, al-Mahdī also added five doors, large and small, to the 'Holy Sanctuary'.[105]

Al-Azraqī continues his description of al-Mahdī's extensions to the Makkan 'Ḥaram' by adding that the first expansion had affected its upper and lower portions, as well as the region by the latter that lay adjacent to the northern confines of the 'Dār al-Nadwah'. This

had left the southern sector overlooking the 'Wādī' and 'al-Ṣafā' appearing congested and narrow, with the Ka'bah itself, the focal point of the 'Holy Sanctuary', looking as if to a side of the Mosque instead of in its middle and with the houses of the people seeming to huddle just beyond it.[106]

Hence, when al-Mahdī set out for his second Ḥajj in 164H (781), regardless of whether you believe al-Ṭabarī's account which asserts that he could not visit Makkah on this occasion, or al-Azraqī's, who implies that he did, his keen aesthetic sense could hardly have been expected to approve of any irregularities in the 'Ḥaram' associated with his expansion, dimensional or otherwise, that must have been represented to him due to his grave interest in the matter. Indeed, it must have irritated him greatly to realise that the view from this aspect had been further exacerbated by his expansion; for it is said that, upon hearing of it, he had sworn to make the extension required in order to have the Ka'bah at the centre of the Mosque, come what may, adding "even if I have to spend on it all that is in the treasuries".[107]

With such unwavering resolve, al-Mahdī began consulting builders and architects and analysing what they had to say in order to work out a way for realising his desire. Hence, spears were planted at vantage points on the wall along the 'Wādī' in order to survey and work out "what should be incorporated in the Mosque and what should be left to the 'Wādī'".[108])

After several surveys and exhaustive calculations, for all were anxious about the prospects of such a venture because of the steep slope of the 'Wādī' and the tempestuous flash-floods that periodically struck Makkah, not to mention the houses that lay beyond, and which then happened to include many stores for provisions and supplies, al-Mahdī felt himself sufficiently satisfied about the chances of the risk he was due to take. Despite the apprehension of his builders and architects that they may ultimately not succeed in avoiding what they feared most by altering the course of the 'Wādī', he returned to al-'Irāq leaving behind sufficient funds along with orders that the properties to be affected by the proposed expansion should be bought and the work on it initiated as soon as possible.[109]

Similar prices as on the former occasion were paid for property to be included within the 'Ḥaram's' proposed precincts, as well as for that which was to be outside its enclosure—i.e., twenty-five

Dīnārs per square ell for the former and fifteen Dīnārs for the latter.[110] The Caliph also sent orders to Egypt and Syria to send forth to Jiddah the required marble columns, which, upon arrival, were towed on wheels to Makkah. Work was started in 167H(783) from the upper end by the 'Bāb' Banī Hāshim which faced the 'Wādī' and this entrance was expanded and another door, known later as the "Bāb al-Baqqālīn" or the "Grocers Entrance", was installed exactly opposite to it at the lower end of the Mosque. This was in order to enable the flood water to escape without affecting the Ka'bah, whenever Makkah had to face the sudden violence of a 'Sayl' or flash-flood coursing down the 'Wādī'. All construction between 'al-Ṣafā' and the 'Wādī' was leveled and the latter's course was linked up with "al-Wādī al-Qadīm" ("the Ancient Valley") by the 'Bāb Ajyād'.[111] The well by the House of Umm Hānī, the daughter of the Prophet's Uncle Abī Ṭālib, which had been in existence since the days of Quṣai, was affected by this expansion. So, al-Mahdī ordered for another to be dug by the 'Bāb al-Baqqālīn' as a replacement; for water then was a rare commodity in Makkah.[112]

After these preliminary works had been completed, efforts were started in earnest to erect the marble columns sent from Egypt and Syria and in the same manner as on the former occasion as described earlier. The new structure was roofed with ornately carved teak, worked on with gold. Unfortunately, al-Mahdī did not have the chance to behold the completion of his expansion, for he was to pass away, just as work on the last pillar in the lower section of the Mosque was completed, which was in 169H(785).[113]

Al-Mahdī was succeeded by Abū Muḥammad Mūsā al-Hādī, who did not believe in his late father's conciliatory policies. He immediately fell heavy-handedly on all those he regarded as heretics or "Zanādiqah" ("Free-thinkers"), as well as on his 'Alid opponents and their supporters.[114] For example, soon following his accession, he ordered his regional governors and administrators to discontinue the pensions and assistance fixed for the 'Alids and the like by his father, driving them to open rebellion in the Ḥejāz under the leadership of al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī ibn al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥasan (ibn al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib). He then succeeded in quelling this rising, but only after having to resort to greatly harsh measures and following a ferocious encounter at "Fakh", between Makkah and al-Madīnah, where al-Ḥusayn was destined to fall.

However, one of the 'Alid leaders, Idrīs ibn 'AbdAllāh ibn al-Ḥasan (ibn al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib) managed to flee along with his brother Yaḥyā to North-West Africa ("al-Maghrib")—al-Ṭabarī says to Tāhart and al-Ya'qūbī to Fez. From there, he was successful in posing several challenges to 'Abbāsid authority, until killed, according to al-Ya'qūbī, on the behest of al-Hādī with the aid of a poisoned "Miswāk" (a traditional teeth cleaning and gum massaging stick), to be succeeded by his son Idrīs ibn Idrīs.[115]

It is somewhat strange that, though al-Hādī discontinued the allowances that his father had bestowed on the 'Alids and others as a conciliatory measure or for some other noble reason, yet, he saw fit to double the allowances of his soldiery in what appears to have been a bid to gain their blind adherence.

Al-Hādī himself was however only destined to reign for a little more than a year, dying in mysterious circumstances to be succeeded by his younger brother, Abū Ja'far Hārūn al-Rashīd (r.170H/786 till 193H/809), the legendary Caliph of "the Arabian Nights Entertainments". Al-Hādī was then some twenty-six years old and al-Rashīd twenty-one years.[116]

It was in this atmosphere of uncertainty, political turmoil and rebellion in the Ḥejāz that work on this expansion of the 'Ḥaram' as initiated under al-Māhdī, had to be continued with and so it was, unabated and at a rapid pace. Though now, in the interests of completing the Project as soon as possible, many improvisations and like measures had to be accepted, at least where materials were concerned. For example, local stone coated with plaster was used in finishing the remaining colonnades, as marble columns from Syria and Egypt were no longer forthcoming. The ceiling too, which came to cover these, though of teak, was simple, utilitarian and "lacking the precision and grace" of the work undertaken while the Project's sponsor and patron, al-Mahdī, was alive.[117] Implementation of the work had continued under al-Hādī's patronage from the point it had reached upon al-Mahdī's death, till it had arrived by the minaret next to the great entrance of ('Bāb') Ajyād. It was then continued towards the 'Bāb' Banī Jumḥ, there to link up with the earlier expansions of the Caliphs al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī.[118]

Al-Azraqī reports that, after the completion of this expansion by the father (al-Manṣūr) and son (al-Mahdī), the area of the 'Ḥaram' stood at 120,000 square ells. The length between the 'Bāb' Banī Jumḥ and the 'Bāb' Banī Hāshim measured 404 ells and the width from the 'Bāb' Dār al-Nadwah to the wall of the 'Bāb' al-Ṣafā' 304 ells. Meanwhile, the width of the Mosque from the minaret by the 'Mas'ā' (the place for performing the 'Sa'ī') to the minaret by the great Door ('Bāb') of Banī Shaybah then came to 278 ells, as did the width between the Minaret of 'Bāb' Ajyād and the Minaret of Banī Sahm.[119]

Some other pertinent details associated with this expansion as mentioned by al- Azraqī are that the 'Ḥaram' at that juncture had 484 columns: 103 in its eastern section; 105 in the western section; 135 in the northern section and 141 in its southern section. Each of these columns was, generally speaking, around ten ells high and three ells in circumference and the distance between each pair of columns was six ells and thirteen finger-breadths. Of these columns, 321 had gilded bases as well, but not the ones of plain stone that had been installed during the reign of al-Hādī and which numbered forty-four. Also, while some of these columns were of unusual colours and hues such as red striped with white, violet, red, lentil, green and grey, the two at the 'Bāb al-Ṣafā' were carved and inscribed up to half their height in gold.[120] Altogether, these columns supported 498 arches.[121]

The Mosque at that time, according to al-Azraqī and al-Fākihī, had twenty-three "Abwāb" or doors ('Bāb' in the singular), five on its eastern side, six on the northern, six on the western and seven on the southern side, the total of which surprisingly adds up to twenty-four. These were crowned with forty-three arches, some of these being double-arches, while the grand Door of Banī Shaybah (known during the 'Jāhilīyyah' as the "Bāb Banī 'Abd Shams") actually had three arches. The height of these, like several others, was ten ells, while there were some whose height was thirteen ells, such as the 'Bāb' Banī Hāshim facing the 'Wādī'. This entrance, like the 'Bāb' Banī Shaybah, also had three arches. Their width however, varied. Some of these doors had scuttles of teak above them, ornately carved and worked with gold, such as the above-mentioned 'Bāb'. The facades of the arches were often beautifully inlaid with mosaic as stated earlier.[122] Three of these doors—the 'Bāb Banī Hāshim', the 'Bāb Banī Shaybah al-Kabīr' and the 'Bāb al-Ṣafā' were specifically used for bringing biers into the 'Ḥaram' for Funerary Prayers (the

"Ṣalāt al-Janāzah") and as exits for the funeral processions after these had been offered.[123]

The height of the walls varied. For example, by the 'Mas'ā'—the eastern section—it was eighteen ells, while in the southern section following the 'Wādī', the height was twenty-two ells. In the western sector of the Mosque by the 'Bāb' Banī Jumḥ, it was half an ell more and in its north, the height was two ells less, in other words, nineteen and a half ells.[124]

In addition, there were also thirty-eight exits. Of the "Shurrāfāt"—(a term used for apertures in walls and battlements as well as balcony loges)—there were 272 and a half of these on the Mosque's walls that were discernible from the outside: 73 on the wall by the 'Mas'ā'; 119 on the wall by the 'Wādī'; 75 on the wall by the 'Bāb' Banī Jumḥ and another five and a half on the wall by the 'Dār al-Nadwah'.[125]

These walls also then had scuttles and arches on their exterior, leading into the Mosque. As in the case of the doors, the facades of both of these, the 'Bāb' Banī Jumḥ and the 'Dār al-Nadwah' were decorated with gypsum. The arches were provided, in addition with iron grills. These walls also had conduits crafted into their sides to drain away the water from the flash-floods affecting the 'Holy Sanctuary'. The water, however, was not allowed to go waste, but to flow into tanks built for its collection for utilisation by the people. For example, the flood-water from the direction of the 'Mas'ā' and the 'Dār al-Nadwah' would ultimately end up pouring into a watering place by the 'Dār al-Qawārīr' ('the House of Glass'). This was a monument that had come into existence at a later stage, when Makkah's 'Abbāsid Governor Ḥammād al-Barbarī had decided to take over and rebuild the house that had been built upon the public square by the famous 'Abbāsid 'Wazīr', Ja'far al-Barmakī (executed 187H/803), during the reign of the Caliph al-Rashīd. Ḥammād had also embellished its exterior with marble and mosaic and its interior with glass and hence the name.[126]

Meanwhile, the flood-water from the section of the 'Wādī' and the 'Bāb' Banī Jumḥ, which at first would flow into the watering place by the 'Bāb al-Khaiyyāṭīn' ('the Tailors' Door') built by Khayzarān (the mother of the Caliphs al-Hādī and al-Rashīd–d. 173H/789), was made to flow instead a little later by al-Rashīd's consort and cousin, the great philanthropist Zubaydah (d. 216H/831), of whom more later, into the well dug by the 'Bāb al-Baqqālīn' ('the Grocers' Door') upon al-Mahdī's orders.[127]

The Makkan Mosque, according to al-Azraqī, had "two" ceilings, "one on top of the other", which were separated by a gap of two and a half ells. The upper ceiling was of plain "Daum" or "Sidr" wood ("Christ's thorn") from the Yaman, while the lower one was of good quality teak, ornately worked on with calligraphic devices—roundels and bands bearing teachings from the Qur'ān, supplications, offers of peace and salutations on the Prophet ﷺ and also, invocations for the builder, the Caliph al-Mahdī, all in gold.[128]

At this time, the Mosque had four minarets from which the "Mu'adhdhins" ("Criers of the Call to Prayers") or "Muezzins", as they are commonly referred to in English, would proclaim the 'Adhān' or the 'Call', at the five appointed hours daily, as well as for special occasions such as the Prayers for the two 'Īds (Muslim festivals). These minarets were located at the Mosque's four corners and had a balcony or gallery at their top. The first minaret was by the 'Bāb' Banī Sahm and used to overlook the house of 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ; the second was by Ajyād and overlooked the 'Sūq al-Khaiyyāṭīn' ('the Tailors' Bāzār'); the third one would look over the house of the Sufyānids and the 'Sūq al-Layl' ('the Night Bāzār') and was also known as "the Minaret of the Makkans", while the fourth minaret stood sentinel over the "Dār al-Imārah".[129] This was the house where the Prophet had spent the night after Makkah's conquest and from where the Amīr of the Ḥajj would survey the congregation.

During this period, the Mosque was normally lit with the aid of 455 lanterns. The light of four large chandeliers and four smaller ones were added to these during the holy month of Ramaḍān and on other special occasions.[130]

The enclosure housing the Well or the Spring of Zamzam was initially without a roof, that is, save a small dome shading the actual Well. The length of its wall section facing the 'Mas'ā' which also happened to incorporate its door, was twelve ells and nineteen finger breadths; and that facing the 'Maqām Ibrāhīm' was ten ells and twelve finger breadths. Of the other two sections, the one facing the Ka'bah was nine ells and fifteen finger breadths, while the remaining side by the 'Wādī al-Ṣafā' was thirteen ells and three finger breadths. The height of those walls, when measured from the outside then, rose to five ells, two ells and twelve finger breadths of

which were in stone, while their other half (also of the same size), was in marble and teak.

Around the Well of Zamzam was a cistern or tank, nineteen finger breadths high and eighteen finger breadths wide. "The height of the wall (of the Well) from inside was two ells" and its width, an ell and four finger breadths. Both, the interior and the exterior of the cistern were covered in marble. These walls then supported a teak structure, very much like a room. Beneath this, there were thirty-six apertures or openings, through which water from the cistern for performing the 'Wuḍū'' or ablutions for Prayers would be consumed. The length of each of these openings was twenty finger breadths and its width fourteen finger breadths. Twelve of these faced the 'Maqām Ibrāhīm', while as many were opposite to the Ka'bah and the remainder faced the direction of the 'Wādī'. The floor of the room was covered with marble and the size of its teak door with lattice work was three ells long and two ells wide. Its step as measured from the wall was four and a half ells.[131]

Both, al-Azraqī and al-Fākihī, state that the first to start using marble in the Zamzam area was the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Manṣūr, followed by al-Mahdī. However, it was only provided with a complete ceiling of teak, ornately decorated with gold, in the year 220H (835). This was during the reign of the Caliph Abū Is'ḥāq Muḥammad al-Mu'taṣīm and by his Governor over Makkah, 'Umar ibn Faraj al-Rakhjī, upon his orders.[132]

Away from the portrait painted by "the Arabian Nights" of Abū Ja'far Muḥammad Hārūn al-Rashīd which has gone into legend, this brother of al-Hādī was a genuinely great and unique ruler in far too many fields to enumerate here. His friendly diplomatic exchanges with Charlemagne (r. 124H/742–199H/814), his wars against the Byzantines, his pacification of the 'Alids, his rich encouragement and patronage of all forms of learning and the arts, his legendary charity and philanthropy and his fits and bouts of tyranny and cruelty against foes are all well known and just as true.

However, there was a devout, humble and almost ascetic side to his character as well. For example, it was his ritual to offer a hundred voluntary "Rak'ah" (literally a genuflection and prostration) in Prayer each day and night and to distribute a thousand "Dirhams" of his personal wealth in charity during the same time span, this in addition to the obligatory 'Zakāt' calculated on his

wealth and paid annually. He was also the first Caliph to perform the Ḥajj on foot, which he did eight times. Whenever al-Rashīd would perform the Ḥajj, he would ensure that he was accompanied by at least a hundred jurists and men of learning and their sons. During those years of his reign that he could not perform this religious rite in person, he would engage no less than three hundred men to do so, equiping them lavishly for the venture without sparing a thought for their expenditure.[133]

By a strange coincidence, al-Rashīd was destined to lead as many military expeditions or campaigns against the "infidels" as the Pilgrimages performed by him, which is eight. It is also said of him that he hated argument and dispute in matters of religion, feeling this to be pointless, yet very much enjoyed religious and scientific scholarship and literary learning, as well as the company of meritorious men of letters and poets of quality. His reign was to witness great encouragement of all manners of research into learning, this including the study of the great philosophical, scientific and cultural heritage and traditions of other ancient civilisations, which he sought to bring within the reach of Muslim scholars through the generous support of feverish translation activity. Hence, the preservation of the ancient knowledge and learning of the Greeks and the Indians for example—albeit in Arabic—owes a major debt of gratitude to him and to some of his predecessors, such as al-Mahdī, as well as to a number of his successors, particularly his son, al-Mā'mūn.[134]

In a carefully studied move to win over the 'Alids and their supporters, principally based in al-Madīnah and the rest of the Ḥejāz and taking a lead from his father's wise and humane policy towards them, al-Rashīd reversed the course of his brother al-Hādī's tough, uncompromising and mean attitude in dealing with them. Sadly however, this was not to prevent Idrīs ibn 'AbdAllāh ibn Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥasan ibn 'Ali al-'Alawī (d.177H/793), who, as mentioned earlier, had escaped to North-West Africa after the battle of al-Fakh during al-Hādī's reign, from declaring the establishment of an independent 'Alawite Caliphate in Morocco in 172H(788/789). This was the first occasion that the dominions of Islām had two rival Caliphs reigning at the same time. Upon his accession, al-Rashīd was to order the revival of the tradition of the annual dispatch of provisions and funds in aid to the Ḥejāz with regularity, as was

done formerly. Furthermore, according to al-Ṭabarī and Ibn Kathīr, both of them highly respected chroniclers of that era, he bestowed generous pensions on the elderly, the scholars and others deserving of support and also ordered schools for orphans to be opened there.[135]

His generosity and charity apart, having traveled along the route from al-'Irāq to the Ḥejāz as followed by the Pilgrims from the Islāmic East, as well as the merchants and the wayfarers, al-Rashīd made himself fully aware of the several problems met with en route. These primarily were the lack of security, the availability of water, food, shelter and directional guides at regular intervals. Al-Rashīd decided to make carefully studied efforts to address these issues and provide satisfactory remedies. The same applied to problems that the Pilgrims had to contend with during their stay in the two Holy Cities, as well as through the course of the actual Pilgrimage.

Based on these personal observations of his, one of al-Rashīd's first acts was to order the construction of a large number of cisterns all along the above route and wherever the Pilgrims went, such as Makkah, Minā, 'Arafāt and al-Madīnah. Pools and springs were excavated and wells dug to feed these cisterns, while older ones were repaired and those that had fallen into disuse were also reincorporated into use. In this vein could be cited the case of the springs that had been originally excavated by Mu'āwiyah I ibn Abī Sufyān in order to serve Makkah, which al-Rashīd then had feeding into a large storage reservoir called 'al-Rashā'', to cater to the needs of the districts in the Holy Mosque's vicinity and 'al-Mu'allāt' (upper Makkah).[136]

His consort, the pious and generous Zubaydah (b. 145H/762–d. 216H/831), the daughter of the Caliph Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr, to her eternal credit, was also in no manner behind her husband in such deeds. For example, it was Zubaydah who had the spring called '"Ayn al-Mashshāsh" excavated some twelve miles away from the Holy City and then ordered for conduits to be built all the way to Makkah to pour into cisterns in order to provide drinking water and outlets for performing the 'Wuḍū' (the ablutions for Prayers) all around the Holy Mosque. She also had similar arrangements made for drinking water at the other places visited during the Ḥajj, such as Minā and 'Arafāt and made generous arrangements for their regular, continuing maintenance for the future. Again, feeling these arrangements for Makkah to be inadequate for the needs of the

long-term future, she had ordered in 194H(810) for a major reservoir to be built in the City. A little later, still unsatisfied with the possible future inadequacy of these arrangements for the design in her mind, she had fresh springs excavated at a place called 'al-Ḥull' and then conduits and channels built, to carry this supply of water also to Makkah.

This grand project, implemented at a huge cost and displaying tremendous vision, charity, intent and humanitarian concern on her part and recognised by the title of "Nahr Zubaydah" (literally "Zubaydah's River"), was to inscribe her name in history in letters of gold for all times to come, while continuing to serve Makkah and the Pilgrims alike for long centuries to follow. Just in order to provide some idea of the expenditures consumed by these projects, it is worth repeating that historians credit this great and charitable lady with spending no less than 1,700,000 Dīnārs (gold) on the two springs of "Ayn Ḥunayn' and "Ayn Wādī Nu'mān' alone.[137]

Another peerless charitable deed of this amazing lady and even grander in concept and scale was the "Highway" associated with her name—the "Darb Zubaydah", along which she arranged for the availability and provision of all possible essential means of assistance to the Pilgrim and the traveler, whether individuals or in groups, and all the way from al-'Abbāsīyyah, the Capital of the Empire, to the two Holy Cities. Hence, it comes as no surprise to find that, seeing the Caliph and his Consort active thus and encouraged by their example, the princes and princesses, the nobility and the affluent, all made their philanthropic contributions to the well-being of the Holy Cities and the Islāmic dominions at large.[138]

As early as 175H(791), when Muḥammad al-Amīn was no more than five years old, al-Rashīd had already appointed him his heir and taken the 'Bay'ah'—('the Oath of Allegiance') for him from all the provinces of his empire. Then, once his sons had grown-up into youth, he decided to emphasise and popularise further his earlier decree concerning the order of succession and to make it even more binding on all the parties concerned by the most sanctified of bonds, as well as to provide it with renewed circulation on a universal scale. With this in mind, when al-Rashīd, accompanied by his sons and entourage performed the Ḥajj in 186H(802), he had two documents drafted after consulting his advisers and other eminent scholars and jurists. One governed the order of succession,

while the other addressed by him to his elder son from Zubaydah, Muḥammad al-Amīn, sought the latter's adherence to his father's will. After the 'Bay'ah' had been taken, copies of these two documents were posted on the Ka'bah as a sanctified reminder of the undertaking to all concerned, as well as to popularise and publicise it amidst the ranks of the public at large throughout the Islāmic dominions via the Ḥajj and the Pilgrims.[139]

Sad to say, however, when the time came for the relevant parties to adhere to these sanctified undertakings, all such measures by the deceased Caliph were to prove of little utility, as the fratricidal struggle between his two elder sons, al-Amīn and al-Mā'mūn, who were from different mothers, started soon after his death in al-Ṭūs in 193H(809), where he was also buried. The mother of al-Amīn, as mentioned earlier, was Zubaydah and he ruled from 193H(809) till 198H(813), while that of the next in line, 'AbdAllāh al-Mā'mūn (r.198H/813 till 218H/833) was the Persian Marājil. The mother of the third son, Muḥammad al-Mu'taṣim (r.218H/833 till 227H/842), was a Turk called Māridah. When al-Rashīd died, he was then on his way to Turkistān to quell a rising by Rāfi' ibn al-Layth ibn Naṣr ibn Saiyyār, one of his generals in Transoxiana, who later on was to be killed in Samarqand, which he had seized earlier, by Ḥarthamah ibn al-A'yan in 195H(811).[140]

During the era of al-Rashīd's immediate successors, though little by way of improvement or reconstruction was to affect the Holy Sanctuaries or indeed Makkah and al-Madīnah, yet the dispute involving the doctrines of the Mu'tazilites, which was to transform itself into a major crisis that almost rent the social fabric of the 'Abbāsid State and its cohesive nature to shreds, particularly during the reigns of al-Mā'mūn, al-Mu'taṣim and his successor al-Wāthiq (r.227H/842 till 232H/847), did draw the Holy Cities, particularly al-Madīnah, into its vortex. The trials and tribulations that the 'Ummah' ('the Muslim Community') was to experience during this phase have been collectively labeled in Islāmic history as the period of "al-Miḥnah" ("the Test" or "the Ordeal").

"Al-Mu'tazilah" (literally "the Withdrawers"), the group responsible for this grave crisis in the main, were called so because, they had segregated themselves in the process of thought from the rest of the 'Ummah' by their attempts to weigh everything in accordance with the principles of Greek logic. They had been introduced to it recently, thanks to the great process of the translation of works on a variety of scientific and other topics, primarily initiated during the reign of al-Mahdī. This movement had gathered momentum since and would appear at least to some, to have got many carried away with it in the excitement of the novelty of exposure to this type of experience. For example, apart from debating on the nature of God, one of their contentions that was to stir great trouble was their view on the nature of the Qur'ān, which they held to be "created".[141]

As this movement enjoyed official patronage during the reigns of the latter three Caliphs mentioned earlier, that is al-Mā'mūn, al-Mu'taṣim and al-Wāthiq, scholars and jurists who dared to oppose it were subjected to great ridicule, and even incarceration and torture. One of the major sufferers was none other than Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (d.241H/855), the great 'Imām' and founder of one of the four 'Sunnī' or Orthodox 'Madhāhib' (Schools of Islāmic religious belief and practice). It was only after the death of Abū Ja'far Hārūn al-Wāthiq Bi'llāh after a reign of nine years and the succession of Abū'l Faḍl Ja'far al-Mutawakkil (r.232H/847 till 247H/861) that this Mu'tazilite heresy, which had gone on to acquire such nasty proportions, that even teachers had been ordered to inculcate these in children in their charge from an early age, was dealt with firmly.[142]

Al-Mutawakkil, who tried seriously to draw close to the 'Orthodox' ('Sunnī') and Arab elements and undo the effects of the erroneous policies of his immediate predecessors, eventually had to pay the price for these efforts. He was to fall a victim in 247H(861) to assassination by his own son, Abū Ja'far Muḥammad al-Muntaṣir Bi'llāh (d.248H/862) and the pampered Turkish soldiery, who had gained enough ground to become a major head-ache and political threat to the Caliph and the populace alike, ever since their introduction in extra-ordinary numbers into the 'Abbāsid military establishment during the reign of the Caliph al-Mu'taṣim.[143]

Following these trials, to which large parts of the Islāmic world had been subjected because of the Mu'tazilite doctrines on the one hand and the antics of the Turkish soldiery on the other, a number of other wayward movements were also to beset the Muslim 'Ummah', as the authority of the 'Abbāsids began to ebb and wane. Two of these movements, both esoteric and inter-related, were to have considerable influence on the affairs of the Ḥejāz and the Ḥajj. One of these was under al-Ḥasan (Manṣūr) ibn Faraj ibn Ḥaushab

ibn Zādān al-Kūfī (d.302H/915 and better remembered as "Manṣūr al-Yaman"), who was to succeed in sowing the seeds for the establishment of the first independent Ismā'īlī state in history and that on the southern doorsteps of the Ḥejāz in the Yaman, soon after his arrival there in 268H(881); though it was temporarily to be crushed, according to some sources, by the paramount Chief of Hamdān, As'ad ibn Abī Ya'far al-Ḥawālī in 304H(916) after al-Ḥasan's (Manṣūr's) death.[144]

From the Yaman, it was possible for al-Ḥasan (Manṣūr) and his followers to interfere in the affairs of the two Holy Cities and the Ḥajj as well as commerce alike with some facility, just as it was possible for the adherents of an off-shoot of this Movement, the "Qarmaṭians", to do the same from Syria in the north and from parts of al-'Irāq also, this including its north-east. Hence, their seditious activities were inevitably to focus soon enough on the lucrative Ḥajj traffic and the other commercial routes. The precepts of the Qarmaṭians are traceable back in the main to Ḥamdān "al-Qarmaṭ", who was a Kūfan convert to Ismā'īlism around 260H(874).[145]

In fact, these two Movements were to gather such momentum at one stage, that the former was to lead to the establishment of the 'Ubaydī (better remembered in history as the Fāṭimid) State in North-West Africa in 297H(909), with the acknowledgment of 'Ubaydillāh (d.322H/934) as the "Imām" and the "Mahdī".[146] From there, the Fāṭimid State managed to extend its sway over large tracts of the lands of Islām and eventually to exercise considerable authority over the affairs of the Ḥejāz over long, if intermittent periods, as a serious rival to the 'Abbāsids, to whom it would refer as "usurpers" of Fāṭimid rights. However, such was the state of affairs in the 'Abbāsid dominions, that their response to this was merely to question the ancestry of the 'Ubaydīs and label them as dubious, non-Fāṭimid imposters.

Regardless of the merit that may be inherent in the claims of the two rivals, due to the rise of Fāṭimid influence in the region in general and Makkah and al-Madīnah in particular, not only would the 'Mīrah' (the annual gift of provisions and funds sent in aid and charity) and the 'Kiswah' for the Ka'bah come from Cairo, their new Capital, for quite some time to follow, but it also became normal for the name of the Fāṭimid ruler to be cited in conjunction with the titles of "Amīr al-Mu'minīn" ("Commander of the Believers") and "Khalīfat-ul-Muslimīn" ("Caliph of the Muslims") from the pulpits in the Friday 'Khuṭbah' and other sermons in the mosques of the Ḥejāz, starting with the two Grand Mosques of Makkah and al-Madīnah, following the conquest of Egypt in 358H(969) and the subjugation of Syria by 360H(971) on behalf of the Fāṭimid al-Mu'izz (r.341H/952 till 365H/975), though the latter was to be lost again very shortly for a few years till 363H(974). The conqueror of Egypt was the Fāṭimid General Jauhar ibn 'AbdAllāh al-Rūmī "al-Ṣiqillī" (d.381H/992), who was also responsible for laying during 358H(969) the foundations of "al-Manṣūrīyyah"—to be renamed "al-Qāhirah" (Cairo) later on by al-Mu'izz—soon after his victory. The credit for initiating the establishment of that fine academic institution, "al-Azhar", in 361H(972) also goes in the main to al-Jauhar. Meanwhile, it was not until 463H(1070) that the 'Khuṭbah' was to revert to citing the name of the 'Abbāsid Caliph again.[147]

There were some brief interludes however, apart from the initial years of the conquest of Egypt and Syria by the Fāṭimids, namely, 358H(969) and 359H (970), when the name of the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Muṭī' (r.334H/946 till 363H/974) had been cited in the 'Khuṭbah'. There is also evidence to suggest that, after his abdication, the name of his successor, al-Ṭāyi' (d.381H/991) had been mentioned until 380H(990), before it was replaced by that of the 'Ubaydī or Fāṭimid al-'Azīz (r.365H/975 till 386H/996), the successor of al-Mu'izz. This was following a military expedition in support of his claim to that title prior to the next Ḥajj, that of (381H/992).[148] The great chronicler al-Maqrīzī (d.846H/1442) reports that, from then onwards and as if to emphasise the point, al-'Azīz also started having coins struck in Makkah in his name.[149]

With the establishment of these additional claimants to the office of the Caliphate, the local rulers of Makkah and al-Madīnah were to find for themselves a most fertile ground to play off one mighty claimant against another and with much success. This, as expected, was to enable them to secure lucrative gifts for themselves and supplies in the guise of provisions and charitable funds for their subjects by the mere use of the threat, even if not the actual act, of replacing the name of one aspirant to that grand title with another's, serving as a lever.

On the other hand, the Qarmaṭians, apart from creating disturbances all over Syria, al-'Irāq, eastern Arabia and the eastern lands of Islām, were to become so bold at one stage, that, in a daring display of their growing power, they had actually gone on in 311H(923) to occupy and sack al-Baṣrah. Also, having initially started interfering with the Ḥajj caravans since 294H(906), they were to find themselves daring enough by 313H(925) to force the Pilgrims from the eastern lands of Islām, to return from mid-way without performing the Ḥajj.[150]

This was followed in the year 317H(929) with the even bolder step of a raid on Makkah itself, whence they entered it on "the Day of the Tarwiyah" ("the Day of Watering") at the start of the Ḥajj ceremonies, to carry out the most senseless slaughter, sparing neither the Holy Sanctuary nor displaying any regard whatsoever for age or sex. Worse still, working their will on the structure of the Ka'bah, they were to tear off the 'Kiswah', yank out the Ka'bah's door and 'the Black Stone' as well and then to go on to force the institution of the name of 'Ubaydillāh al-Mahdī, the founder of the 'Ubaydī/Fāṭimid dynasty, in the 'Khuṭbah' in lieu of the 'Abbāsid al-Muqtadir (r.295H/908 till 320H/932), before returning to their base in al-Iḥsā' (eastern Arabia) with their trophies, there to display them for all and sundry.

'The Black Stone' was later on to be transferred to al-Kūfah and put on public view appended from a pillar of the 'Jāmi'' or 'Cathedral Mosque' there, with all efforts by the 'Abbāsid authorities to retrieve it being rejected. However, 'the Black Stone' was destined to be returned to its original station, thanks probably to the intercession of the Fāṭimid ruler al-Mahdī, but not before the death in 339H(950) of Abū Ṭāhir Sulaymān ibn Ḥasan al-Jannābī, who had led this raid notorious on Makkah.[151]

Meanwhile, during this time, the Ḥajj Caravans from the Islāmic lands of the East continued to be challenged, taxed and plundered on a number of occasions in such a way, that efforts by them to reach their sacred destination would often prove futile. The worst years for this were 313H(925), 319H(931), 320H(932), 321H(933) and 323H(935), as well as those between 330H(942) and 334H(946), followed by 338H(950), the year prior to al-Jannābī's death.[152]

Having mentioned something about these two inter-related Movements and their repercussions on the Holy Cities and the Ḥajj, it would also be of interest to refer briefly to their origins.

Basically, the 'Ismā'īlīyyah' are by origin a 'Shī'ah' sect which traces back its origins to Ismā'īl (d. 143H/760), a son of the 'Imām' Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, generally recognised as the sixth of the twelve Shī'ite 'Imāms' and held in great esteem by all for his piety and learning to the extent that the founders of the four 'Sunnī' 'Madhāhib' (Schools of Jurisprudence), the Imāms Abū Ḥanāfah and Mālik were both said to be influenced by him. Upon his death in 148H(765), a group of the 'Shī'ah' refused to recognise his son and the deceased Ismā'īl's brother Mūsā al-Kāẓim as the new nominee to the Imāmate, preferring instead to acknowledge Ismā'īl's son Muḥammad as their seventh 'Imām'. Upon this Muḥammad ("al-Maktūm") ibn Ismā'īl's death in 198H(814), while the mainstream of the 'Ismā'īlīyyah' recognised one of his sons, Ja'far al-Muṣaddaq (d. 240H/855) as their new 'Imām', a number of the sect refused to follow the others, adopting the belief that Muḥammad, their seventh 'Imām', was also the last and that he would return on 'the Last Day'. This sect came to be called "al-Sab'īyyah" or "the Seveners". It was also destined at one stage to become better known in history by the label of "al-Qarāmiṭah" (the Qarmaṭians), after one of their leaders, who has already been alluded to, namely, Ḥamdān al-Qarmaṭ. Ja'far al-Muṣaddaq's son and successor was Muḥammad al-Ḥabīb (d. 270H/883) and the founder of the Fāṭimid dynasty, 'UbaydAllāh 'al-Mahdī' (d. 322H/934) claimed to be his son.

On the other hand, the ordinary 'Shī'ah' ("al-Ithnā'Asharīyyah" or "the Twelvers") are labeled so in due acknowledgment of the twelve 'Imāms' they follow. These in chronological order are:

1) 'Alī (al-Murtaḍā) ibn Abī Ṭālib (martyred 40H/661);
2) Ḥasan (al-Mujtabā) ibn 'Alī (martyred 50H/670);
3) Husayn (al-Shahīd) ibn 'Alī (martyred 61H/680);
4) 'Alī (al-Sajjād) ibn Ḥusayn (Zayn-al-'Ābidīn) (d. 94H/712);
5) Muḥammad (al-Bāqir) ibn 'Alī (d. 114H/732);
6) Ja'far (al-Ṣādiq) ibn Muḥammad (d. 148H/765);
7) Mūsā (al-Kāẓim) ibn Ja'far (d. 183H/799);
8) 'Alī (al-Riḍā) ibn Mūsā (d. 203H/818);
9) Muḥammad (al-Taqī) ibn 'Alī (d. 220H/835);
10) 'Alī (al-Naqī) ibn Muḥammad (d. 254H/868);

11) Ḥasan (al-'Askarī) ibn 'Alī (d. 260H/873);
12) Muḥammad (al-Mahdī—'al-Ḥujjah' or 'the Proof') ibn Ḥasan (b. 256H/870), he was to enter a subterranean cellar in his father's house in Sāmarrā during 275H/888 (some say around a decade earlier in 265H) and disappear, to remain in concealment till the end of time.

According to the belief of the Orthodox Shī'ah, this twelfth and last 'Imām' will return then as one of its signs and herald and proclaim it, as well as fill the earth with righteousness and justice.[153]

The Zaydīs ("al-Zaydīyyah"), the adherents of the 'Imām' Zayd ibn 'Alī (Zayn al-'Ābidīn), however claim him as their fifth 'Imām' instead of his youngest brother, Muḥammad al-Bāqir, who is recognised by the mainstream of the 'Shī'ah'. The doctrines and practices of the 'Imām' Zayd's followers, are the closest among the Shī'ite sects to those of the 'Sunnah' (the Orthodox). The 'Imām' Zayd had died leading an armed rebellion of Kūfans in 121H(739). Later on, around 250H(864), one of his descendants was to found a Zaydī State on the mountainous coast of the Caspian Sea in Persia, which continued to produce claimants to the Zaydī Imāmate at least until 520H(1126). Another Zaydī Imāmate was founded around 288H(901) in the highlands of the Yaman and this one happened to survive well into the fourteenth century Hijrī (twentieth century).[154]

Returning to the topic of the 'Abbāsids and the Makkan 'Ḥaram', it is also worth recording that Abū'l 'Abbās Aḥmad al-Mu'taḍid Bi'llāh, who reigned between 279H(892) and 289H(902), had ordered the construction of a mosque on the foundations of the 'Dār al-Nadwah' with identical architectural features—(floors, walls, columns, arches, ceiling, doors and decorations)—as the 'Ḥaram'. This mosque, which was completed in three years, was connected to the 'Ḥaram' by six large and as many small doors.[155]

Then, during the reign of Abū'l Faḍl Ja'far al-Muqtadir Bi'llāh, who has already been referred to in connection with the transfer of the name in the 'Khuṭbah' in the 'Ḥaram' from him to 'Ubaydillāh al-Mahdī following the invasion of Makkah by the Qarmaṭians, a similar mosque as the above and connected to the 'Ḥaram', was also constructed on the site between the two houses that had belonged to the lady Zubaydah, the consort of the Caliph al-Rashīd.[156]

B: Al-Madīnah

The expression of 'Alid resentment since the usurpation of the Caliphate by the 'Abbāsids had continued to simmer and would explode from time to time into open, violent expression, either under extreme provocation, or given the appropriate circumstances. During this era, al-Madīnah had still remained the preferred city of the progeny of the 'Muhājirīn' and the 'Anṣār' of the Prophet's era, many of whom felt themselves to be "the most deserving of people to be at the helm of the affairs" of Islām. This was openly voiced, for example, by the 'Alīd, Muḥammad ibn 'AbdAllāh (d.145H/762), better remembered in history by the title of "al-Nafs al-Zakīyyah" ("the Pure Soul"). When general ill-feeling against the 'Abbāsids had reached one of its peaks, after openly appealing to Allāh thus: "O' Allāh, they have made lawful what You forbid and prohibit what You permit, providing security to those You frighten and scaring those You have rendered safe", 'al-Nafs al-Zakīyyah', with support from large numbers of the citizens of al-Madīnah, including several of its notables, had raised the standard of rebellion against 'Abbāsid authority.[157]

However, since these rebels neither had access to funds nor weapons and other needs of war, this bold effort, while providing the 'Abbāsids with just the opportunity to crush them totally, was doomed from the start and the Caliph Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr did not let the chance go by. Halting all provisions and supplies from Egypt and Syria to the Ḥejāz, he had al-Madīnah subjected to a prolonged siege, which was to end with the death of the rebellion's valorous leader.[158]

'Īsā ibn Mūsā, the victorious 'Abbāsid general of this episode was then called back to deal with other similar risings elsewhere, until the sway of the House of 'Abbās had been firmly established in the lands of Islām, barring the extreme West.

Al-Manṣūr, as indicated earlier, was the first 'Abbāsid Caliph to be associated with the repair, expansion or embellishment of the two Holy 'Ḥarams'; but in al-Madīnah, it was during the reign of al-Manṣūr's successor, al-Mahdī, that the Prophet's Mosque was destined to witness one of its most significant phases of improvement and expansion, just as the populace of al-Madīnah was to see the clement and conciliatory side of his nature and policy. Nevertheless, even if not in al-Madīnah itself, al-Manṣūr is still on record

11) Ḥasan (al-'Askarī) ibn 'Alī (d. 260H/873);
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as having ordered during 148H(765) the excavation of wells between Tabūk and al-'Ulā alongside the highway used by the Syrian Ḥajj Caravan on its way there.

It has already been mentioned that al-Mahdī's first Pilgrimage of 160H(777) had proved to be a great boon to the people of the Ḥejāz and particularly so al-Madīnah. Apart from distributing largesse, bestowing pensions and ordering the resumption of the annual aid ('al-Mīrah'), he had also decided to take back with him a number of personally selected youths from amidst the ranks of the progeny of the 'Muhājirīn' and the 'Anṣār' of the Prophet's era, mostly from there. Applying to them the title of "Abnā'" (literally meaning "Sons"), it was his design to have them in attendance around his person as "Sons of the Household" or "Myrmidons" of sorts. Then, there had been his second Pilgrimage of 164H(781), with its just as magnificent start, of which, only al-Azraqī reports, while other notable chroniclers such as al-Ṭabarī make clear that, although he had set out from his Capital with that intent, he had nevertheless been compelled to abandon the journey en route due to a number of unforeseen difficulties that had included water shortage and illness. In any case, following his earlier visit, al-Mahdī had gone on to commission the extension of 'al-Masjid al-Nabawī' on a major scale. Work on this had started shortly after his first Ḥajj and ended after the period covered by his second "alleged" Pilgrimage, a duration extending from 161H(778) till 165H(781).

For this purpose and as with all former major expansions, land to be incorporated into the Mosque had to be acquired and property demolished. The extension on this occasion had only affected the northern sector. Though several sources have blindly quoted that a hundred ells were added to the structure of al-Walīd ibn 'Abdal-Malik, a closer examination reveals the figure to have been exaggerated by forty-five ells, for it was the area affected by the demolition and reconstruction that came to a hundred ells and not the expansion. The Mosque had nevertheless still continued to maintain its rectangular shape.

Al-Mahdī had actually ordered the demolition of al-Walīd's expansion in the Mosque's northern sector with the exception of the minarets; the reconstruction on this occasion was tastefully embellished with mosaic inlay. The 'Maqṣūrah' or 'Enclosure' was also rebuilt after its floor level had been compacted to be even with

the rest of the Mosque's area that surrounded it. Following this expansion, the Mosque had four doors in the wall facing the 'Qiblah' and as many in the northern one opposite to it. The east and the west both had a total of sixteen entrances, eight on either wall and an additional four doors for the convenience of the dignitaries, and in order to provide easy access to the 'Imām' and the 'Amīr' to the 'Maqṣūrah'.[159]

A number of other repairs and improvements were also carried out during the reigns of al-Mahdī's successors. For example, al-Rashīd, who had performed the Ḥajj eight times as mentioned earlier, had ordered for the ceiling of 'al-Masjid al-Nabawī' by the Prophet's tomb to be repaired, while al-Mutawakkil had commissioned the tiling of its floor in white marble during 246H(860). Following this, al-Mu'taḍid (r.279H/892 till 289H/902) had the eastern facade over-looking the courtyard repaired in 282H(895) and in 548H(1153), al-Muqtafī (r.530H/1136 till 555H/1160) had seen to the renewal of the marble on the lower section of the exterior wall around the Prophet's tomb.

Then in 557H(1162), the powerful Zangid Atābeq of Aleppo, Nūral-dīn Maḥmūd, who reigned between 541H and 577H(1146 and 1181) winning great fame as a mighty champion of Islām against the Crusaders, had a deep moat dug around the Prophet's grave and filled with lead. He was also to appoint a guard of twelve elderly eunuchs with no worldly attachments and well-known for their piety and for having memorised the Qur'ān, to keep vigil over it day and night. This had been in response to an attempt by the Franks to interfere with the Prophet's grave, the story of which also deserves narration.

According to al-Samhūdī, several other early chroniclers, and the latter day al-Birzanjī (d.1317H/1899), Nūral-dīn was made aware of this plot by the Prophet ﷺ in a vision, in which, he appeared to be pointing towards two men. After seeing the same vision thrice and highly alarmed, Nūral-dīn decided to ride to al-Madīnah post-haste, covering the distance in some sixteen days, in order to find out for himself what the matter was all about. To be able to search out the two faces he had seen so clearly in his visions, he hit upon the ploy of sending criers out through the City, calling upon all males to wait on him at an appointed hour, in order for each one to receive in person his own, as well as his family's apportioned share

of the disbursements that he intended to make. He however, failed to come by the visages he had beheld so clearly in his dreams, even though droves upon droves of al-Madīnah's male population had filed by him.

After repeating this exercise a couple of times, Nūral-dīn then decided to investigate if there was anybody in al-Madīnah who had failed to attend. This time, he was successful in discovering that there were also two elderly Pilgrims from Andalusia, who had earned the respect of all since their arrival by their acts of piety and charity and who, because of their sufficiency, had felt no need to attend. Upon learning this, he ordered for them to be produced before him only to discover that it was these very two he was looking for. A search of their house, located near the 'Qiblah' area of the Mosque, where the Prophet's grave is located, was to reveal how close they had got to it after excavating a tunnel that had already gone by then under the Mosque's wall.[160]

It was then that the moat had been excavated around the grave and filled with lead as mention above, while a lattice of ebony and sandalwood was also built around the double walls of the burial chamber by one of his adherents charged with the responsibility. The author of 'al-Kawākeb al-Durrīyah Fī al-Sīrah al-Nūrīyyah', a biography of Nūral-dīn, also adds that he had ordered for a wall to be built around the City in response to appeals. This order was implemented in 558H(1163). The wall was subsequently to be renovated and added to. Other historians such as Ibn al-Athīr give the credit for this measure to the Wazīr of al-Moṣul, Jamālal-dīn al-Iṣfahānī (d.558H/1163), who was renowned in his day for his great piety and charity. He is also credited with building a 'Ribāṭ', there.[161] It is actually related that, some 150 years earlier on, the Būyid, 'Aḍudal-Daulah (r.338H/949 till 372H/982) had already provided the town with a wall to save it from Bedouin raids and other depredations, but due to lack of maintenance, it must have fallen down later on, or was in a state of great disrepair throughout.[162]

In fact, the "Arnaut" of the Arab historians and Reginauld or Renaud de Chatillon of the Franks, the cruel and treacherous Lord of al-Karak and al-Shaubak, had planned in 577H(1181) according to the chronicler Ibn al-Athīr, to sieze al-Madīnah by advancing on it overland via Taimā' and was only prevented from the implementation of his design by the vigilance of 'Izzal-dīn Farrukhshāh, the

Sulṭān Ṣalāhal-dīn's "Nā'ib" or "Deputy" in Damascus. Upon learning of Reginauld's intent, 'Izzal-dīn had pre-empted him in his designs by swiftly raiding his territory and holding him in check by placing himself across his path of advance, a move, which was to force Reginauld to give up his idea and disperse the men he had assembled for his ambitious designs.[163]

However, the tenacious adventurer that he was, Reginauld was hardly put off by the experience. A year later in 578H(1182), he assembled a strong fleet and dividing it into two squadrons, had one blockade the Castle of Ailah, while the other proceeded to carry out acts of piracy on the high seas and plundered the coast up to 'Aydhāb. After looting that Port, this squadron had planned to attack the Ḥejāz and interfere with the Pilgrimage and then to invade the Yaman.

In order to face these threats, Ṣalāḥal-dīn's brother al-Malik al-'Ādil Abū Bakr, then deputising in Egypt for the Sulṭān, had ordered the Chamberlain Ḥusāmal-dīn Lū'lū' to assemble a fleet and give this Frankish squadron chase. Missing it at al-Rābigh, he managed to catch up with the enemy along the coastline known in Arabia as "al-Jauzā'". "When the ranks saw themselves faced with perdition and death, they landed and sought refuge in some of the ravines" in the nearby hinterland. Lū'lū' however followed them post-haste and giving them no respite, killed or captured them, "sending some to inā to be decapitated there also in punishment" as an example before all, while the remaining prisoners were despatched to gypt. Nevertheless, as long as the rusaders remained in alestine and on the fringes of the Ḥejāz in ransjordan, they continued to be a thorn in the side of Muslim interests. For example, Reginauld had secretly built the ships he wanted to use in his attempts to interfere with the Ḥajj and the commercial traffic along the ed Sea coast, at no other place than the astle of Montreal ('uṣn al-Shaubak') and had then transported them down piecemeal to the sea at al-'Aqabah. It was also such bases that he wanted to utilise for interference with the 'Darb al-Ḥajj', the Pilgrim and the commercial caravans, as well as for his plans to raid al-Madīnah.[164]

Reginauld was typical of the spirited Crusading adventurers of his age. He had first arrived in Palestine in the train of King Louis VII of France and using the romance of his looks, wits and valour to advantage, had established himself on the scene by wooing and

contracting advantageous marriages, first with the widow of the Prince of Antioch and then, upon her death, with the widow of the Lord of Transjordan. It was his destiny however, many adventures later, to meet his end at the hands of none other than Ṣalāḥal-din himself for making abusive references to the Prophet ﷺ following the great Muslim victory against the Crusaders at Ḥiṭṭīn (583H/1187).[165]

In 566H(1170), or the following year according to some, and also upon the instructions of Nūral-dīn, Ṣalāḥal-dīn, according to the Chronicler Ibn al-Athīr, had the 'Abbāsid 'Khuṭbah' instituted on the second Friday of the first lunar month of Muḥarram, with the name of al-Mustaḍī (r.566H/1170 till 575H/1180) being cited as Caliph instead of the Fāṭimid al-'Āḍid (r.555H/1160 till 567H/1171). This was to bring the rule of this 'Ubaydī (Fāṭimid) dynasty to a final end after some 272 lunar years since 299H(911/12), the year in which 'UbaydAllāh 'al-Mahdī' had claimed political authority. Alongside many great contributions to Islāmic civilisation in a large number of fields, this dynasty, starting with al-Ḥāfiẓ, had provided the world of Islām with nine claimants to the title of Caliph.[166]

The 'Abbāsid al-Mustaḍī's successor al-Nāṣir, upon his succession to the Caliph's office in 576H(1180), had the eastern wall of the north-eastern Minaret rebuilt and a dome constructed in the middle of the courtyard. He also had the Pulpit from the Umaiyyad era renovated.[167] This domed construction, which was subsequently used for storing the Mosque's rare manuscripts and other precious objects, was the only part of this 'Ḥaram' to escape the voracious fire of Ramaḍān 654H(1256), that was to consume everything, necessitating almost complete rebuilding. Amongst the rare items to be preserved from the fire , however, was the original codex of the Qur'ān, as collected and arranged in its true and final form by the third of the 'Rightly Guided' Caliphs, 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān and it may well be emphasised here that, in this instance, truly did God keep His promise made in 'Sūrah XV, Verse 9 of that very Revelation of "preserving" His "Word". However, the fire was seen as a precursor and a warning of something terrible to come and this did take place in the guise of the holocaust of the Mongol invasion of the lands of Islām and the sack of Baghdād in 656H(1258).[168]

As already indicated, the Ismā'īlī doctrines, deeply embedded in esotericism, ran counter to many of the beliefs of the Orthodox (Sunnī) as well as the Shī'ite mainstreams of Islām and were hostile to both. In turn, they also viewed it as a heretical movement that seriously differed from them in principle, practice and aspirations. Besides, being a revolutionary movement, Ismā'īlism was not averse to using violence against opponents in order to achieve its ends. Blind obedience to the 'Imām' or his representative were one of its cardinal principles. Hence, once the 'Ubaydī Fāṭimid State had become well established, it was not long before its rulers began to fight all the other Schools of religious thought—"al-Madhāhib"—in their dominions and beyond by various means.

For example, there soon came the stage where all the State's employees and Qāḍīs (judges) were not merely forced to embrace Ismā'īlism, but also to adjudicate in accordance with its principles and a person once caught with a copy of the Imām Mālik's compilation of the Prophet's Orations and Traditions—'al-Muwaṭṭā" — was severely punished. Orders were also issued for the first three Orthodox ('Rightly Guided') Caliphs, Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān and a large number of the Prophet's other 'Ṣaḥābah' ('Companions') to be openly and regularly cursed from the pulpits of mosques throughout the Fāṭimid dominions and anyone praising them, was severely punished.[169]

Furthermore, during the reign of al-'Azīz (from 365H/975 till 386H/996), the recitation of the "Qunūt"—a supplication expressing humility and submission before God and recited during the third or the last 'Rak'ah' of the "Ṣalāt al-Shaf' w'al-Watr" (the last Prayer to be offered at night and after the "Ishā" or the fifth Obligatory Prayer), was banned in 370H(980). It is worth clarifying here that Obligatory or Voluntary Prayer—'Ṣalāt' as opposed to 'Du'ā" or supplication, may consist of the offering of two or four and at times three 'Rak'āt' (plural of 'Rak'ah'). The performance and completion of an individual 'Rak'ah' of the Prayer starts with the recitation of the inaugural 'Sūrah' of the Qur'ān—'al-Fātiḥah'. This is followed by a minimum of any two other consecutive Verses or more in the first two 'Rak'āt'. Otherwise, during the third and the fourth 'Rak'āt', with the exception of the last 'Ṣalāt' to be offered at night 'al-Shaf' w'al-Watr', only 'al-Fātiḥah' is recited, before entering into the state of 'Rukū'' or 'Genuflexion'—(the bowing from the waist,

resting the hands on the knees in support)—prior to straightening up and performing the 'Sijdah' or Prostration twice and in succession, which constitutes the completion of a 'Rak'ah'. In 'al-Shaf' w'al-Watr', which consists of three 'Rak'āt', the above-mentioned supplication of 'al-Qunūt' is recited during the third and final 'Rak'ah', either before the third 'Rukū'' (as done by the followers of the Ḥanafī School), or after it (as the Shāfi'īs and the Ḥanbalis do). Here, during the third 'Rak'ah', the 'Sūrah' 112, titled 'al-Ikhlās' or 'al-Tawḥīd' ('Purity of Faith' or 'Unity') is also preferably recited after 'al-Fātiḥah'.

This restriction by the Fāṭimid authorities was followed two years later by the prohibition of the "Tarāwīḥ"—the special Prayers offered in Ramaḍān after the obligatory "Ishā" ('Night Prayer') and in which, large portions of the Qur'ān are recited aloud with the objective of completing it one or more times during that sacred month.[170] During this month, the Prayer titled 'al-Shaf' w'al-Watr' is performed in congregation after the 'Tarāwīḥ', though they may also be offered individually. The utilisation of the phrase—"Al-Ṣalāt' (Prayer) is better than sleep", an obligatory addition to the regular Prayer Call at 'Fajr' ('Early Morning'), was also banned from usage.[171]

Al-Ḥākim (r.386H/996 till 411H/1020), who succeeded al-'Azīz at the age of eleven, even went ten years later on to the extent of ordering all to prostrate themselves upon hearing his name, whether they happened to be in his presence or not.[172] This was one edict that the residents of Makkah and al-Madīnah, in their increasing resentment, refused to comply with. Al-Ḥākim had even ordered for the graves of the Caliphs Abū Bakr and 'Umar to be dug up secretly, but was foiled in the implementation of this evil design by the ruler of al-Madīnah from the Sharīfian (Ḥusaynid) clan of Banī Muhannā, al-Ḥasan ibn Ṭāher ibn Muslim, alias "al-Muhannā", concerning whom some assert that his actual name was "Muhannā ibn Hānī' ibn Dā'ūd", who had succeeded to authority in 381H(991).[173] It is related that, in the conception and implementation of such designs, al-Ḥākim was often egged on by his unbalanced wife. Indeed, in the year that al-Ḥākim was destined to die, he had sent in addition to the Fāṭimid propagandists and preachers already operating in al-Madīnah, a special preacher, who, apart from holding separate Prayers in the Prophet's Mosque, was even nurturing the design of carrying away the Prophet's ﷺ body to Egypt

or some other Ismā'īlī stronghold, in order to make it the focus of Pilgrimage and universal attention amongst the Muslims.[174]

The 'Amīr' of Makkah to cast off his allegiance to the Fāṭimids in response to popular local and regional demand in 397H(1007) was Ḥasan ibn Ja'far al-Ḥasanī (d.434H/1043). Adopting the titles of "al-Rāshid Bi'llāh" and "Protector of the two Holy Sanctuaries" in addition to the style of "Abū'l Futūḥ" ("the Father of Conquests") already in use, he was to declare himself the Caliph too and to have his name proclaimed so from the pulpits of mosques as distant as Syria. As a result of this act of his, the Muslim world then had come to have four rivals contending for the office of 'Khalīfah' at the same time—the 'Abbāsid in Baghdād, the Fāṭimid in Cairo, the Umaiyyad in al-Qurṭubah (Cordoba) and the 'Alawite (Ja'farite) in the Ḥejāz. However, when Ḥasan began to sense the pressure mount against him as the Fāṭimid administration unleashed every ploy it could to bring him to heel, he saw it prudent to come to terms once again with al-Ḥākim, by acknowledging him as his overlord and Caliph, which he did in 403H(1012/13).[175]

At this stage, while the Fāṭimids, because of their political and financial strength, were sparing little effort in their attempts to subvert various parts of the 'Abbāsid dominions, such as al-'Irāq, al-Jazīrah, Fārs and the Eastern territories of Islām, there was little that the 'Abbāsid Caliph found himself capable of employing as a rejoinder, other than holding symposiums in order to attempt to expose the allegedly spurious nature of the genealogical claims of the Fāṭimids concerning their claimed descent from the Prophet's cousin 'Alī and his daughter Fāṭimah and this was to become something of a trend in 'Abbāsid territory during the fifth century Hijrī (Eleventh Century CE), much to the irritation of the Fāṭimids. Ibn Kathīr in his 'al-Bidāyah' has referred to this under his entries for the year 402H(1011/12) and the chronicler, Ibn Taghrībirdī (d.873H/1469) has preserved for posterity in 'al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah'—one of his many famous works—a Memorandum issued for publicisation concerning the outcome of such deliberations in conference on the genealogy of this dynasty, that were held in the year 444H(1052). Ibn Mayṣar in his work 'Akhbār Miṣr', has also preserved another one that had been publicised in 448H(1056). Being originally a North African dynasty, the Fāṭimids were hardly likely to ignore the western regions of Islām. Again, such was the pathetic and dis-

united state of affairs in those quarters as well during this era, that the most the rulers there were found capable of was indulging in such excercises and exchanges of slander if possible. For example, a rare unpublished manuscript, compiled at the beginning of the ninth century Hijrī (15th c CE) under the orders and supervision of Shaykh Muḥammad ibn ʻAlī al-Khushayrī bears reference to this by mentioning that, once the Fāṭimid al-ʻAzīz had decided to address an insolent letter, full of slander to his Umaiyyad contemporary in al-Qurṭubah (Cordoba), al-Andalus), Hishām II, styled "al-Mu'ayyad Bi'llāh" (r. 366H/976 till 399H/1009). To this, the way the latter chose to repay him was, by the following brief reply: "As you have come to know of us, you have ridiculed us and were we to recognise you, we too would have satirised you". It is related that al-ʻAzīz, found this message so irritating, that he decided not to proceed any further with this dialogue.[176]

Nāṣir-e-Khuṣrö (d.452H/1060), a native of Balkh, visited the Ḥejāz on four occasions during this period and spent considerable time in both, Makkah as well as al-Madīnah. With an observant eye for precise detail and a mind for intelligent analysis, he has left behind a highly interesting record of the two Holy Cities and their major landmarks, the Pilgrimage and the conditions prevalent there then. Some excerpts from his descriptions will be presented later in this book.

The annual assistance from Egypt to the impoverished people of the Ḥejāz and its rulers was a powerful lever, which had always served well in the past in controlling their loyalty and so it proved to be for the Fāṭimids as well. Thus, when Egypt was afflicted by the "Great Calamity"—(a popular term of reference to several consecutive years of severe conditions of famine, pestilence and death, leading to great social, economic and political discord)—and this annual aid and gifts to the two Holy Cities were affected, the ʻAbbāsids, then under the Caliph al-Qā'im Bi'llāh, (r.422H/1031 till 467H/1075), had little trouble in influencing the Amīr of Makkah, Muḥammad ibn Jaʻfar, into transferring his allegiance once again to them in return for the resumption of these vital annual supplies, but not before a delegation from the two Holy Cities had waited at the door of the Ruler's palace in Cairo during Dhū'l-Qaʻdah 415H(January 1025) according to the great chronicler, al-Maqrīzī. This switch in allegiance was to take place during

462H(1070). Ibn al-Athīr mentions that, for this transfer, the able and enterprising Saljūq vassal of the Caliph al-Qā'im, Alp Arslān—(the name means "Mountain Lion" and he ruled between 455H/1063 and 465H/1072)—made the ruler of Makkah a gift of a purse of 30,000 Dīnārs, along with rich robes of honour and the promise of a continuing annual stipend of 10,000 Dīnārs. The ruler of al-Madīnah too was promised a purse of 20,000 Dīnārs and an annual stipend worth 5,000 Dīnārs if he followed suit and replaced the name of the Fāṭimid al-Mustanṣir Bi'llāh (r.427H/1035 till 487H/1094) with that of al-Qā'im in the 'Khuṭbah'. To this, Ibn Kathīr adds that these were such severe years of want, that the Amīr of Makkah actually had to have recourse to removing the precious metals off the Kaʻbah's door ('al-Multazim'), its Gutter ('al-Mīzāb'), the Cloak ('Kiswah') and other sites and relics as well, while his counterpart in al-Madīnah had to resort to melting the lamps also. In Egypt, a dog, if available, was selling for as much as five Dīnārs (gold) and people out of fear of scavengers would bury their dead under cover of the dark of the night. The Fāṭimid Caliph too had to sell about 20,000 swords, 11,000 shields, 20,000 crystal pieces and 75,000 pieces of old brocade amongst other treasures, all of excellent workmanship, for the lowest conceivable prices and was left with no more than three horses in his stables.[177] Al-Maqrīzī in his 'Itti'āẓ al-Ḥunafā" provides more than a rich glimpse of the unique contents of the treasuries of the Fāṭimids that were liquidated during this time of crisis and later on. For example, their lists included such rare swords as the legendary weapon of 'Amr bin Maʻdīkarib from the days of the 'Jāhilīyyah' and the "Dhū'l-Fiqār" ("Cleaver of the Vertebrae") presented by the Prophet Muḥammad to his cousin and son-in-law, the Caliph 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib and immortalised in this famous verse:

> There is no young knight but 'Alī,
> And no sword save the 'Dhū'l-Fiqār.

The collection of books in their thousands included Qur'āns and other works in the hand of such calligraphers of immortal repute as Ibn Muqlah (d.328H/940) and Ibn al-Bawwāb (d.413H/1022). It may be recalled that the great wealth of the Fāṭimids had much to do with their control of the main arteries of the east-west trade.

This last switch of allegiance was in fact to mark the end of effective Fāṭimid over-lordship over the Ḥejāz for ever, though it was not till the arrival of Ṣalāḥal-dīn in Egypt that the name of the 'Abbāsid Caliph, al-Mustaḍī (d.575H/1180) was to replace that of the last of the Fāṭimids, his rival, al-'Āḍid, during 567H(1171) in the lands of Islām, as already revealed.

The history of this period is indeed lucky that the accounts of a number of travelers who visited the Ḥejāz during it and recorded their observations on a large variety of subjects, have survived and do shed excellent light on them. Prominent amongst these was the Andalusian Ibn Jubayr (d.614H/1217), of whom it is related that he performed his first Pilgrimage in order to repent after having consumed wine accidentally. His descriptions of the social and economic conditions and the character of the local people are extremely poignant and some extracts hence will be included in this volume later to cast light on them.

For example, apart from stating that the structure marking the 'Maqām' or 'Station of Ibrāhīm' was mobile, an amazing revelation he makes during his visit to Makkah in 578H(1183) is that he found the Prayers in the Great Mosque being led by five 'Imāms'—four representing the 'Sunnī' or Orthodox Schools of Tradition and the fifth, the Zaydī (Shī'ite) School. He further observed that the Sharīfs of this City follow this latter School. This undoubtedly must have been due to the influence of their Fāṭimid over-lords, who were also instrumental in instructing them in authority for the first time in Makkah's history. Besides, his great wonder at the large variety of fruit and vegetables of quality met with there, the goods and wares he found on display and the international commercial transactions he saw taking place, indeed make amazing reading.

Ibn Jubayr's Ḥajj was followed by that of the Valencian al-'Abdarī in 688H(1289). Then, there was al-Tujībī, another Andalusian, and later on Ibn Baṭṭūṭah (d.779H/1377), a native of Tangiers, who visited the Ḥejāz twice and whose accounts of journeys in general are no less remarkable than those of Marco Polo (d. 723H/1323).

Following this episode, when Ṣalāḥal-dīn's brother Shamsal-Daulah Turān Shāh (d.576H/1180) visited Makkah on his way to the Yaman, in 569H (1173), he had confirmed the Sharīf 'Īsā ibn Fulaytah (d.570H/1175), as the Amīr there. Then, upon the latter's death and dispute between his sons Dā'ūd and Mukthir, Ṣalāḥal-

dīn's younger brother, Tughtakin arrived in Makkah in 581H(1185) to restore order. He had been in the Yaman since Shawwāl 579H (1184). Dā'ūd's claims were accorded recognition and from then on, Ṣalāḥal-dīn's name was included in the 'Khuṭbah' alongside the 'Abbāsid Caliph's with the addition of the richly deserved title of "Khādim al-Ḥaramayn" ("the Servitor of the Two Holy Sanctuaries"). To commemorate, and emphasise this, Tughtakin had both, Dīnārs and Dirhams struck in his brother's name and the phrase "Hie ye to the best of work"—a Shī'ite addition to the 'Adhān' (the Prayer Call) instituted during the Fāṭimid era, was also dropped from usage.[178]

However, when Dā'ūd invaded the Ka'bah's treasury, going to the extent of ripping off the silver band that held 'the Black Stone' in its place, he was replaced by his brother Mukthir, who, in turn was to lose his authority in 597H (1201) to Qatādah ibn Idrīs al-Ḥusaynī (d.617H/1220). This saw the introduction of a new clan's sway over the Holy City. However, the ruler of al-Madīnah then, Sālim ibn Qāsim al-Ḥusaynī was loathe to take such changes in his vicinity quietly, particularly when Qatādah—(whom Ibn al-Athīr describes as a Ḥusaynī and al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī as a Ḥasanī)—decided in 601H(1204/5) to attempt to seize al-Madīnah. Several bloody engagements later, he was to find himself beaten back to Makkah's gates, before Sālim felt it prudent to withdraw.[179] Nevertheless, such was Qatādah's arrogance according to 'al-Dhayl 'Alā al-Rauḍatāyn' by Ṣalāḥal-dīn's biographer Abū Shāmah (d.664H/1266), that, upon the receipt of the annual gifts and robes of honour from Baghdād, he would often boast: "I have a greater right to the Caliphate than al-Nāṣir…..".[180]

Makkah was now destined to come for a short while under the sway of the new dynasty of the Rasūlids in the Yaman, which was to rule there from 626H(1229) till 858H(1454). This, according to sources like Stanley Lane-Poole, had occurred, when the last Aiyyūbid ruler of the Yaman, the young al-Malik al-Mas'ūd (r.612H/1215 till 625H/1228), appointed in 619H(1222) the highly able and upright Shamsal-dīn 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn (Hārūn) as Governor of the Holy City on his behalf. The latter had been nicknamed "al-Rasūl" due to the diplomatic roles he had played as the 'Abbāsid Caliph's emissary on a numer of occassions in the past, and it is from this popular title that the dynasty derives its name as

the "Banī Rasūl" or Rasūlids. His progeny also were to act as governors in the Yaman and over other neighbouring areas that even included Makkah. Shamsal-dīn 'Alī was destined to pass away during Ṣafar 614H(1217).[181]

In 626H(1229), when al-Malik al-Mas'ūd arrived in Makkah from the Yaman on his way to Egypt, he had left behind Shamsal-dīn 'Alī's son Nūral-dīn 'Umar ibn 'Alī' as his 'Wālī' at home. It was he who was to declare his independence from the Aiyyūbids upon al-Malik al-Mas'ūd's death in Makkah in 626H(1229), which some sources place a year earlier. This, according to the chronicler al-Khazrajī (d.812H/1409), was in keeping with the consent of the deceased and as a reward for Nūral-dīn 'Umar's loyalty and service.[182]

In 630H(1233), after having annexed Makkah during the Ḥajj season of 629H (1232), he began to strike coins with the style of "al-Malik al-Manṣūr" ("the Victorious King"), a title, which was cited in the 'Khuṭbah' as well. Nūral-dīn 'Umar ibn 'Alī however, was very shortly to lose Makkah to an Aiyyūbid force dispatched by al-Malik al-Kāmil from Egypt.[183] Nūral-dīn nevertheless succeeded in retrieving Makkah some years later after expending vast sums on the Sharīf Rājeḥ ibn Qatādah and the Egyptian soldiery posted there, particularly during the Ḥajj season of 635H(1238). However, he was again to be deprived of this gain three years later by an Egyptian force sent by al-Malik al-Ṣāleḥ Najmal-dīn. Not the one to be dispirited, he managed to recover it in person in 639H(1241) before returning to the Yaman, which he did the following year. After this episode, Nūral-dīn continued to exercise sway in the affairs of the Yaman and the Ḥejāz as well in one form or another, until his assassination in 647H(1250).[184] Apart from generally lavishing huge sums on the two 'Ḥarams' for religious and political purposes and on the Pilgrimage as well, amongst the many landmarks that Nūral-dīn was to leave behind, al-Khazrajī says, was the college he had founded in Makkah and which was to remain "the envy of all kings".[185]

In Makkah, the Sharīfs, hailing at times from the same family and at others from the various powerful, closely inter-related branches of the same clan, could seldom contain themselves for long from feuding as they jockeyed for some advantage or another. For example, in 652H (1254), the Sharīf Abū Numai (Muḥammad) ibn

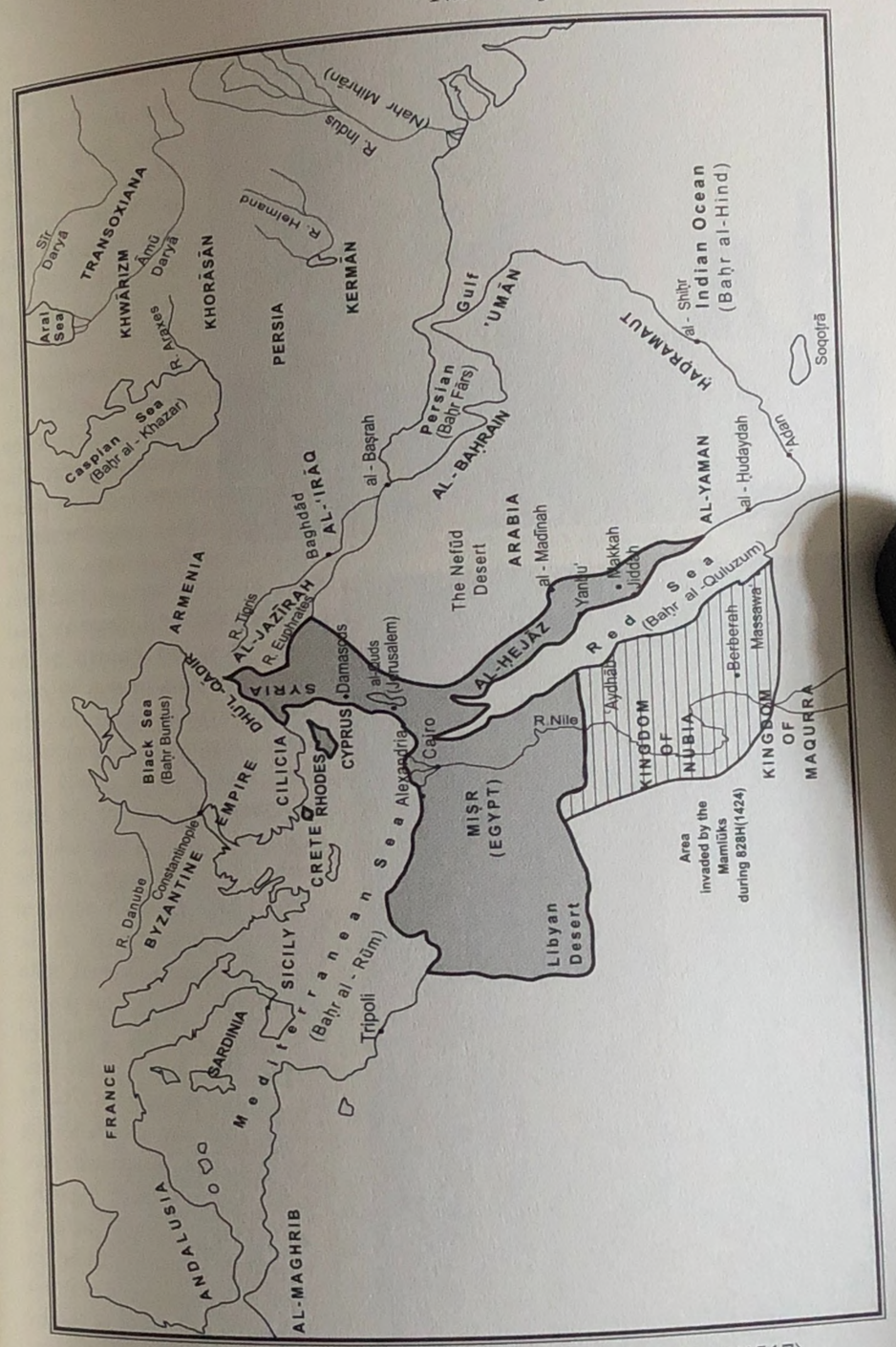
Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Qatādah had made an attempt to become the sole ruler of Makkah at the expense of his uncle Idrīs ibn 'Alī, but without succeeding in his bid. This was to compel him to come to terms with the latter. Then, no sooner had these two resolved their differences than they had to contend with the claims of the sons of the Sharīf al-Ḥasan ibn Qatādah also, who at one stage had managed to seize power in Makkah and hold it for a week. Indeed, so seriously did the Sharīfs take this squabbling for power and what would appear to any outsider with some sense of wit as a game of musical chairs over the sharing of authority, that this was to continue unabated amongst them till the very end of their authority in the Ḥejāz.[186]

After the savage Mongol invasion of Baghdād of 656H(1258), the Ḥafṣid 'Amīr' Abū 'AbdAllāh Muḥammad I ibn Zakariyā (r.647H/1249 till 675H/1277), theoretically a vassal in Tunisia of the distant 'Abbāsids, but in actuality more effectively under the wings of the nearby dynasty of 'al-Muwaḥḥidūn' ('Al-Mohades'), who had come to control large parts of North Africa between 524H(1130) and 667H(1269), had also decided in 657H(1259), to take advantage of the mayhem ruling in the Muslim world at large then, to declare himself the 'Caliph' and heir to that dynasty's spiritual heritage, with the title of "al-Mustanṣir Bi'llāh". Learning of this development, these Sharīfs of Makkah, with the probable intention of adding to the list of the major Muslim dynasties of the time vying for prestige in the Holy Cities and in order to gain an additional source of benefits for themselves and their subjects, may perhaps have even seen greater safety and advantage on this occasion in opting for offering their allegiance to him rather than to their closer Rasūlid neighbours.[187]

Nevertheless, the Rasūlids under al-Muẓaffar Shamsal-dīn Yūsuf (r.647H/1249 till 694H/1295) managed to restore much of their prestige and influence in the Hejāz following his Ḥajj in 659H(1261), when he spent lavishly on charitable causes and on the maintenance and improvement of places of public utility and religious importance in Makkah, making such expenditure annually a regular feature of his policy for some time to come. As far as the 'Ḥaram' was concerned, not merely did he drape the Ka'bah with a fine 'Kiswah' that year, but also made this an annual custom for himself for several years from thereon. Concerning this episode, the famous chroni-

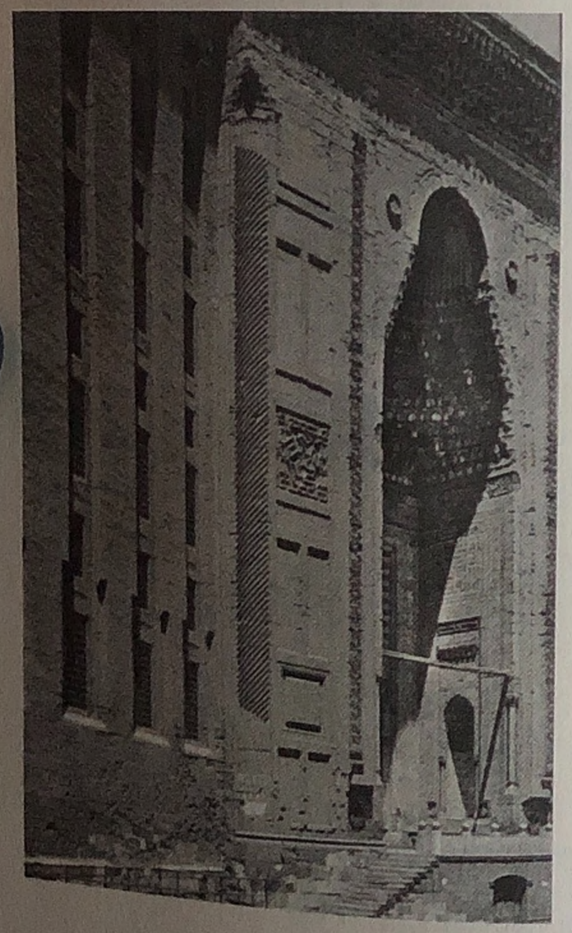
cler of the Yaman, al-Khazrajī, proudly reports that, during this period, al-Muẓaffar "showered gold and silver on the House".[188] Despite all this however, in order to avoid giving any cause for offence to their major benefactor, the Sulṭān in Egypt, the Sharifs henceforth decided that the 'Kiswah' sent by the Rasūlids would be put on, but only after the one sent from Egypt had been hung following the arrival of the Pilgrims from that quarter and taken down after their departure.

The chronicler al-Maqrīzī (d.845H/1442) states that the name of the Mamlūk Sulṭān Baybars al-Banduqdārī was only included in the 'Khuṭbah' in Makkah's mosques instead of the Rasūlid Sulṭān's since 662H(1264). However, Ibn Kathīr gives the date of the official appointment of Baybars as Sulṭān of Egypt by the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Mustanṣir Bi'llāh, as Monday, the fourth of Sha'bān 659H (1261) and al-Qalaqashandī (d.821H/1418), another great chronicler, specifically includes the titles of "Guardian of the Two Honourable Sanctuaries and Qiblahs" as well as "Servitor of the Two Honourable Sanctuaries" amongst those borne by the Sulṭān of Egypt, as both, Syria and the Ḥejāz then came under his auspices.[189] In addition, another less known proof in the guise of a dated inscription does exist in Damascus's Castle, which substantiates that, in 659H(1261), the year of his appointment as Sulṭān by the Caliph, Baybars was already the proud bearer of the title of "Khādim al-Ḥaramayn al-Sharīfayn"—"the Servitor of the two Noble Sanctuaries".



The Mamlūk Dominion at its peak (648H / 1250-922H/1517) – (Custodians of the Holy Cities).





The northern portal and the 'Madrasah cum 'Jāmi'' of the Mamlūk boy Sulṭān (al-Nāṣir Nāṣir al-dīn) Ḥasan. Built between 757 H (1356) and 762 H (1361) with the aid, according to the chronicler al-Maqrīzī, of craftsmen from all over the world, which make it representative of some of the richest traditions in architectural features and decorative arts known in the lands of Islām, it was to cater to 400 resident students with fine separate arrangements for Prayer and study for followers of each of the four Schools of Jurisprudence, with the followers of the Imām Abū Ḥanīfah accorded the most importance, as the Mamlūks were followers of his 'Madh'hab'. Sadly, this project was not to be completed during this Sulṭān's life-time due to his murder in 762 H (1361). It is also worth adding here that, this 'Madrasah' cum 'Jāmi'', Cairo's most gigantic, is generally wrongly held in this Author's opinion to be the first such arrangement ever, for it had been preceded in this by several other institutions almost since Islām's first century.

CHAPTER V

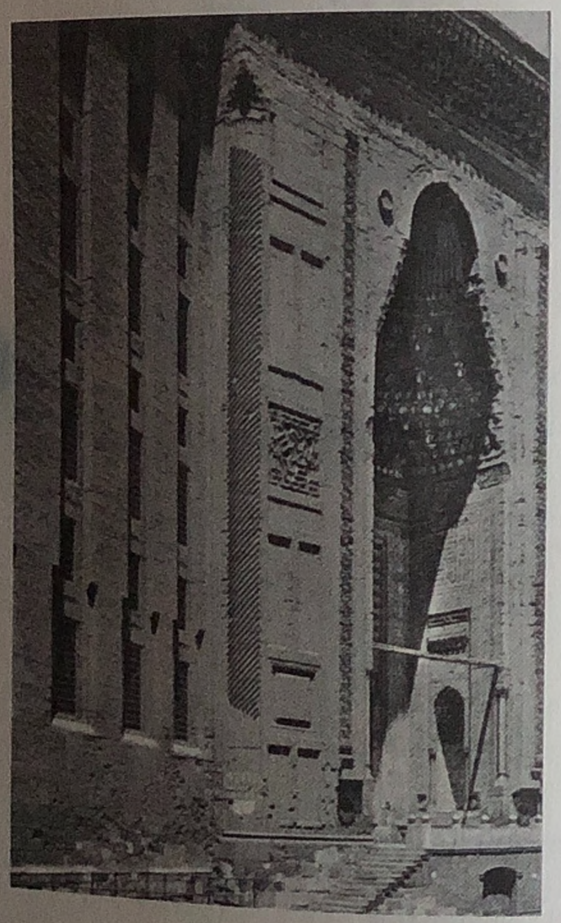
The Era of the Mamlūks (648H/1250–922H/1517)

A & B : Makkah and al-Madīnah

Viewed as ominous portents of something even more terrible to follow by the general populace and as if these disastrous events by themselves were not horrific enough, the earthquake and then the calamitous fire, which had started on the first day of Ramaḍān (22nd September) in al-Madīnah in 654H(1256) according to al-Samhūdī and other chroniclers, was almost totally to destroy the Prophet's Mosque, burning the wood, melting the metal used in its construction and even the lead injected for support into the pillars.[190] Then, as if in realisation of these what terrible omens had forewarned, the seat of the Caliphate, Baghdād itself was ransacked in 656H(1258) upon the Mongol invasion. Well over a million people were put to the sword along with the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Musta'ṣim, who had begun his reign in 640H(1242), and even his grave was effaced.[191] These disasters were not merely to demoralise the world of Islām, but spelt for its polity such humiliation as had never been experienced before.

Then, there stepped into the breach a group of professionally trained soldiers called "al-Mamālīk" or the "Mamlūks" under the then Sulṭān of Egypt, al-Muẓaffar, Sayfal-dīn Quṭuz (r.657H/1259 till 658H/ 1260) and the "Baḥrī" Mamlūk, Baybars, who was later to be his successor. The term "Mamlūk" literally means "Slave". Meanwhile the "Baḥrīyyah" were a corps of Mamlūks formed by the Aiyyūbid Prince al-Ṣāleḥ and stationed on the island of al-Rauḍah in "Qal'at Baḥr al-Nīl" ("the Citadel of the Nile River"), that had specifically been built by him for them in 638H(1241) and hence the appellation.[192] The era of the 'Baḥrid' Mamlūks as opposed to the 'Burjid', who were to succeed them in bearing the mantle of dominion in these lands of Islām, is determined by that great expert of the history and genealogies of Islāmic dynasties and numismatics etc., Stanley Lane-Poole, as well as a number of others, to have lasted some 144 lunar years (about 140 solar years)—(i.e.) from





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648H(1250) till 792H(1390). Then according to the same source, there had been no less than thirty accessions to the throne, involving twenty-six candidates, with one, al-Nāṣir Nāṣiral-dīn Muḥammad being appointed Sulṭān thrice and another two, al-Nāṣir Nāṣiral-dīn Ḥasan and al-Ṣāleḥ Ṣalāḥal-dīn Ḥājī twice each. Some sources end the 'Baḥrid' era in 784H(1382) and herald the 'Burjid' reign that year, thus placing the entire period of contention between the above al-Ṣāleḥ Ḥājī (ibn al-Ashraf Sha'bān) and al-Ẓāhir Sayfal-dīn Barqūq fully at the dawn of the Burjid era.

A Qipchāq Turk, al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Ruknal-dīn Baybars al-Banduqdārī al-Ṣāleḥī, had honed his military skills and gained experience earlier on, fighting the Franks as Fārisal-dīn Aqṭāi's second-in-command. Now, together with the Sulṭān Quṭuz of Egypt, they had managed to check the Mongol advance under their commander Kitbughā' at 'Ayn Jālūt (Goliath's Spring) on the twenty-fifth of Ramaḍān 658H (September 1260). This victory was followed by others at Baisān and Afāmīyah. A little later, Baybars himself was to be elected and confirmed as Sulṭān following a quarrel between him and Quṭuz, that had led to the latter's assassination after a short reign of about a year.[193]

However, the victories at 'Ayn Jālūt, Baysān or Afāmīyah were by no means to signal the end of Mongol attempts to expand their authority in the lands of Islām; though even before these battles had taken place, their leader Hulākū had been forced to return to the Mongol Capital upon hearing the news of the death of their 'Khāqān' or Emperor, Mangū, leaving behind his chief lieutenant Kitbughā' in command to pursue the operations against Egypt. Then, there were also the local Franks and the Crusaders, who, along with the Mongols and in alliance with them, were to continue to remain a potential thorn in the Islāmic 'Ummah's' flesh for some time to come despite their military weakness.[194]

Preoccupied with such momentous challenges, it was a little while before this "Champion of Islām", Baybars—(the name means lion)—could devote serious attention to the affairs of repair and reconstruction in the two 'Ḥarams' of Makkah and al-Madīnah. For example, even the Prophet's tomb, so severely affected by the fire of 654H(1256), was to continue to remain neglected, for some time, merely sheltered by a humble temporary, wooden roofing and five layers of waxed cloth, as all plans for comprehensive repair

work had fallen into abeyance since or due to the fall of Baghdād and the destruction of the Caliphate, that is, until Baybars was to initiate them there in 668H(1268).

Immediately following the fire and prior to his cruel murder, the Caliph al-Musta'ṣim in 655H(1257) had started, the clearing and repair work in the area of the Mosque closest to the Prophet's tomb, though by then, even the debris, that had fallen onto it, had not been cleared due to technical difficulties. Baybars was later to have a high wooden enclosure with three doors installed around the tomb and the little chamber known as "Bayt Fāṭimah" ("the House of Fāṭimah") in 668H(1269/70). However, it was not until another ten years later in 678H(1279), during the reign of the Sulṭān al-Manṣūr Sayfal-dīn Qala'ūn (d.689H/1290), that a wooden dome was built above the waxed awning. According to al-Ṣamhūdī, this was a square structure at its lower end with an octagonal ceiling and in the vicinity of the blessed tomb. It had further been strengthened by lead. Plates of that metal were also used to cover the surfaces as feasible, particularly of the dome. He also adds that, it was the first dome ever to be raised above the tomb![195] The work, according to the chroniclers, was supervised by Kamālal-dīn ibn al-Burhān al-Rab'ī. As for the place for ablutions built in 686H(1287) by the Sulṭān Qala'ūn, outside the 'Bāb al-Salām' and on the land that formerly had been occupied by the house of the Umaiyyad Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam, its construction had been supervised by another nobleman, 'Alāal-dīn al-Aqmar or al-Asmar.[196] It may be worth mentioning here for the benefit of non-Muslims that, Muslims may not offer their 'Ṣalāt' or ritual Prayers nor touch nor read the Qur'ān without first performing the prescribed 'Wuḍū'' or ablutions and in case of the lack of availability of water, "al-Tayammum"—the ritual of ablution, by rubbing the face and hands with clean sand as outlined in the Qur'ān ('Sūrah' 4, Verse 43 and 'Sūrah' 5, Verse 6).

As far as the other parts of the Prophet's Mosque were concerned, the limited repair work that had then been undertaken by the Caliph al-Musta'ṣim, had mostly embraced the ceiling. This had extended from the Prophet's Enclosure to the eastern wall up to the 'Bāb Jibrīl', southward as far as the 'Qiblah' wall and from the west, right up to the 'Minbar' (the Pulpit). Then, during the reign of al-Malik al-Manṣūr Nūral-dīn 'Alī (r.655H/1257 till 657H/1259), the work on the ceiling had reached as far as the western

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wall by the 'Bāb al-Salām', formerly known as "Bāb Marwān".[197] A little later, his successor the Sulṭān Sayfal-dīn Quṭuz (d.658H/1260) had completed the work required between this door and the 'Bāb Jibrīl' and also eastwards, up to the 'Bāb al-Nisā' in the 'Qiblah' sector of the Mosque. Then, it had fallen to the lot of Baybars (d.676H/1277), the next Sulṭān, to finish off the remaining work on the roof and to provide the Mosque with a double or false ceiling also, just as it used to have before the fire, save in the northern portion, which had only a single roof. This construction was supervised on Baybars' behalf by Jamālal-dīn Muḥsin al-Ṣāleḥī, specially deputed for the purpose. Following this, Baybars was also to present the Mosque with a pulpit in 667H(1269), though the ruler of the Yaman, al-Muẓaffar Shamsal-dīn Yūsuf too had gifted one about ten years earlier. Al-Samhūdī however goes on to observe that, after this reconstruction, the Mosque in the northern sector had four colonnades instead of the former five.[198]

To continue with some other aspects of the tale of Baybars' involvement in the affairs of the Holy Cities, when the Sharīf Abū Numai managed to gain the upper hand in a trial of strength with his pro-Rasūlid uncle, Idrīs, in order to strengthen his position further, he had appealed to Baybars for help with the following promises: His willingness to institute his (Baybars') name in the 'Khuṭbah'; provide liberal access to all Pilgrims; cancel the unfair taxes, fees, dues and fines that he regularly imposed; refrain from interfering with the Province's commerce along with his readiness to strike coins in Baybars' name. Upon receiving this appeal with its attractive conditions, Baybars agreed to confirm him as 'Amīr' of Makkah with a diploma and also to grant him an annuity of twenty thousand Dirhams (silver). This was in part to make up for the loss in revenue suffered by him for the cancellation of the various dues deemed arbitrary and unfair. For example, the Sharīf, while levying a charge of thirty Dirhams per camel on Pilgrims from the Yaman, had been in the habit of arbitrarily imposing fifty Dirhams per camel head on those from Egypt.[199]

Al-Fāsī (d.832H/1429) in his 'Shifā' al-Gharām' says that, after the fall of Baghdād to the Mongols, Baybars was the first Egyptian ruler to drape the Ka'bah with a 'Kiswah', which was in 661H(1263). The Rasūlid Sulṭān Shamsal-dīn however, had already presented a 'Kiswah' in 659H(1261). It is interesting to note that, this Rasūlid

ruler's father, during his surprise visit to Makkah prior to the Ramaḍān of 639H(1242) upon Sharīfian prompting, had asked the Sharīfs to observe the same terms more or less as those of Baybars, after lavishing great wealth on them and the other dignitaries. In fact, he had even had these terms inscribed on a panel and placed before 'the Black Stone' for the purposes of information of the Pilgrims and as a reminder to the Sharīfs as well of their agreement to abide by them. On this occasion, the Rasūlid Sulṭān had also left behind him one of his trusted lieutenants to keep an eye on the situation on his behalf after purchasing the Castle of Yanbu' and pulling it down in order to prevent the Egyptians from using it as a base and a depot.[200]

After Baybars had found himself with greater time to devote to the affairs of the Holy Cities and the Ḥajj, in order to emphasise his level of interest in them, he suddenly decided, much to the bewilderment of the Sharīf Abū Numai, to arrive in Makkah unannounced on the day of the 'Tarwiyah'—(the actual start of the Ḥajj)—during the Pilgrimage season of 667H(1269). This sudden visit by Baybars in order to witness and judge things for himself, apart from conveying to Abū Numai the message he desired to pass on, also proved to be a major blessing for the people of the Ḥejāz in several other guises, as Baybars, after washing the Ka'bah, anointing it with perfumes and dressing it with a new 'Kiswah', spent vast sums on charity and general improvements. This was followed by a visit to al-Madīnah, which, in terms of disbursement of largesse and other philanthropic deeds, was a reflection of his stay in Makkah. Indeed, it is related that during this visit, in a display of the level of his veneration and commitment to the causes of the Prophet's City and his Mosque, he had personally taken the measurements for the already alluded to Enclosure around the Prophet's tomb, that he was to send from Egypt.[201]

Amongst other interesting measures of political and administrative significance by Baybars that may be recalled here was the letter he addressed to the Rasūlid Sulṭān, al-Muẓaffar, in the Yaman, confirming to him the establishment of Mamlūk suzerainty over the Ḥejāz. This of course was designed to discourage the latter from any ambitions he may have entertained regards interference in its affairs. Furthermore, he also appointed a resident official with plenipotentiary powers to deputise on his behalf during his absence from

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the scene. Unfortunately, as the latter had no military force at his disposal to enforce his will as and when needed, the benefits of this measure did not prove lasting. With the passage of time, once the fear of Baybars had eroded sufficiently from the two Sharīfs' minds, internecine feuding between nephew (Abū Numai) and uncle (Idrīs) coupled with other mischief was to start once again, with the Sulṭān's Deputy unable to interfere and it only was to end (temporarily), when Idrīs was killed.[202]

After Baybars, the next Mamlūk Sulṭān to play a role of some significance in the affairs of Makkah and al-Madīnah and their holy sites was al-Manṣūr Sayfal-dīn Qala'ūn (r.678H/1279 till 689H/1290). This Sulṭān is also famous in the annals of Islām for defeating the Mongols and the Franks in the plains of Homs and for contributing towards bringing the Crusades to a final end by reducing the last of their strongholds, Tripoli in 688H(1289) and then laying siege to Acre the following year, though he was to be deprived of witnessing the final outcome of his labour by untimely death.[203]

Qala'ūn felt himself compelled to interfere politically, in the affairs of the Ḥejāz during 681H(1282), the fourth year of his reign, when he had to force the Sharīf Abū Numai to swear an 'Oath of Obedience' (in perpetuity) to the Mamlūk State. Its text has been preserved by some historians such as al-Fāsī in his 'al-'Aqd al-Thamīn'. According to the terms of this 'Oath', which were more or less a repeat of those agreed upon with the Sulṭān Baybars, Abū Numai was to remain a faithful vassal, drape the Ka'bah with no other 'Kiswah' than the gift of the Mamlūk Sulṭān and to give precedence to his "Victorious Standard" at all assemblages and processions during the Ḥajj and on other occasions.[204]

Although agreeing to go through the motions of taking the 'Oath', Abū Numai had become too used to getting away with his extortionate ways and to working his will as suited his fancy on the citizens and the Pilgrims alike to change his habits and ways, or to reform his character and policies for such long periods as Qala'ūn's interests required of him. Hence, upon learning of this, Qala'ūn sent a task force of three hundred horse along with the 'Amīr' of the Ḥajj, 'Alamal-dīn Sanjar al-Bāshqardī to emphasise to Abū Numai in no uncertain terms, that he expected compliance from him with the terms of the 'Oath' he had taken earlier. To this, the reaction of the Sharīf was to close Makkah's gates to all traffic, heedless of the

proximity of the days of the Ḥajj, which were drawing nearer and nearer. Thus, when the day of the 'Tarwīyah' arrived to signal the start of the Pilgrimage, the Mamlūk force had to burn down a gate and make an aperture in the City's wall from the direction of the sector known as 'al-Ḥajūn' in order to enable the Pilgrims to enter Makkah and perform the rites. This was while matters were being swiftly composed between the Sharīf and the Mamlūk 'Amīr al-Ḥajj' and just for the immediate purposes in hand, by the efforts of no less than Makkah's Chief 'Qāḍī', al-Khidhr ibn al-Ḥasan al-Sanjarī al-Shāfi'ī the year was 683H(1285).[205]

After this sour experience with Abū Numai, Qala'ūn decided to switch to supporting his rival, the Sharīf Jammāz ibn Shayḥah, the Amīr of al-Madīnah. As a result of this, Jammāz was able to seize Makkah in 687H(1288), bringing the Ḥejāz squarely under Mamlūk suzerainty, at least for the time being. Interestingly enough, a proud reference to this event is also found in a treaty that Sulṭān Qala'ūn was to sign with the Kingdom of Aragon, Spain, in the year 689H (1290). In this document, the title of "Sulṭān of the Lofty and Honoured House in Makkah" is cited officially for the first time in addition to those others he already bore, some of which were "Servitor of the Two Holy and Honoured Sanctuaries, Custodian of the Two 'Qiblahs', King of the Egyptian Dominions and the Ḥejāzī Provinces".[206]

However, Qala'ūn was destined to pass away that same year (689H/1290) and it took Abū Numai, with his vast experience of Ḥejāzī affairs, very little time to seize back complete political authority in Makkah. Then, come the Ḥajj that year (i.e. 689H/1290), he was found challenging Mamlūkian claims to overlordship and their right of interference in his affairs, proceeding to levy fresh dues on the Egyptian and Syrian Ḥajj caravans from the Mamlūk dominions under the pretext that they had not brought with them the traditional gifts and funds for him and his people. On this occasion too, after revealing his mastery in the game of brinkmanship, he was to give way at the very last minute, but as expected from him, only after extracting all that he possibly could out of the Egyptian 'Amīr al-Ḥajj'.[207]

The following Pilgrimage season, Abū Numai was to go even further by not merely daring to drop the name of the new Mamlūk Sulṭān, al-Malik al-Ashraf Ṣalāḥal-dīn Khalīl (ibn Qala'ūn) (r.689H/

1290 till 693H/1293) from the 'Khuṭbah', but by actually replacing it without much ado with that of the Rasūlid, al-Muẓaffar of the Yaman. The chroniclers al-Maqrīzī and al-Fāsī, who provide the above information, also credit Abū Numai with explaining the motivation behind his ever-shifting loyalties thus: "The wise man does naught that could harm his cause, save for greater gain".[208] It may also be added here 'en passant' that, the accession to the Sulṭānate of al-Malik al-Ashraf Ṣalāḥal-dīn Khalīl following the Sulṭān Qala'ūn was, in some respects, most unusual, for amongst the Mamlūks, sons seldom succeeded their fathers to political dominion as had happened in his case.

In brief, the seventh and the eighth Hijrī centuries (13th and 14th centuries CE) were a period of particular political upheaval and turmoil in the history of the Ḥejāz and moreso the latter century. This was due in particular to the unusually inflated level of internecine feuding amongst the Sharīfs during this phase and the policy then adopted by the Mamlūk authorities to stand by and refrain from interference, unless of course the issue at stake had some direct bearing on their interests or image as the "Guardians" and "Servitors" of the Holy Sanctuaries.

Having been provided with this leeway by the Mamlūks, and hardly satisfied with the mere opportunities of being allowed to bicker, which they did to their hearts' content, it was not long before these elite of the Holy City had decided to expand the range of their activities to encompass the introduction of a number of innovative religious practices as well in relation to worship in the Makkan 'Ḥaram'. These, in a number of ways at least, were reminiscent of the innovations devised by the Quraysh before Islām, or may even have the germ of their roots in them. For example, the "Sadanah", the hereditary custodians of the Ka'bah's keys, had decided to make an aperture in the Ka'bah's western wall and called it "al-'Urwat al-Wuthqā'" ("the Firm Hold"). They had also proceeded to hang a plank in the middle of the Ka'bah with a nail in its centre, styling it in keeping with some ancient interpretations regarding Makkah's and more precisely, the Ka'bah's location, as "the Navel of the World". In the face of such blatant provocations, once the Mamlūk authorities had discerned that these successors and progeny of those early Qurayshites had carried their universally unwelcome innovations far enough for them to remain quiet, they felt

compelled to intervene and it was to fall to the lot of the 'Amīr al-Ḥajj', Sayfal-dīn Barlāghī al-Ashrafī, to rid the Ka'bah of them.[209] However, this hardly seems to have affected the Sharīfian ruling clan for long, for they were to continue with their feuding and extortions, at times going far enough to force the Mamlūk authorities to intervene militarily in order to restore some semblance of order and respect for their image and authority, locally, as well as in the sight of the world of Islām, that would be observing them through the eyes of the Pilgrims or otherwise.

This was also the age of the notable Ḥanbalī theologian and jurist, Ibn Taymīyyah (d.728H/1328), the freedom of whose polemics against some of the beliefs and practices then prevalent in Islāmic society, were causing a fair stir amongst the authorities and the scholars of the day, leading a number of quarters to accuse him of being an 'anthropomorphist' and to his internment as well on occasions. Not that this was to deter him in any way from his course. In 691H(1292), he had performed the Ḥajj, being as outspoken as ever throughout the duration of his stay in Makkah. In short, he was a bitter enemy of the cult of saints, their veneration and of 'Bid'ah' (innovation) in general, as well as of sectarianism and all sects. Nevertheless, he considered himself a 'Mujtahid', or someone permitted to exert himself with the aid of 'Qiyās' (analogy) to arrive at an opinion. He also shunned 'Taqlīd' or blind imitation on the authority of another and surprisingly enough, even the concept of 'Ijmā'' or consensus in opinion amongst scholars without question in cases.[210]

Al-Nāṣir Nāṣiral-dīn Muḥammad ibn Qala'ūn (d.741H/1340), like his brother and predecessor, al-Ashraf Ṣalāḥal-dīn Khalīl ibn Qala'ūn, also holds something of an unusual record in the annals of the Mamlūks, for being chosen Sulṭān thrice. He was twelve years old at the time of his first installation when his reign had lasted from 693H(1293) till 694H(1294). His next tenure of power was from 698H(1298) till 708H(1308) and the last one, from 709H(1310) till 741H (1340).[211] The length of the duration he ruled is also somewhat unusual for a Mamlūk Sulṭān. Perhaps because of this very factor, and despite the indicated interruptions in his reign, al-Nāṣir was the next Mamlūk ruler to pay serious attention to the affairs of Makkah and al-Madīnah.

In al-Madīnah, as far as the efforts to remedy in totality the effects of the havoc caused by the great fire of 654H(1256) were concerned, work on the ceiling in the area of the Mosque known as "al-Rauḍah" was started and completed in 701H(1301). This was followed in 705H(1305) by the renovation of the ceiling covering the colonnades to the east and the west of the central courtyard, which took two years and was in conformity with the work initiated by the Sulṭān Baybars in the northern sector. Two additional colonnades were also to be added later on in 729H(1328) to the 'qiblah' part of the Mosque, raising their number to seven.[212]

Al-Nāṣir also rebuilt the South-Western Minaret to a height of 95 cubits. The South-Eastern Minaret often recognised by the name of 'al-Ra'īsīyyah' (the Main Minaret) was 77 cubits, until rebuilt later to a height of 120 cubits. The height of 'al-Sinjārīyyah' (the North-Eastern Minaret), a reference to the 'Amīr' who had participated then in its reconstruction, Sinjār al-Jāwlī and died in 745H (1345) at the age of 92 lunar years, was 79 cubits, and of the "Wooden" North-Western Minaret, 72 cubits.[213]

The great North African traveller, Ibn Baṭṭuṭah (d.780H/1378) alluded to earlier, had performed the Ḥajj in 726H(1325) and visited al-Madīnah also on his way. Yet surprisingly, his notices and comments regards his observations and stay there as recorded in his 'Riḥlah' (Travel Account) appear cursory in comparison with his focus on Makkah and life there. His comments on his visit to Māli and his meetings with the Sulṭān Mansā Mūsā are also fairly extensive and multi-faceted, though he refers to this mighty ruler's famous Ḥajj merely 'en passant'. According to al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, it was prior to this Traveller's visit by two years that, Mūsā, "the King of Takrūr" (Central-Western Africa), had performed the Ḥajj, accompanied by no less than fifteen thousand followers that he had brought along with him—a reflection on the state of Islām in the western and central parts of Africa during that era and the power and pomp they then enjoyed.

Prior to this event, the Sulṭān al-Nāṣir Nāṣiral-dīn Muḥammad (ibn Qala'ūn) had decided in the year 712H(1313) to perform the Ḥajj and review the situation in the Ḥejāz personally after having ordered a change in political authority there a year earlier. Accordingly, the Sharīfs Abū'l Ghayth and 'Uṭayfah had been deposed and replaced by their brothers Ḥumayḍah and Rumaythāh. These latter

two had already been appointed to office earlier once in 704H(1304), but to no advantage. Unfortunately, this recent decision of al-Nāṣir also had proved to be a poor remedy, as he was forced during his visit to re-appoint Abū'l Ghayth. This appointment however was to encourage the latter's two above-named brothers to flee to the Rasūlids in the Yaman, where, in keeping with that court's traditional policy towards the Ḥejāz, they were well received as had been expected by them.[214] From there, they were to attempt henceforth, with varying degrees of success, to interfere with the commercial and the Ḥajj traffic, until pardoned by the Mamlūk authorities after Abū'l Ghayth had been defeated and killed in 715H (1315) in an amazing act of fratricide.

The great historian of Makkah, Daḥlān states that, not merely was Abū'l Ghayth slain by Ḥumayḍah in his bed, but his body had then been conveyed to the latter's house, there to be boiled and served to his surviving brothers, invited unawares for a meal, as a brutal reminder of the extent to which he was prepared to go to, in order to deal with opposition. To add further colour and effect to this macabre scene, he had on that occasion arranged for each of his brothers to be waited upon by two Negro slaves, whose swords came to be drawn over their heads as they bent over to examine the covered fare. Under the circumstances, the brothers could do little but meekly submit.[215]

However, as political authority on this occasion had only been vested in Ḥumayḍah, Rumaythah did dare soon enough to challenge his brother successfully and seize power after gaining Mamlūk support, which, as a sign of the times and out of considerations of convenience, had started to sway rather too easily from candidate to candidate in the interests of their State's policy towards the Holy Cities and the Ḥejāz. Ḥumayḍah, not to be outdone, had decided to flee, this time to al-'Irāq, and appealed to the Ilkhānid Sulṭān for help, to which the latter was to respond favourably. The outcome of this was that, Ḥumayḍah was successful in disposing of Rumaythah, as a result of which, in the 'Khuṭbah' that year (718H/1319) and during 719H(1320), the Ilkhānid Khān was referred to as the premier ruler, supporter and leader of Islām. This was to stir the Mamlūks once again into immediate action and they now decided to help 'Uṭayfah attack his brother and replace him, a design in which they were to be successful, but only after Ḥumayḍah had

been defeated and killed the same year and some say a little later in 720H(1320).[216]

The historian al-Fāsī mentions that, the 'Irāqī Ḥajj Caravan that year had brought much largesse to distribute, along with many expensive presents for the Sharīfs and other important persons to tempt 'Uṭayfah's loyalty, but without success. Nevertheless, this was hardly to prevent the Ilkhānids from trying again and particularly via the means of the 'Irāqī Ḥajj Caravan of 730H(1330), with which the Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd Mīrzā ibn "Kharbandah" was even to send an elephant to accompany it around in order to impress all and sundry with his might, for few Ḥejāzīs of that era would have seen anything like this mountainous mammal, well recognised in several parts of Asia, as an emblem of sovereignty and power. This exercise had cost some 30,000 Dirhams.[217] As for the name "Khar" (Ass) "Bandah" (Slave), meaning "Slave of the Ass" in Persian, the explanation may be found in an early custom amongst some of the Mongols. Being a nomadic people of the Steppes, they tended to regard the first animal to be seen at the time of the birth of a baby or immediately after it, as an omen of import and would often give the new born a name associated in some manner with that animal! However, it is most likely that this Ilkhānid Sulṭān's actual name, as given by Stanley Lane-Poole in his compendium on the names of rulers of Islāmic dynasties and their reigns, was Abū Sa'īd Bahādur, the son of Uljaytū "Khudā Bandah" Muḥammad. The name "Khudā" (God) "Bandah" (Slave) is the equivalent of 'AbdAllāh in Arabic, for it translates as the "Slave of God". Uljaytū Khudā Bandah had ruled between 703H(1304) and 716H(1316) and Abū Sa'īd from 716H(1316) till 736H(1335). Ibn Ḥajar (d.852H/1448), while confirming the year of the latter's death, gives his full name as "Abū Sa'īd ibn Khar Bandah ibn Arghūn ibn Ibughā ibn Hūlāu (Hulākū)". The Makkan historian al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī (d.1173H/1759), transcribes the name of "Khudā Bandah" as "Bandah-e-Khudā" as well as "Bandā Khudah".[218]

The Rasūlids, although keen as ever to have a say in the affairs of the Holy Land, were well aware at all times of their own military and economic limitations in comparison to their rivals in Egypt and Syria or al-'Irāq and elsewhere.[219] In fact, it was this factor, that had often induced them to be unusually amenable to and compliant with the overtures and indulgences of their neighbours from the

north, the Sharīfs, though this was, as may be expected, often greatly to the irritation of the Mamlūks. For example, at a later stage, the Mamlūks were even to go to the extent of ordering the Door of the Ka'bah, that, as mentioned earlier, had been presented by the Sulṭān al-Muẓaffar al-Rasūlī (d.694H/1295), to be replaced by another gifted by the then Mamlūk Sulṭān, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qala'ūn following his third Ḥajj in 732H(1332). On this occasion, al-Nāṣir had been accompanied by some seventy of his principal 'Amīrs' and other men of eminence and learning.[220]

In fact, the Sulṭān al-Nāṣir had been encouraged a little earlier by the 'Qāḍī' Jalālal-dīn Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī (d.739H/1338), to take steps amongst others to put an end to the feuding in Makkah, by sending a force. This advice had been complied with during the first quarter of 731H (1330) and the force dispatched then had been instrumental in installing the Sharīf Rumaythah in power. Prior to that, and until pacified somewhat, he had decided in a fit of rage to get rid of all Sharīfs forever. Of course, during the above Ḥajj of the Sulṭān, much bounty was disbursed as usual in the guise of gifts and charity. It is related that, the Sulṭān had brought along with him large wooden troughs or basins growing a considerable variety of vegetables, pot herbs and aromatics, as well as large ovens for baking an assortment of breads for distribution, along with 130,000 "Irdab" of barley for this purpose. An 'Irdab' is equal to twenty 'Sā'' ('Measures') or 198 pounds. In 738H(1338), Makkah was visited by a big 'Sayl' which caused damage within the 'Ḥaram'.[221]

As a result of the display of firm intent by the Mamlūks on this occasion, when it happened that al-Malik al-Mujāhid al-Rasūlī (r.721H/1321 till 764H/1363) arrived to perform the Ḥajj in 742H(1342), despite his lavish gifts and acts of charity, when he expressed a desire to dress the Ka'bah with a new 'Kiswah' and to install a new door, his offer was politely ignored. In 740H(1340), prior to his visit, al-Mujāhid had ordered for a 'Madrasah' named "al-Mujāhidīyyah" after him, to be built in Makkah and had made generous endowments in the Yaman for its maintenance. During this Ḥajj of his, he had also stayed on its premises.[222]

Then, on the next occasion that al-Malik al-Mujāhid arrived in the Ḥejāz in 751H(1351) to participate in the Pilgrimage, Rumaythah's son 'Ajlān to universal surprise, was actually to go to the extent of conniving with the Mamlūk authorities to lay their hands

on his person at Minā and to send him captive to Egypt without being allowed to complete the Ḥajj's rituals. Al-Mujāhid however was well received there by the then Sulṭān, al-Nāṣir Nāṣiral-din Ḥasan (not to be confused with his namesake in part, al-Nāṣir Nāṣiral-dīn Muḥammad ibn Qala'ūn). The child Sulṭān al-Nāṣir Nāṣiral-dīn Ḥasan (r.748H/1347 till 752H/1351), was shortly to set al-Mujāhid at liberty after he had arranged to meet a ransom demand of 400,000 Dinars through the famous 'Kārimī' merchants. For some reason, however, he was again to be taken captive at Yanbu' and then detained for a while at al-Karak, before being allowed to return to the Yaman, where he arrived towards the end of 752H(the beginning of 1352).[223] The Sulṭān al-Nāṣir was destined to abdicate that year due to palace intrigues, only to reign again between 755H(1354) and 762H(1361) before being killed and his body never to be found. Yet, it is to him that Cairo owes its grandest 'Madrasah' cum 'Jami'', still known by his name.

It was also during the reign of this Mamlūk Sulṭān that renovation work, involving amongst others, the replacement of the lead plates covering the dome above the blessed tomb of the Prophet ﷺ was undertaken. This exercise was to be repeated once again in 765H(1363) during the reign of the Sulṭān, al-Ashraf Nāṣiral-din Sha'bān II (ibn Ḥusayn ibn Qala'ūn), who had reigned between 764H(1363) and 778H(1376).[224]

Despite the bitter experience recently suffered, when the time came, it proved quite insufficient to prevent al-Ashraf Ismā'īl I al-Rasūlī (r.778H/1376 till 803H/1400) from adhering to his dynasty's traditional policy towards the Ḥejāz and the Ḥajj and fishing in murky waters by equipping and sending forth a 'Maḥmal' with the Ḥajj caravan from the Yaman for the Pilgrimage of 781H(1380).[225] Of course, he had been encouraged in taking this bold step upon learning of the internal troubles besetting the State of the 'Baḥrid' or Turkish Mamlūks in Egypt, who were shortly destined to make way for their 'Burjid' or Circassian rivals. It may be noted here that, just as the 'Baḥrid' Mamlūks had acquired that appelation for being cantoned on their island (al-Rauḍah) on the "Baḥr al-Nīl" ("the River Nile"), the 'Burjid' Mamlūks were labelled so because they were quartered in the Citadel of Cairo. The accession of the Burjids to supreme authority and sovereignty is usually dated from 784H(1382) and the installation of their first Sulṭān, al-Ẓāhir Barqūq (r.784H/1382 till 801H/1399).[226]

Be that as it may, during the Mamlūk era—Baḥrid as well as Burjid—while Makkah, as the capital of the Ḥejāz, seems to have been the centre of much of the political focus and feuding between the rival factions jockeying for some advantage or another, any improvements that took place during this period as far as the two 'Ḥarams' were concerned, were mostly to go al-Madīnah's way, that is, at least almost until the beginning of 803H(1400), when official attention once again had to be focused in the main on the Makkan Mosque for a while. However, al-Madīnah continued to benefit through official interest, gifts, endowments and charities, once the repairs in Makkah had been addressed. What had happened in Makkah on this occassion was that, during the Shawwāl of 802H(1400), a major fire, that had started in one of the "Ribāṭs"—(a 'Ribāṭ' is primarily a monastery or hospice for members of the Ṣufi Orders, dervishes and the poor)—the 'Ribāṭ Nāẓir', located adjacent to the 'Ḥaram', had burnt down a whole part of the western sector of the Mosque, destroying about a hundred and thirty of the marble columns there and had caused great damage to the ceiling as well, forcing it to collapse in several places.

All this had called for considerable repairs, re-construction and re-roofing. The 'Ribāṭ Nāẓir', was also known as "Rāmshit"—a reference to the Shaykh Abū'l Qāsim Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Fārsī, who had established this 'Ribāt,' in 529H(1135)—and it lay between the entrances to the 'Ḥaram' of the 'Bāb al-Wadā'' and the 'Bāb Ibrāhīm', a major reason why the fire had spread so rapidly into the 'Ḥaram'. It is further related that, this disaster, which had started on 28th Shawwāl as a result of a rat pulling at the wick of a lamp, was surprisingly only contained due to the heavy damage that had been caused earlier to the columns and the ceiling, particularly in this area and by the 'Bāb al-'Ajalah' by a major flash-flood, that had preceded this disastrous fire almost six months earlier (on 5th Jamād al-Awwal). It was to turn out that the collapsed structure awaiting clearing-up and restoration in these two areas, had actually impeded the fire's progress.[227]

On this occasion, the repairs called for urgently were implemented under the supervision of the Egyptian 'Amīr al-Ḥajj' for the Pilgrimage of the year 803H (1401), Baisaq al-Ẓāhirī (d.821H/1418), who had remained behind after the Ḥajj to clear up the Mosque and continue the work. This was completed, barring the

restoration of the ceiling due to the shortage of suitable wood, before the following Ḥajj season, much to the plaudits and gratitude of all. The required columns had been cut and hewn out of stone from the hills around Makkah, such as 'al-Ṣawwān' and 'al-Shimaysī'. For the ceiling, such suitable wood as may be found locally—(the "Daum" and the "'Ar'ar" or Juniper being the only available)—were utilised temporarily, until the appropriate wood for permanent re-roofing with carvings, could be brought over from abroad. The two types of wood considered most suitable for the purpose at this time were teak or pine.

After this phase, the 'Amīr' al-Ẓāhirī, who in the meantime had returned to Egypt to raise and procure the necessary support and supplies, returned again in 807H(1404) to complete the restoration and he was to make sure that everything was as near to or better than its former state wherever possible. Even the destroyed 'Ribāṭ' was restored as a hospice for the poor by the then Amīr, the Sharīf Ḥasan ibn 'Ajlān. Some further work required in the front colonnade facing south opposite the Bengālī 'Madrasah' (founded by the Sulṭān Aḥmad Khān) and on the ceiling in various parts of the 'Ḥaram', was completed a little later under the supervision of Makkah's 'Qaḍī', Ibn Ẓahīrah in 815H(1412/13).[228]

With reference to this 'Madrasah' and its founder, it is somewhat confusing to discover that, the only ruler bearing the name Aḥmad to rule in Bengal during this period under consideration was Shamsal-dīn Aḥmad Shāh ibn Muḥammad Shāh (r.817H/1414 till 835H/1431) of the Kāns dynasty. Gujarāt also had a Sulṭān called Aḥmad Shāh ibn Tatār Khān, who had ruled for about a year during 814H(1411).

However, prior to the re-construction that was to follow, though these were years of turmoil for the world of Islām, the latest of which was the invasion of Syria by the 'Amīr' Taimūr ("the Lame") just before the fire in the 'Ḥaram', the Ḥajj as such had not entirely been ignored by the Muslim princes at large. For example, Muẓaffaral-dīn Kokbūrī, "the Lord of Irbil" (d.630H/1233), who had seized that place following his brother Zaynal-dīn Yūsuf's death in 586H(1190), only to will all his possessions to the 'Abbāsid Caliph 'in situ', had also been instrumental in contributing handsomely to a project for bringing water to 'Arafāt for the Pilgrims' convenience.[229]

In a similar vein, the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Nāṣir (r.575H/1180 till 622H/1225) had the floor of the 'Enclosure of Ismā'īl' covered with marble, most probably during 576H(1180).[230] While in 629H(1232), the Caliph al-Mustanṣir Bi'llāh (d.660H/1262) had ordered the repair and refurbishment of the Ka'bah along with its roof and columns, as well as a host of similar works and other charitable deeds elsewhere in Makkah and its environs.[231] Likewise, other notables like his Mamlūk Iqbāl al-Sharābī al-Mustanṣirī, had a number of pools excavated and reservoirs constructed at vital junctions by Minā', al-Muzdalifah and 'Arafāt around 633H (1236). These had been preceded by a hospital near the 'Bāb' al-Ziyādah in 628H(1231) and followed by a 'Ribāṭ' by the 'Bāb' al-Salām during 641H(1244).[232] Al-Sharābī is also credited with erecting an enclosure around the 'Maṭāf' area.

Following immediately in the wake of the 'Baḥrid' era, the dawn of the reign of the 'Burjid' or 'Circassian' Mamlūks ,with the last two rulers of the former dynasty, al-Ṣaleḥ Ṣalāḥal-dīn Ḥājī and al-Ẓāhir Sayfal-dīn Barqūq also featuring in it, was to last for well over thirteen decades and till the conquest of Syria and then of Egypt some eight months later during 923H(1517) by the Ottomans under Salīm (Selim) I (r.918H/1512 till 926H/1520). Salīm I is also remembered popularly in history by the Turkish epithet of "Yavuz", meaning the "Bold" or "Valiant", though European historians refer to and recall him as "the Grim". These acquisitions by him were also to bring the Ḥejāz into the Ottoman fold the same year and the association was to last a good four centuries, of which, more later.

It may be recalled that, the earlier 'Baḥrid' period lasting some 144 lunar years (approximately 140 solar years) till 792H(1390), had involved thirty accessions to the throne, including the elevation of one Sulṭān to the throne thrice and of another two rulers twice. During the 'Burjid' era that was to endure for another 130 lunar years (nearly 127 solar years) from that date, the Mamlūk State was to witness the enthronement of twenty-six rulers.

Amongst the rulers of these two Mamlūk dynasties, the name of al-Barqūq (al-Ẓāhir Sayfal-dīn Barqūq), a Circassian, would be found to feature in the list of the Baḥrids as its penultimate Sulṭān, who had ruled for about seven years between 784H(1382) and 791H(1389). He is also considered by some as the first of the 'Burjid'

or 'Circassian' rulers because of his origins. Hence they date the beginning of this dynasty from this year of his accession. His authority was however to be challenged by al-Ṣaleḥ Ṣalāḥal-dīn Ḥājī (ibn al-Ashraf), another Sulṭān, who also had held power as a 'Baḥrid' prior to Barqūq for a year, between 783H(1381) and 784H(1382), and then interfered again with his (Barqūq's) authority between 791H(1389) and 792H(1390). Barqūq's next reign was to last from 792H(1390) till 801H(1399). His son al-Nāṣir Nāsiral-dīn Faraj, was also to be installed as Sulṭān twice, with his first reign falling between 801H(1399) and 808H(1405/6) and his second tenure of power from 809H(1406/7) till 815H(1412/13). This list of rulers also includes the 'Abbāsid Caliph, al-'Ādil al-Musta'īn Bi'llāh Abū'l Faḍl al-'Abbās, who had ruled very briefly ruled as "Sulṭān" during 815H(1412).[233]

The major restoration work carried out in Makkah following the disastrous fire of 802H(1400), during the reign of the above Sulṭān al-Nāṣir Nāṣiral-dīn Faraj has already been referred to. On this occasion, all effort had been made to restore everything as best as possible to its original pristine form, even though marble columns had not been towed from abroad to Makkah as during the reigns of the Umaiyyad Caliph al-Walīd ibn 'Abdal-Malik and the 'Abbāsids, Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr and Muḥammad al-Mahdī. The only other departure was in the arrangement regards the hanging of lamps. These were now appended on chains of iron and copper in the eastern and southern sectors, as well as much of the northern portion of the Mosque up to the 'Bāb al-Bāsiṭīyyah'. This Door had been named so after the Superintendent of the Military of Baybars, 'Abdal-Bāsiṭ, who had built a 'Madrasah' by it. This is the 'Bāb' which has also been known by the name of 'al-'Ajalah'.[234]

The next Mamlūk Sulṭān to play a major role in initiating improvements in Makkah was al-Ashraf Sayfal-dīn Qā'it Bey, who ruled from 873H(1468) till 901H (1495).

Formerly, the Sulṭān of Bengāl from the House of Ilyās (r.740H/1339 till 809H/1406), Ghayāthal-dīn A'ẓam Shāh (the son of Sikandar Shāh I—d.792H/1389), who had rebelled and usurped his father's authority as early as 772H(1370), had deputed an agent with generous funds to distribute, as well as to build a 'Ribāt' and a 'Madrasah' providing instruction in the jurisprudence of all the four Sunnī Schools of Jurisprudence. These were built by the 'House of

Umm Hānī', the sister of the fourth Orthodox Caliph 'Alī. Likewise, he had built a 'Madrasah' at a place known as "al-Ḥuṣn al-'Atīq" ("the Old Castle"), by the 'Bāb al-Salām' in al-Madīnah as well. According to the erudite al-Sakhāwī (d. 902H/1497), both these colleges were to be appropriated later, the one in Makkah by the Sharīf and the other in the Prophet's City by one of the rulers of Egypt.[235] It is worth adding here that, Na'īmal-Raḥmān in his valuable work, 'Mughal-Ottoman Relations', while referring to a 'Madrasah' built in Makkah by a Sulṭān of Bengāl called "Ghayāthal-dīn", provides the following years for his reign—"1414"(817H) till "1433"(836H).

Improvements and repairs were also carried out during this period to the water distribution system alluded to earlier, which had been built by Zubaydah, the consort of the 'Abbāsid Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd and has been known since by her name as the "'Ayn (Spring of) Zubaydah". The two pools located in 'al-Mu'allāt' were also tended to on the occasion and the Spring known as "'Ayn Bāzān" was regulated to flow into them.[236]

Furthermore, during the first year of the reign of the Sulṭān al-Ẓāhir Sayfal-dīn Jaqmaq, that is 842H(1438) and he ruled for fifteen years, the 'Nāẓir' (Superintendent) of his army, Sodūn, who was also the 'Mudīr' (Director) of the 'Ḥaram', was to carry out many constructions and repairs in Minā, at al-Muzdalifah and at 'Arafāt and cleared and improved the routes leading to them.[237]

To the list of these works outside Makkah, the Sulṭān Qā'it Bey was later on to add new mosques—the "Masjid al-Khayf" at Minā' and the "Masjid al-Nimrah" at 'Arafāt in 874H(1469).[238]

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An orphanage school was also built along with a fine 'Madrasah', in which, marble and gilded wooden ceilings were generously used.

or 'Circassian' rulers because of his origins. Hence they date the beginning of this dynasty from this year of his accession. His authority was however to be challenged by al-Ṣaleḥ Ṣalāḥal-dīn Ḥāji (ibn al-Ashraf), another Sulṭān, who also had held power as a 'Baḥrid' prior to Barqūq for a year, between 783H(1381) and 784H(1382), and then interfered again with his (Barqūq's) authority between 791H(1389) and 792H(1390). Barqūq's next reign was to last from 792H(1390) till 801H(1399). His son al-Nāṣir Nāsiral-dīn Faraj, was also to be installed as Sulṭān twice, with his first reign falling between 801H(1399) and 808H(1405/6) and his second tenure of power from 809H(1406/7) till 815H(1412/13). This list of rulers also includes the 'Abbāsid Caliph, al-'Ādil al-Musta'īn Bi'llāh Abū'l Faḍl al-'Abbās, who had ruled very briefly ruled as "Sulṭān" during 815H(1412).[233]

The major restoration work carried out in Makkah following the disastrous fire of 802H(1400), during the reign of the above Sulṭān al-Nāṣir Nāṣiral-dīn Faraj has already been referred to. On this occasion, all effort had been made to restore everything as best as possible to its original pristine form, even though marble columns had not been towed from abroad to Makkah as during the reigns of the Umaiyyad Caliph al-Walīd ibn 'Abdal-Malik and the 'Abbāsids, Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr and Muḥammad al-Mahdī. The only other departure was in the arrangement regards the hanging of lamps. These were now appended on chains of iron and copper in the eastern and southern sectors, as well as much of the northern portion of the Mosque up to the 'Bāb al-Bāsiṭīyyah'. This Door had been named so after the Superintendent of the Military of Baybars, 'Abdal-Bāsiṭ, who had built a 'Madrasah' by it. This is the 'Bāb' which has also been known by the name of 'al-'Ajalah'.[234]

The next Mamlūk Sulṭān to play a major role in initiating improvements in Makkah was al-Ashraf Sayfal-dīn Qā'it Bey, who ruled from 873H(1468) till 901H (1495).

Formerly, the Sulṭān of Bengāl from the House of Ilyās (r.740H/1339 till 809H/1406), Ghayāthal-dīn A'ẓam Shāh (the son of Sikandar Shāh I—d.792H/1389), who had rebelled and usurped his father's authority as early as 772H(1370), had deputed an agent with generous funds to distribute, as well as to build a 'Ribāt' and a 'Madrasah' providing instruction in the jurisprudence of all the four Sunnī Schools of Jurisprudence. These were built by the 'House of

Umm Hānī', the sister of the fourth Orthodox Caliph 'Alī. Likewise, he had built a 'Madrasah' at a place known as "al-Ḥuṣn al-'Atīq" ("the Old Castle"), by the 'Bāb al-Salām' in al-Madīnah as well. According to the erudite al-Sakhāwī (d. 902H/1497), both these colleges were to be appropriated later, the one in Makkah by the Sharīf and the other in the Prophet's City by one of the rulers of Egypt.[235] It is worth adding here that, Na'īmal-Raḥmān in his valuable work, 'Mughal-Ottoman Relations', while referring to a 'Madrasah' built in Makkah by a Sulṭān of Bengāl called "Ghayāthal-dīn", provides the following years for his reign—"1414"(817H) till "1433"(836H).

Improvements and repairs were also carried out during this period to the water distribution system alluded to earlier, which had been built by Zubaydah, the consort of the 'Abbāsid Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd and has been known since by her name as the "'Ayn (Spring of) Zubaydah". The two pools located in 'al-Mu'allāt' were also tended to on the occasion and the Spring known as "'Ayn Bāzān" was regulated to flow into them.[236]

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An orphanage school was also built along with a fine 'Madrasah', in which, marble and gilded wooden ceilings were generously used.

This college, after the fashion of the one built by the Sulṭān of Bengāl, taught jurisprudence in accordance with the teachings of the four Orthodox ('Sunnī') Schools, for which four senior lecturers were engaged. A fine library was also provided for it by the Sulṭān, who sent a treasury of books to be housed in the College. Apart from building shops for the maintenance of these endowments, he also awarded the revenues of a number of villages at home for this purpose and decreed that the produce of an additional number of fixed agricultural fiefs be forwarded annually to Makkah for distribution.[239]

It is related that these works, upon the Sulṭān's insistence, were completed at a rapid pace of about two years in 884H(1479), in order to coincide with his arrival for the Ḥajj, whence, he intended to inspect everything for himself, visiting al-Madīnah on the way. Qā'it Bey was to ensure that the like of all his great works of charity and endowments in Makkah had been repeated in al-Madīnah as well.[240]

He also endowed the Makkan 'Ḥaram' with an entrance or door ('Bāb') and a minaret, both of which came to be known by his name, until they too had to give way along with most of the former structure to the requirements of other expansions that were to follow in answer to need. In 881H(1476), he had built a dome above the 'Maqām' ('the Station') of Ibrāhīm, after gifting the 'Ḥaram' with a new 'Minbar' (pulpit) a little earlier in 879H(1475). Qā'it Bey was also destined to become the rare if not unique possessor of the honour of not only having the Kā'bah and the 'Maṭāf' washed and anointed with perfumes following a dream, but that of dressing the Ka'bah from the inside as well in 884H(1479). This, if at all, may have been done very rarely. In view of all this interest and concern on the part of this Mamlūk dynasty in the affairs of the 'Two Harams', it certainly makes odd reading to discover the historian al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī mention that, Qā'it Bey was the only Circassian (Burjid) ruling Sulṭān (out of over a score) to perform the Ḥajj.[241]

Earlier on, during this era of the Burjids, it had happened that the 'Ḥijr' or 'Enclosure of Ismā'īl', along with the inside of the Ka'bah, had been paved with marble. The former was enclosed by a stone wall and covered alongside the Ka'bah for the first and the last time in history according to some accounts, with a 'Kiswah' of

black silk. However, this had only been done after considerable hesitation lasting for almost a year and had taken place during the last month of 853H(January 1450).[242]

The second but last, or effectively the last Mamlūk Sulṭān was al-Ashraf Qānṣūh al-Ghaurī, who had ruled between 906H(1501) and 922H(1516) and died or was killed following his defeat at the battle of Marj Dābiq in Syria, by the forces of the Ottoman Sulṭān, Salīm I. This had led to the annexation of that fair Province, to be followed by that of Egypt about eight months later as averred earlier. It was also Qānṣūh al-Ghaurī, who was decreed to carry out the last works of any significance associated with the 'Ḥaram' to be undertaken by the Burjids. This was when he had ordered in 917H(1511) for the above Enclosure's wall to be pulled down and replaced by a new marble structure, forwarding the required materials of quality for the purpose from Egypt.[243]

It cannot be stressed enough that, like Makkah, al-Madīnah was also the recipient of serious attention from the Burjid Sulṭāns and hence, of many improvements, some of them highly significant and a fit answer to the call of the hour, with an eye on future need. Then, there were also those projects of refurbishment, that were inspired by feelings of religious fervour, charity and piety, or a combination of these and the need of the time.

The first of the Burjid rulers, al-Ẓāhir Sayfal-dīn "Barqūq" (the name means "bulging of eye-balls"—d. 801H/1398), had presented the Prophet's Mosque with a 'Minbar' in 797H(1395). This had been replaced by another gift from the Sulṭān al-Mu'ayyad Sayfal-dīn Shaykh (r.815H/1412 till 824H/1421) in 820H(1417), which unfortunately was burnt during the second major fire of 886H(1481). However, it is to the Sulṭān al-Ashraf Sayfal-dīn Bārsbey, who ruled between 825H(1422) and 842H(1438), that the restoration in 831H(1428) of the two colonnades overlooking the courtyard and originally contributed by the thrice elected Baḥrid Sulṭān, al-Nāṣir Nāṣiral-dīn Muḥammad (ibn Qala'ūn) is owed. It is reported that, this restoration work was carried out along with the repairs to the ceiling in the Mosque's northern sector, under the supervision of Muqbil al-Qadīdī, possibly a Mamlūk Governor of Yanbu'.[244]

Then, the Sulṭān al-Ẓāhir Sayfal-dīn Jaqmaq (r.842H/1438CE till 857H/1453) had initiated repairs and improvements in 853H(1449) with the objective of completing the ceiling in the area of 'al-Rauḍah', while providing a door facing north to the

wooden enclosure installed around the Prophet's Chamber by the Sulṭān Baybars. He had also tiled the floor in that area and up to the courtyard in marble, using coloured tiles for the space between the above enclosure and the wall around the blessed tomb that had been built by the Umaiyyad Caliph, 'Umar ibn 'Abdal-'Azīz. The 'Miḥrāb' (niche) for the 'Imām' to lead the Prayers from, along with the 'Qiblah' wall, were also tiled in marble. All these works were completed under the supervision of the architect, the Amīr Bardbek al-Nāṣirī, who was also to add a 'Miḥrāb' for the Ḥanafī 'Imām'. This was during the reign of the Sulṭān al-Ashraf Sayfal-dīn Aynāl around 861H(1457).[245] The Mamlūks of course, like their predecessors the Seljūqs, Zangids and Aiyyūbids and their successors, the Ottomans, were Ḥanafīs.

However, just as with the 'Ḥaram' in Makkah, it is to the Sulṭān al-Ashraf Sayfal-dīn Qā'it Bey (r.873H/1468 till 901H/1495) that a large number of improvements to the Prophet's Mosque and the facilities in al-Madīnah are traced back. Again, as in Makkah, the works which were initiated here in 879H(1475) and continued with after about a year's stoppage till 881H(1477), were mostly to be supervised and implemented by Qā'it Bey's trusted henchman who has already been referred to, Shamsal-dīn (Ibn al-Zaman).[246]

Construction in the eastern sector of the Mosque overlooking the courtyard was pulled down along with the colonnade's ceiling and a whole section of the eastern wall, starting from the location of the South-Eastern Minaret. All of these were then rebuilt. The columns in particular were injected with lead for purposes of durability and the foundations of that Minaret, also known as "al-Sinjārīyyah", strengthened. Further work was undertaken in the areas of 'al-Rauḍah' and around the Prophet's tomb and its vicinity and temporary or wooden structures were removed from the upper and the lower ceilings and replaced with baked brick as feasible. In 881H(1476), repairs or rather reconstruction was also started on the double walls of the Prophet's Chamber ("al-Ḥujrah al-Sharīfah"), which had developed cracks following the fire. The walls were rebuilt in stone and the ceiling of the inner Chamber raised. An inner dome of basalt rock with its top in limestone was also built in replacement of the earlier wooden structure. This work over, the phase of beautification was undertaken next here. The floor of the Prophet's Chamber was covered in white and red marble, as were parts of the 'Qiblah' sector also. Upon the completion of this major

task, Qā'it Bey was personally to visit al-Madīnah prior to the Ḥajj of 884H(1480) to inspect the outcome of these undertakings.[247]

However, these great works, built with like hopes, were surprisingly destined not to last for long, as during the Ramaḍān of 886H(1481), a bolt of lightning set fire to the Mosque after striking the South-Eastern Minaret. As a result, nothing was to remain intact save the newly constructed small inner dome referred to above.[248]

Hence, fresh reconstruction work had to be initiated immediately and Qā'it Bey was not the one to hesitate or to be found wanting in this regard. Two large groups of skilled artisans, craftsmen and workers specialising in all the required fields were immediately assembled. One, a hundred strong, arrived from Makkah, where it had been engaged in implementing projects under the brothers, Sungur al-Jamālī and al-Ashrafī al-Shujā'ī Shāhīn. The other larger group of three hundred under the command of Shamsal-dīn (Ibn al-Zaman), was to come from Cairo, bringing with it all types of supplies and funds for initial expenditure.[249]

Al-Samhūdī, who during this period was regularly rotating between Makkah and Egypt and was also involved at times in the reconstruction as a functionary, particularly during the latter period, presents a detailed and at times moving contemporary account of this phase, especially concerning the work to do with the restoration and reconstruction associated with the Prophet's Chamber.

This was the first time since the reconstruction during the Umaiyyad era, that the very place where the Prophet had breathed his last and was laid to rest, was exposed thus. Having to enter the blessed Chamber, al-Samhūdī found himself in a state of trepidation at the prospect of this "intrusion", an emotion he overcame by closing his eyes in humility and respect and begging for forgiveness. Upon stepping in and opening his eyes, he found himself received by that sweet fragrance of piety associated with the Prophet's person, so often described by the Prophet's 'Ṣaḥābah' (Companions) and reported in his biographies, and to him, it seemed to permeate the whole atmosphere.[250]

Thanks to Qā'it Bey's determination, the reconstruction on this occasion was to be on a grander scale and the aspect of expense was mostly overlooked. For example, the remains of the lofty South-Eastern Minaret were knocked down along with all the sections of the wall between the 'Bāb Jibrīl' ('Gabriel's Door') in the east and

wooden enclosure installed around the Prophet's Chamber by the Sulṭān Baybars. He had also tiled the floor in that area and up to the courtyard in marble, using coloured tiles for the space between the above enclosure and the wall around the blessed tomb that had been built by the Umaiyyad Caliph, 'Umar ibn 'Abdal-'Azīz. The 'Miḥrāb' (niche) for the 'Imām' to lead the Prayers from, along with the 'Qiblah' wall, were also tiled in marble. All these works were completed under the supervision of the architect, the Amīr Bardbek al-Nāṣirī, who was also to add a 'Miḥrāb' for the Ḥanafī 'Imām'. This was during the reign of the Sulṭān al-Ashraf Sayfal-dīn Aynāl around 861H(1457).[245] The Mamlūks of course, like their predcessors the Seljūqs, Zangids and Aiyyūbids and their successors, the Ottomans, were Ḥanafīs.

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the 'Bāb al-Raḥmah' ('the Door of Mercy') in the west. A deep foundation was dug for rebuilding the former and when the water level had been reached, a strong base of basalt rock was utilised to build upon. Construction then continued above the surface until the Minaret's height had reached 120 cubits.[251] This construction, which had taken place during 891/92H (1486/87), was of course in the inimitable post-Aiyyūbid/Mamlūkian style and in four segments. At the start of this reconstruction, as most of the earlier work had been found inadequate, all the walls were now rebuilt thicker, with the lower sections in basalt rock and the upper portions in brick of baked clay.

The section of the 'Qiblah' area, which, upon completion now was to have seven colonnades, had been the beneficiary of much of this restoration work. The 'Miḥrāb' in the 'Qiblah' wall was also expanded and then dressed in marble tiles of different colours. A wooden ceiling supported by new columns was also provided, although it is not clear whether it covered the whole of the 'Qiblah' section of the Mosque. Vaults of baked brick were built on top of these columns. However, it was to be discovered soon enough that, these vaulted structures tended to affect the light in the Mosque, for which, a solution would be needed. The answer was provided by the introduction of openings in the outer walls to introduce filtered light into the Mosque and trap it as well.

The open space too facing this 'Miḥrāb' was to be covered by a dome and the Prophet's tomb sheltered from above by a large vaulted dome on supports of stone, with baked clay bricks at the top. Another similar dome, surrounded by three smaller ones known as "al-Majārīd", now shaded the area from the dome on the tomb up to the southern or 'Qiblah' wall. A suitable opening was provided near these domes and "al-Mināraḥ al-Ra'īsīyyah" or the 'Main Minaret', as the South-Eastern Minaret was known, for facilitating the penetration of light and ventilation in this area. Another two domes were built above the Mosque's interior by the entrance of 'Bāb al-Salām' in the south-west, which had been covered with white as well as black marble. This entrance and the domes, according to al-Samhūdī, were decorated "magnificently", no less.[252]

An additional 'Miḥrāb' had been built earlier in 888H(1483) on the spot from where the Prophet used to lead the Prayers and the walls of the Prophet's tomb and the area in its vicinity were also

covered in marble. A perforated 'Maqṣūrah' or 'Enclosure' in brass, with windows, was now installed around it.[253]

Later on, as cracks had unexpectedly appeared in the upper dome shading the Prophet's tomb, it too had to be pulled down. This of course was done more or less contemporaneously with the demolition of the South-Eastern Minaret and both were rebuilt during 891/92H(1486/87).[254]

The eastern section of the Mosque overlooking the central courtyard had three colonnades, while its western counter-part had four. The northern sector, as mentioned earlier, also had four and the southern one, seven. A marble "Dikkah" (platform) was installed in both, the eastern and the western sectors. In the former, it was located at a convenient spot between the 'Bāb al-Nisā'' ('the Ladies Doorway') and the southern confines of the Mosque. The other was placed between the 'Bāb al-Raḥmah' and the Mosque's northern end.[255]

Vaulted circular openings or perforations at regular intervals were also made in the upper parts of the southern and the eastern walls in order to introduce more light. These were then provided with windows covered with glass, which was protected by a copper grill or mesh, though those in the southern wall were sealed off later, save the ones near the 'Miḥrāb', as was a door located at the south-eastern corner of the Mosque. The new "Main" or "South-Eastern Minaret" ("al-Mināraḥ al-Ra'īsīyyah") there was now provided with a door from the west, whereas the former structure used to have one facing the north. Several cupboards were also provided in the eastern wall.[256]

In addition, the Sulṭān Qā'it Bey had presented the Mosque on this occasion with a fine 'Miḥrāb', which may presently be viewed in the Qubā' Mosque in al-Madīnah, to which it was transferred in recent times. This 'Miḥrāb' was decorated with marble mosaic in beautiful geometric patterns, so much a feature of Mamlūk decorative art of that period. It had originally been installed in the vicinity of the Prophet's Enclosure, along with a 'Dikkah' of marble. A 'Sabīl' or public drinking fountain by the 'Bāb al-Raḥmah', with an opening into the Mosque, was also provided, swelling the number of drinking fountains there, great and small, to around twenty. Much earlier on, the mother of the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Nāṣir Li'dīnIllāh (r. 575H/1180–622H/1225) had built a huge fountain

by the northern wall of the Mosque, with a door leading to it and a well to feed it. In addition, there was also another fountain in the centre of the Mosque and a sizeable pool with some four steps on the side for descending into it.[257]

Along with the work on the ceiling, this construction and restoration in the Prophet's Mosque was officially deemed to have been completed towards the end of the holy month of Ramaḍān 888H(late October 1483). However, as seen, it had continued in many guises and some of it was quite major, such as the demolition and reconstruction of "al-Minārah al-Ra'īsīyyah" (the 'Main' or 'South-Eastern' Minaret') and of the upper dome above the Prophet's tomb once again. In fact, work on both of these was to continue well after the above date of its official conclusion for almost another three years into 891H/92H(1486/87).[258]

A few months later (the following year), a troop of painters had arrived along with Bahā'al-dīn ibn al-Jī'ān to paint the Mosque's ceiling in "Lāzward" (lapis lazuli or azure blue). Formerly, the colour used had been "Nīlah" (indigo), so popular and common until recent times in traditional Arab architectural decoration. Basically, so well executed was the work this time, that, when lightning again struck the Mosque on 19th Ṣafar 898H(10th December 1492), the damage on this occasion was only peripheral and successfully attended to within a few months.[259]

Finally, in another magnificent gesture of charity and philanthropy, Qā'it Bey had endowed al-Madīnah, as he had done Makkah, with a 'Madrasah' (college) and a 'Ribāṭ' (hospice). These were located by the Mosque's western wall, between the two entrances of the 'Bāb al-Salām' and the 'Bāb al-Raḥmah' and a little minaret associated since with the name of the latter 'Bāb', was also added. This 'Ribāṭ' and the 'Madrasah' were known after Qā'it Bey's title of "al-Ashraf" as "al-Ashrafīyyah". The 'Madrasah' of "al-Zamanīyyah", named so after his referred to henchman Ibn al-Zaman, is also of course associated with his reign. Qā'it Bey also endowed al-Madīnah with a public bath-house, a flour mill, an oven, as well as a kitchen for serving the gruel known as "al-Dashīshah" to the poor regularly. This term was later on to come to apply to the actual kitchen institution itself rather than the dish cooked and served from its premises. An amount well in excess of 120,000 gold Dīnārs was spent on these activities and the revenues of vast tracts of some of the most fertile land in Egypt were affixed

to cover the annual expenditure of these institutions, as well as to ensure the provision of the supplies sent annually in charity from Egypt for the people of the two Holy Cities, with the grain allocation for al-Madīnah alone exceeding 7,500 'Irdab' at this stage.[260]

Although Vasco da Gama had set sail from Portugal on his famous voyage to discover a direct sea-route to India in 902H(1497), during Qā'it Bey's reign, which, it may be recalled, had just ended a year prior to this event, another Portuguese, Pedro de Covilham had already been sent out in 892H(1487) to investigate and survey prospective commercial routes and trading possibilities. With these objectives, he had traveled from Cairo to India and also made a number of other excursions, again from Cairo. These had taken him down the East African coast, as well as up and down the Persian (now Arabian) Gulf and the Red Sea, whence he had visited Hurmūz, Jiddah and 'Adan. He had sent back detailed reports at every stage on the trade in the region before visiting Abyssinia in 895H(1490), there to be detained by the Ethiopian Emperor for the remainder of his life. However, before his incarceration, he had already served his cause well.[261]

Vasco da Gama, his contemporaries and early successors were to find de Covilham's information of great use in mounting, and in no time, a great threat to the monopoly hitherto held by the Muslims (primarily Arabs) over this lucrative trade, the major source of prosperity in the Islāmic lands of the region, as well as to the Ḥajj traffic. In fact, such was the energy and the zeal of the Portuguese, that, soon enough, Jiddah itself was to come under their threat a number of times—once in 919H(1513), when Albuquerque, the Governor-General of Portuguese India had to give up his designs on Jiddah after his attack on 'Adan had failed; then in 923H(1517), when Albuquerque's successor, Lopo Soares, failed to achieve any result and again in 948H(1541), when the Portuguese appeared at Jiddah in eighty-five vessels and even succeeded in landing, though they were ultimately to be compelled to withdraw after a bloody fight by the local opposition, mobilised and armed by the then Sharīf, Abū Numai.[262]

This Portuguese threat was to last for about a century, until the arrival of Dutch and English shipping in the Indian Ocean mounted a successful challenge to it and ended forever its naval supremacy and monopoly over the region's trade, which had been inspired by daring commercial enterprise, as well as a crusading spirit.

It may be argued that, the Mamlūks, particularly Qā'it Bey must have been alive to the dangers from this direction, as his Venetian allies would have kept him well informed of the threat that Portuguese intentions posed to the Mamlūks' and to Venice's commercial interests, particularly should the Portuguese, with their larger and stronger ships, succeed in establishing direct trade links with India. Secondly, during this period, Qā'it Bey was also beginning to sense a serious threat from his northern neighbours, the Ottomans, with whom relations had first been inaugurated by the Mamlūks during the reign of their own first 'Burjid' Sulṭān, al-Ẓāhir Sayfal-dīn Barqūq and had mostly been cordial, at least on surface. These were to sour however, during the reign of Qā'it Bey (r.873H/1468 till 901H/1495) and their latent rivalry to come out into the open with the accession in 886H(1481) of the Ottoman Sulṭān Bāyazīd (Bāyezit) II, especially when the Mamlūks found themselves extending shelter to his brother Jām ("Cem") Sulṭān, who, after being defeated in his tussle for the throne, had gone on to mount another unsuccessful attempt against his brother Bāyazid II from Mamlūkian Aleppo in 887H(1482), that is almost a year after his earlier defeat.[263]

The other cause for the upsurge of troubles between these two States was Bāyazīd II's support for 'Alā'al-Daulah (Alauddevle) of Dhū'l Qādir (Dulgadir), whom the Mamlūks were trying to replace by a ruler less hostile to their interests, as the final conquest of the territory of the Karāmānlu (the Black Sheep) by the Ottoman Sulṭān Muḥammad (Mehmet) II, Bāyazīd II's father, had brought the Ottoman State into direct territorial contact with the Mamlūk frontiers in Anatolia.

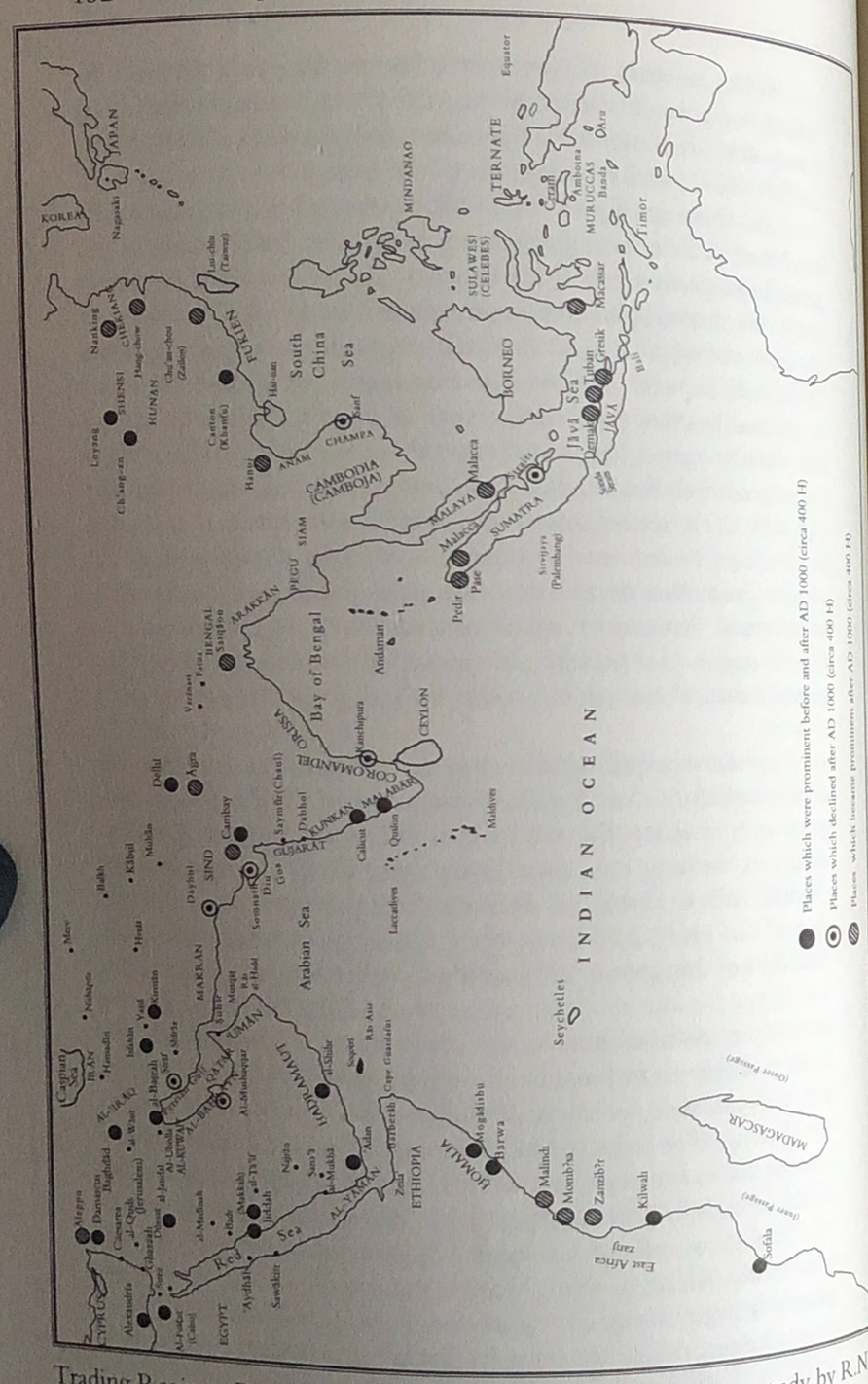
Indeed, war did break out between the Ottomans and the Mamlūks in 890H(1485), when in a pre-emptive strike, 'Alā'al-Daulah (Alauddevle) invaded Mamlūk territory after securing assistance from the Ottoman Governor of Kayseri. This conflict was officially to last till 896H(1491). The Mamlūks had been compelled to seek peace in order to deal with the results of a large scale famine then raging through Syria, even though they had actually been successful in military terms in the initial encounters. In short, they were far too hampered then by this and other political and financial problems to follow up on these early gains. The Ottomans were to reject their overtures thrice before seeking peace themselves.[264]

However, once the two rivals had come to actual blows, ill-feeling was going to persist despite this peace, which did succeed in lasting until the large-scale Ottoman invasion of Mamlūk territory in 922H(1516) and its conquest a little later.

After this exposé of a few of the major problems being faced by the Mamlūk Sulṭāns at that stage from within their dominions and abroad and particularly Qā'it Bey, it is indeed a wonder, how they were able through sheer determination, to take such an interest in the affairs of Makkah and al-Madīnah and to serve and respond to their needs so well! The works undertaken in the two Holy Cities in general besides their Sanctuaries during the Mamlūk era have also been touched upon in this work and at times at some length because of their historical significance. To say the least, not only had they been implemented under the greater scrutiny of history, but most of these were to survive as well for several centuries to serve as guidelines for the reconstruction and repairs that have followed since. Moreover, significant traces of these still exist to serve as a reminder of a number of aspects of the achievements of this period, political, economic, social and cultural and of course, architectural.

It is indeed surprising that, the great modern historian of Makkah of Ḥaḍramī extraction, Shaykh Ḥusayn 'AbdAllāh Bāsalāmah, while generously praising the works commonly ascribed to Qā'it Bey, rightly or wrongly takes up, in his famous work on Makkah, the 'Tārīkh 'Imārat al-Masjid al-Ḥarām' ('a History of the Construction of the Holy Mosque'), the inability or unwillingness of the Mamlūks to transport marble columns to the Holy Land from Syria and Egypt for the reconstruction of the Holy Mosques after the fires! My muted reaction to this could only be to suggest that, this most probably must have been in order to save time! He also expresses some wonder at the inability of the successor dynasties to the Umaiyyad and the 'Abbāsid heritage to compete with them on equal terms in serving the cause of maintenance and reconstruction in the two Holy Cities despite the improved means of transport.

This view, which has been raised in a subdued tone by the erudite Bāsalāmah, is often heard being aired more vociferously by people at large during discussions on such topics from time to time. Nevertheless, while praising Umaiyyad and 'Abbāsid might and power in comparison with those of their successors, he still generously concedes that, had it been within the latters' means to do so, they would not have been found wanting.[265]


KOREA
JAPAN
Nagasaki
Nanking
CHEKIANG
Hang-chow
Ch'uan-chou (Zaitun)
Lan-shu (Taiwan)
HUNAN
SHENSI
Ch'ang-an
Loyang
TURFEN
Canton (Khanfu)
Hai-nan
South China Sea
Hanoi
ANAM
CHAMPA
Kauf
CAMBODIA (CAMBOJA)
SIAM
PEGU
ARAKKAN
BENGAL
Satgaon
Bay of Bengal
Andaman
MINDANAO
SULAWESI (CELEBES)
BORNEO
TERNATE
Equator
Gilolo
Amboina
MURUCCAS
Banda
Ara
Timor
Java Sea
Tuban
Gresik
Demak
JAVA
Bali
Sunda Sunda
MALAYA
Malacca
Pedir
Pase
SUMATRA
Sriwijya (Palembang)
Malacca
PEGU
Martaban
Negrais
Cape Negrais
Ceylon
Kinchipura
CEYLON
CORROMANDEL
ORISSA
Vengapatam
Pulicat
Sadras
Madras
Fort St. George
Pondicherry
Karikal
Negapatam
Tranquebar
Porto Novo
Cuddalore
Fort St. David
Sadras
Pulicat
Vengapatam
Kinchipura
Ceylon
Andaman
Nicobar
Sumatra
Malacca
Pedir
Pase
Siriwijya (Palembang)
Java
Tuban
Gresik
Demak
Sunda Sunda
Bali
Timor
Gilolo
Amboina
Banda
Ara
Mindanao
Sulawesi (Celebes)
Borneo
Ternate
Equator
Mecca
Medina
Jeddah
Yanbu
Rabigh
Qunfudhah
Lith
Al-Qunfudhah
Al-Luhayyah
Hodeida
Mocha
Aden
Zeila
Berbera
Cape Guardafui
Socotra
Ras Asir
Mirbat
Salalah
Qalhat
Muscat
Ras al-Hadd
Sohar
Julfar
Ras al-Khaimah
Dibba
Khor Fakkan
Kalba
Sharjah
Dubai
Abu Dhabi
Al-Ruways
Al-Khatt
Al-Bidaa
Al-Mubarraz
Qatif
Tarut
Bahrain
Qalhat
Hormuz
Kish
Siraf
Basra
Abadan
Kharg
Bushire
Lingah
Jask
Chahbar
Gwadar
Karachi
Thatta
Lahore
Multan
Delhi
Agra
Cambay
Diu
Somnath
Gogha
Daibul
Kayrun
Thatta
Sind
Gujarat
Makran
Kalat
Kirman
Yazd
Isfahan
Kashan
Qum
Tehran
Rayy
Nishapur
Herat
Balkh
Kabul
Ghazni
Multan
Lahore
Delhi
Agra
Cambay
Daibul
Kayrun
Thatta
Sind
Gujarat
Makran
Kalat
Kirman
Yazd
Isfahan
Kashan
Qum
Tehran
Rayy
Nishapur
Herat
Balkh
Kabul
Ghazni
Multan
Lahore
Delhi
Agra
Cambay
Diu
Somnath
Gogha

A: The 'Safarnāmeh' of Nāṣir-e-Khuṣrö

Nāṣir-e-Khuṣrö was born at Qābudyān near Balkh. As mentioned earlier, he had visited Makkah four times. On his last visit during 442H(1050), he had stayed there for six months and has described it and 'al-Masjid al-Ḥarām' in Persian in his 'Safarnāmeh' ('Book of Travels') at some length and in much precise detail. This famous work of his has been translated into Arabic by Yaḥyā al-Khashshāb and most probably by others too. Though few other works of his are generally assumed to have survived save this and his 'Dīwān' of poetry, it is said that, during his visit to Egypt following his last Ḥajj, he had adopted Ismā'īlī beliefs and become an active propagandist on their behalf in his native Khurāsān. On one of his previous trips which had taken place during 439H(1048), he had visited al-Madīnah first and given an account of it before entering into the state of 'Iḥrām' (consecration) at al-Jiḥfah along with the other Pilgrims heading for Makkah to perform the Ḥajj. Of the distance of this journey of his to Makkah then, he says: "Between Makkah and al-Madīnah, there is a distance of a hundred 'Farsakh' (about 340 miles) of rocky trail, which we crossed in eight days". Dr. Sāmī 'Anqāwī, former Director of 'the Ḥajj Research Center' has confirmed to me that "al-Jiḥfah" was the "Mīqāt" for Pilgrims arriving overland from the eastern lands of Islām. However, the one that is normally used by Pilgrims from al-Madīnah is "Bi'r" or "Ābār" (the Wells of) 'Alī by 'Dhū'l Ḥalīfah'.

A(i): The Drought and the Famine and their Effects

As a great drought and famine had afflicted the Ḥejāz that year, Nāṣir-e-Khuṣrö reports of it after his arrival in the Holy City thus: "We arrived in Makkah on Sunday, the sixth of Dhū'l-Ḥijjah, and stayed by the 'Bāb' (Door) of 'al-Ṣafā'. There was a famine in Makkah, hence four loaves of bread were costing one Nayshāpūrī Dīnār. All those who reside in Makkah as 'Mujāwirīn' (residents and voluntary attendants) had left and no Pilgrims were arriving there from any country. We performed (the cardinal rite of) our obligatory religious duty of the Pilgrimage to God's (House), praised be He the Most High, on Wednesday at 'Arafāt—(the rite of 'Waqūf', literally 'Standing', without which the Ḥajj is considered non-valid, is the presence at 'Arafāt on 9th Dhū'l-Ḥijjah)—and stayed in Minā for two days. Many of these people afflicted by

hunger and poverty had left the Ḥejāz and dispersed in the land.... We then headed towards Egypt and arrived there after seventy-five days. Some thirty-five thousand mortals had already migrated to it from the Ḥejāz that year. The Sulṭān (the Fāṭimid al-Mustanṣir—r.427H/1035 till 487H/1094) clothed them and had them fed for a whole year, for they were all hungry and naked. When the heavens rained in their land and food again became available in quantities, the Sulṭān provided them all, the young and the old alike, with a dress and lavishing bounty upon them, sent them back to the Ḥejāz". (p 111-112).

A(ii): His Description of Makkah

Of Makkah during the time of his visits, Nāṣir-e-Khuṣrö in his 'Safarnāmeh' has left the following description. He says: "Makkah is surrounded by high mountains and may not be seen from afar from any side that the (prospective) beholder may attempt from. The closest mountain to it is Abū Qubays, which is rounded like a dome, so that, if an arrow were to be shot from its bottom, it would reach its peak (point). It is situated to the east of Makkah, so that you see the sun from inside the Holy Mosque as it rises from above it in the month of (December). A stone tower has been erected on its peak and it is said that Ibrāhīm, (peace be upon him), had installed it there".

"This City occupies a valley between the mountains which does not exceed the range of an arrow. The Sacred Mosque is in the middle of this valley and around it is Makkah, with its streets and market places. Wherever an opening may once have existed between the mountains, it has been blocked by a strong wall, with a gate installed in it. There are no trees in Makkah except by the western entrance of the Sacred Mosque called the 'Doorway of Ibrāhīm', where there are many big trees, which rise above the enclosure of a well. On the eastern side of the Mosque, there is a market which extends from the south towards the north and at its beginning from the southern end is the mount of Abū Qubays, at the foot of which lies 'al-Ṣafā'. Here may be seen large steps of leveled rock upon which the Pilgrims climb and address their Lord in supplication. 'Al-Marwah' is at the end of the market to the north of the Mountain and is lower in height and also in the middle of Makkah. Many houses have been built on it. That (area) between the Mounts of 'al-Ṣafā' ' and 'al-Marwah', which is (also)

called 'al-Sa'ī', is the actual 'Mas'ā'—(i.e., the place for performing the rite of 'al-Sa'ī') and it is in this same market, (extending) from one end to the other. He who desires to perform the "Umrah' and has arrived from afar, beholds towers and mosques from a distance of half a 'Farsakh' (about a mile) around Makkah and enters into the state of 'Iḥrām' (consecration for the "Umrah'—the Lesser Pilgrimage) from there". (p 121-122).

A(iii): The Description of the 'Masjid al-Ḥarām' and the Ka'bah

Nāṣir-e-Khusrö's description of Makkah, the 'Masjid al-Ḥarām' (the Holy Mosque) and the Ka'bah is as follows: "The Ka'bah is situated in the middle of the 'Masjid al-Ḥarām' and the 'Masjid' is in the middle of Makkah. The Mosque stretches from the east to the west and width-wise, from the north to the south. Its (the Mosque's) enclosure is not rectangular but curved of corners, which are closer to being rounded. This is so in order that all at Prayer may be enabled to face the Ka'bah, wherever they might be in the Mosque. The Mosque is at its lengthiest from the 'Bāb Ibrāhīm' to the 'Bāb Banī Hāshim', a distance of four hundred and twenty-four cubits. It is at its widest from the 'Bāb al-Nadwah' to the north to the 'Bāb al-Ṣafā' towards the south (and) three hundred and four cubits. Due to its roundness, the area of the Mosque appears narrow at one side and wide at the other. Around it are three corridors, whose ceilings are supported by columns of marble. In the middle of these corridors, there is a square. Along the length of the ceiling from the direction of the courtyard of the Mosque, there are forty-five arches and twenty-three along its width". (p 126).

"The Ka'bah is situated in the middle of the Mosque's courtyard and is rectangular. Its length from the north to the south is thirty cubits—(this implies that he included the 'Enclosure of Ismā'īl' in his measurement of the length)—and its width from the east to the west is sixteen cubits and its door is on its eastern side, so that, the "Irāqī Corner' would be on the right side of one entering and 'the Corner of the Black Stone' on the left. Its north-western Corner is referred to as 'al-Rukn al-Shāmī' ('the Syrian Corner')".

"The 'Black Stone' is embedded in the corner of the wall in a big socket, so that, if a tall man stands by it, the 'Black Stone' would be at the level of his chest. The length of that Stone is one handspan and four finger breadths and its width is eight finger widths. It is

round in appearance and is separated from the Door of the Ka'bah by four cubits. This area in-between is called 'al-Multazim' ('the Place of Holding'). The door of the Ka'bah is four cubits above ground level, so that, if a man of height stands by it, he would reach its threshold. A wooden ladder has been crafted, which is placed in front of the Door at times of need in order that people may climb up on it and enter the Ka'bah. The width of this ladder is sufficient for ten men to ascend and descend side by side. The floor of the Ka'bah is elevated by about the same degree". (p 128-129).

A(iv): The Description of the Ka'bah's Door

"It is made of teak wood and has two leaves. Its height is six and a half cubits and the width of each of its leaves is one and three-quarter cubits, so that, their width together comes to three and a half cubits. On the front of the Door and its upper portion, there are some inscriptions. It also has decorative roundels in silver and inscriptions in gold and silver. This (Qur'ānic) Verse has been inscribed on it in full: "Lo! the first House (of Worship) appointed for mankind was that at Bakkah (Makkah), blessed and a guidance to the people" ('Sūrah' 3, 'the Family of 'Imrān', Verse 96). The door also has two round silver knockers that were sent from Ghaznī, installed on its two leaves and at such a height that no human hand could reach them. Below these, there are another two round silver knockers, smaller in size and placed so that the hand reaches them. With them is a large lock, also of silver, with which the Door is locked and cannot be opened unless the lock is removed". (p 129-130).

A(v): The Description of the 'Kiswah'

"The 'Kiswah', with which the Ka'bah is covered, is white and embroidered in two places, the width of each of which is a cubit, whilst between them, there are ten cubits, as also above and below them. Hence, the height of the Ka'bah is divided by the embroidery of the 'Kiswah' into three parts, each of which is ten cubits. On the four sides of the 'Kiswah' are woven 'Miḥrābs' (niches) in colour, embellished with gold thread. On each side, there are three niches—a large one in the middle and two smaller ones on either side of it, so that, on the four sides, there are altogether twelve niches". (p 131-132).

A(vi): The Well of Zamzam

"The Well of Zamzam is to the east of the Ka'bah and facing 'the Corner of the Black Stone'. The distance between the Zamzam and the Ka'bah is forty-six cubits and the diameter of the Well is three and a half cubits. Its water is salty, but palatable. An enclosure of white marble, two cubits high, has been built around its mouth and on the four sides of the Chamber of Zamzam, there are basins into which water is poured and people perform their 'Wuḍū' (ablutions) with it. The floor is of latticed wood in order to enable the poured water to flow. Its door is to the east". (p 132-133).

A(vii): Other Monuments of 'al-Masjid al-Ḥarām'

"In front of the Well from the eastern side, there is another edifice, square, with a dome on it, which is called the 'Siqāyat al-Ḥāj' ('the Watering Place for the Pilgrim'). Vessels of clay containing water have been placed there from which the Pilgrims drink. Beyond this building to the east, there is another rectangular edifice with three domes, known as the 'Khazānat al-Zayt' ('the Store-room for Oil'), where candles, oil and lanterns are kept. Around the Ka'bah are poles inter-connected by transoms of wood with ornamentation and decoration in silver, upon which, rings and hooks are appended in order to enable candles to be placed in them, as well as for lamps to be suspended from them at night. This place is referred to as 'al-Mashā'il' (literally: 'the Torches'). So, the total number of edifices in the courtyard of the 'Masjid al-Ḥarām' with the exception of the Ka'bah, which God the Most High, has honoured, are the 'Bayt Zamzam', the 'Siqāyat al-Ḥāj' and the 'Khazānat al-Zayt'. (p 133).[266]

('Safarnāmeh', translated into Arabic by Yaḥyā al-Khashshāb, Beyrūt, 1970)

B: The Travels of Ibn Jubayr

Abū'l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Jubayr, a native of Andalusia, was born in Valencia. Accounts of his travels are preserved in his following book 'Tadhkirat al-Akhbār 'An Ittifāqāt al-Asfār', which roughly translates as 'Recollection of Information on What is Met With on Travels'. It is popularly remembered as 'Riḥlat (Travel Account of) Ibn Jubayr'.

An interesting feature of this work is that, although he describes the numerous lands he passed through and the wonders he was lucky to see, he chose to devote more than a half of it to his observations on the Ḥejāz. Displaying a rare eye for selective detail, he incorporates valuable information on the social, economic and political conditions, which undoubtedly goes a long way towards filling many gaps in our knowledge of that era and serves to confirm many assumptions, as well as redress several misconceptions. Some excerpts from his Account, which illustrate how his writing differs from that, say, of Nāṣir-e-Khuṣrö —and assists in conceiving a fuller picture of life and society in Makkah at the time, are provided here. Ibn Jubayr had set out on three journeys, the most significant of which was the third one that lasted from 578H(1183) till 581H(1185). It was then that he sat down to assemble the information gathered by him and present it to the world in the form that is universally recognised in short as 'Riḥlat Ibn Jubayr'.

B(i): The Bounties and Blessings in Makkah

Under the title of 'An Account of what God the Most High has favoured Makkah with in terms of Bounties and Blessings' and alluding to the Qur'ānic Verses from the Chapters, 'Ibrāhīm' (14: Verse 37) and 'al-Qaṣaṣ' (28: Verse 57), in the former of which, a portion of that Prophet's supplication reads: "... so incline (Thou) some hearts of men that they may yearn towards them (his seed settled in the Makkan valley), and provide Thou them with fruits in order that they may be thankful" and in the latter of which a part of the Verse refers to Allāh's following words: "... Have We not established for them a safe Sanctuary, whereunto, the produce of all things is brought (in trade)..."—Ibn Jubayr sets out to establish how the Almighty has answered that prayer and has continued to abide by His Divine words in that Holy Book.

Ibn Jubayr writes: "The proof of that is obvious and will remain in effect till the 'Day of Resurrection', for people's hearts incline towards it from distant regions and far away countries, as the route to it is the meeting place of those who originate from there or arrive from (elsewhere) from amongst the ones to whom the blessed call (of Islām) has reached. Fruits (including benefits and products) collect there from everywhere, for it is a country most blessed with bounties, fruit, benefits, utilities and marts. And were it to have no commercial transactions save during the (Ḥajj) Season (alone) whence

it is the meeting place for people from the East and the West, that should be sufficient; for just in a single day and to the exclusion of others that may follow it, are sold rich quality merchandise, such as: jewels, rubies and every other precious stone; all varieties of perfumes like musk, camphor, ambergris, aloe wood and Indian herbs (including drugs) alongside several other imports from India and Ethiopia and 'Irāqī and Yamanī products beside others from Khorāsān, as well as goods from Morocco—all these and a host of other commodities as well and from sources, impossible to survey and compute accurately. If these were to be distributed over all the different countries, it would require active markets to be created for them and all these would have benefited from the exercise commercially. All this activity occurs within eight days following the Season (Ḥajj) and to the exclusion of whatever may suddenly arrive there unaccountably from the Yaman and elsewhere. Hence, there is no article nor supplies on earth that are not there during the (Ḥajj) Season…".

"As for provisions, fruits and other delights, we used to think that Andalusia was favoured with these in a proportion higher than any other country until we arrived in this blessed land and found it to be choking with bounties and fruits, such as: figs, grapes, pomegranates, quinces, plums, citrus fruits, walnut, melons, cucumber, gherkins, all leaf vegetables, zucchini, eggplant, squash, pumpkins, turnips, carrots, cabbage and fragrant, aromatic plants, as well as sweet scented musks. Most of these, such as egg-plant, cucumber and melon are continuously available throughout the year. There is also honey there that is more delicious than the renowned 'Mādhī'. This is known amongst them as 'al-Mas'ūdī'…. There is also sugar cane in abundance, brought over from where the greens are".

"One of the most wonderful (fruits) we came by and enjoyed consuming and spoke of their delicious taste, especially since we had not come by them before, are fresh, ripe dates, which to them are akin to green figs on a tree (to us and are) picked and eaten (immediately). They are extremely good and tasteful and not to be trifled with. Their season with them is a major event. People go out to them as to their estates, or like the people of North Africa do to their villages during the days when figs and grapes ripen. Then, after they are ripened, they are spread out on the ground long enough for them to dry a little, after which, they are piled up, heaps upon

heaps and then (transferred) into baskets and containers and taken away". (p 96-100).

B(ii): Zamzam Water

"This water is blessed and amazing in its qualities, that is, when you drink it as it comes out from its source, you find in its sense of taste, a warmth, like milk straight from the udder and in this, there rests God, the Most High's sign and consideration. Its blessings are too well known to be enumerated by any describer and it is (a remedy) for whatever it is drunk, as the Prophet (prayers and peace of God be upon him) had said, 'God with His might and kindness satisfies with it all thirsty'. Among the qualities proven to be effective concerning this blessed water are, that, when one suffers fatigue or weakness of body-parts, either due to excess in performing the 'Ṭawāf' (Circumambulation of the Ka'bah which may be performed once or more times in sets of seven rounds), or the "Umrah' (involving the additional rite of 'Sa'ī' or running between the hillocks of al-Ṣafā' and al-Marwah seven times) on foot, or for some other reasons leading to the exhaustion of the body, were this water to be poured on it, he senses immediate comfort and energy and is relieved of his affliction…". (p100).

B(iii): Some Aspects of Social Life in Makkah

Ibn Jubayr wrote at length about a number of social aspects including festivities and celebrations, some of them clearly perceivable as 'Bid'ah' or 'Innovations' not endorsed by the Qur'ān or the 'Sunnah', nor observed or practiced by 'al-Salaf al-Ṣāleḥ'—'the Pious Predecessors of the Islāmic Community'. One of these was the fancy celebratory procession, in which, the 'Amīr' of Makkah (then Mukthir) visited the 'Ḥaram' on the first day of every lunar month. Ibn Jubayr describes this as follows: "The night of the new moon of the month referred to above (Jamād al-Awwal), the 'Amīr' of Makkah set out during the early part of its morn as the sun rose towards the noble 'Ḥaram', with his Commanders surrounding him and the Reciters, reciting in front of him. He entered (the 'Ḥaram') through the 'Bāb al-Nabī' thus, with his Negroes, who are known as 'al-Ḥarrābah' ('the Spear Bearers'), circumambulating ahead of him, spears in their hands. He was shortish in appearance, calm and dignified in bearing… and wore a whitish 'Thobe' (long shirt). He bore a sword at his waist and was turbaned with a fine white woolen

it is the meeting place for people from the East and the West, that should be sufficient; for just in a single day and to the exclusion of others that may follow it, are sold rich quality merchandise, such as: jewels, rubies and every other precious stone; all varieties of perfumes like musk, camphor, ambergris, aloe wood and Indian herbs (including drugs) alongside several other imports from India and Ethiopia and 'Irāqī and Yamanī products beside others from Khorāsān, as well as goods from Morocco—all these and a host of other commodities as well and from sources, impossible to survey and compute accurately. If these were to be distributed over all the different countries, it would require active markets to be created for them and all these would have benefited from the exercise commercially. All this activity occurs within eight days following the Season (Ḥajj) and to the exclusion of whatever may suddenly arrive there unaccountably from the Yaman and elsewhere. Hence, there is no article nor supplies on earth that are not there during the (Ḥajj) Season…".

"As for provisions, fruits and other delights, we used to think that Andalusia was favoured with these in a proportion higher than any other country until we arrived in this blessed land and found it to be choking with bounties and fruits, such as: figs, grapes, pomegranates, quinces, plums, citrus fruits, walnut, melons, cucumber, gherkins, all leaf vegetables, zucchini, eggplant, squash, pumpkins, turnips, carrots, cabbage and fragrant, aromatic plants, as well as sweet scented musks. Most of these, such as egg-plant, cucumber and melon are continuously available throughout the year. There is also honey there that is more delicious than the renowned 'Mādhī'. This is known amongst them as 'al-Mas'ūdī'…. There is also sugar cane in abundance, brought over from where the greens are".

"One of the most wonderful (fruits) we came by and enjoyed consuming and spoke of their delicious taste, especially since we had not come by them before, are fresh, ripe dates, which to them are akin to green figs on a tree (to us and are) picked and eaten (immediately). They are extremely good and tasteful and not to be trifled with. Their season with them is a major event. People go out to them as to their estates, or like the people of North Africa do to their villages during the days when figs and grapes ripen. Then, after they are ripened, they are spread out on the ground long enough for them to dry a little, after which, they are piled up, heaps upon heaps and then (transferred) into baskets and containers and taken away". (p 96-100).

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shawl. When he arrived at the noble 'Maqām' ('the Station of Ibrāhīm'), he stopped and a rug of cotton was spread for him, whereupon, he offered two 'Rak'ah' (prostrations) in Prayer. He then advanced towards the Black Stone, kissed it and started his 'Ṭawāf' (Circumambulation). In the meantime, a young boy had climbed onto the dome over the Zamzam. He was the brother of the 'Mu'adhdhin', who calls out the Prayer Calls first from above the Zamzam. Others (Criers of the Prayer Calls) are guided by him and follow him in this. He (the boy) was dressed in his best clothes and had donned a turban and when the 'Amīr' finished a round and drew near to the Black Stone—(the starting point)—the boy at the top of the dome (above the Zamzam) would start raising his voice in supplication, beginning with: 'May Allāh grace the morning of our Lord, the 'Amīr' with happiness eternal and fulsome bounty'. This is followed by felicitations for the new month in words, which are characteristic, rhymed and full of prayers and praise. He would then end this with three or four verses of poetry eulogising him and his noble predecessors and by mentioning the precedent of the event of Prophethood, may Allāh be pleased with them, after which, he falls silent. Then, when he (the 'Amīr') comes into view from the 'Rukn al-Yamānī' (the Yamanī Corner of the Ka'bah), he starts praising again in the same manner. So it is for the seven rounds until he (the 'Amīr') finishes. During the 'Ṭawāf', the reciters are ahead of him... In all, this touches and moves the soul and moistens the eyes and makes them shed tears ... When he (the 'Amīr') finishes the 'Ṭawāf', he offers two prostrations in Prayer near the 'Multazim' ('the Hold') and the same behind the 'Maqām' ('the Station of Ibrāhīm') and then departs surrounded by his retinue. He does not appear in the 'Ḥaram' (again) save at the beginning of another (lunar) month. This is always so". (p74-75).

Ibn Jubayr also said: "The "Umrah' performed during the month of Rajab is treated by them (the Makkans) as the 'sister' of 'the Day of Standing' (the Ḥajj) at 'Arafāt, for they celebrate it in a manner unheard of. People from all the neighbouring areas come for it and such a multitude assembles, that only Allāh the Almighty and Glorious can count them...The preparations for it start from days before, for we saw the streets and alleys of Makkah filled with howdahs tightly fastened to camel-backs, bedecked with varieties of silk and raiments of other materials such as high quality calico, all in keeping with the condition and wealth of their owners, with each

displaying his comeliness and celebrating as his means would permit, and that was from the afternoon of Wednesday, on the eve of which the moon was sighted. They set off towards the 'Tan'īm', the 'Mīqāt' (the point to which the local residents go in order to don the 'Iḥrām' and enter into the state of 'Consecration') for performing the "Umrah'. Thus, the howdahs flooded the 'Wādī' beds and the valleys of Makkah. The camels under them had been decorated in a variety of ways... exquisite garlands of silk and else and at times, the draperies on the howdahs would fall onto the ground and be drawn in a train... and fires had been lit on both sides of the route and candles as well (that had been placed) on the camels bearing the howdahs, with the noble ladies of Makkah (within)... When we performed our "Umrah' and did the 'Ṭawāf' and came to the place of 'Sa'ī' between the 'Ṣafā' and the 'Marwah' and a portion of the night had passed, we saw it all lit up with lamps and fires and heavily crowded with men and women on howdahs performing the 'Sa'ī'. Hence, we would inevitably end up between these howdahs and the legs of camels due to the choking state of the congestion, with the howdahs clashing against each other... On that night, the whole of the Holy Mosque was covered with lamps, which glittered with light and when the sighting of the moon was confirmed to the 'Amīr', he ordered for drums to be beaten and pipes to be played in confirmation that it was the night of the Season....". (p106-108).

"The next day, which was a Friday, the route for the "Umrah' was (again) similar to that on the previous night, men and women, riding and on foot... many women out-pacing men on that blessed way... During it, men would meet each other, shake hands, offer prayers for each other and for salvation, as do women. Everyone would be wearing his (or her) finest clothes and celebrating in the manner, the people of the country do for the major festivals. As for the Makkans, this Season is their 'Īd... and during it, their markets and products are disposed of. They bear this in view and prepare for it months in advance". (p110).

B(iv): The Day for the Performance of the 'Ṭawāf' by Women

"On the twenty-ninth day of it (Rajab), a Thursday, 'the House' was exclusively assigned to women. Hence they gathered there from every direction. Their celebrations for it had preceded the

event by days—(these being spent) like their celebrations for (other) venerable occasions and there remained no woman in Makkah who had not presented herself at the 'Holy Mosque' that day. When the Banī Shaybah (traditional keepers of the Ka'bah's keys) had arrived to open 'the Noble House' as per custom, they hurriedly came out of it and left it for the women. People also vacated the 'Ṭawāf' area and the 'Ḥijr' (the 'Enclosure of Ismā'īl') for them, so that, no men remained around 'the Noble House'. Then, the women started to ascend...They spread out in the area of the 'Ṭawāf' and the 'Ḥijr', kissing 'the Black Stone' and touching the Corners (of the Ka'bah). That day was their biggest "Īd' and their most famous day of jubilation and joy... On the whole, when in the company of men, they are submissive and subjected to prejudice; they see 'the Noble House', but can have no access to it and notice 'the Blessed Stone' but cannot touch it... (They) have recourse to naught save (performing) the 'Ṭawāf' from a distance and (hence), they look out for this day from year to year with an anticipation that matches their yearning for the noblest of (such) festivals and increase their efforts and preparations for it accordingly". (p115-116).

Ibn Jubayr also described the 'Tarāwīḥ' Prayers held there during the blessed month of Ramaḍān as well as the "Īd al-Fiṭr' Prayer and then also the Ḥajj rituals alongside the significant landmarks of Makkah and the places encountered during the course and performance of the Pilgrimage. [267].

('Riḥlat Ibn Jubayr', Beyrūt)

C: The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭah

The famous traveler Muḥammad ibn 'AbdAllāh al-Ṭanjī, better known to the world as Ibn Baṭṭūṭah was born in Tangiers and visited most parts of the world including the Ḥejāz a number of times. An account of his travels and description of the places and the people he saw and experiences he met with, is preserved in his famous 'Riḥlah' ('Book of Travels'), the formal name of which is 'Tuḥfat al-Nuẓẓār Fī Gharā'ib al-Amṣār wa 'Ajā'ib al-Asfār' ('Gift of the Observers into the Marvels of Cities and the Wonders of Travels'). In it, he describes well al-Madīnah, Makkah, the two Holy Mosques and their details and the environs, often commenting on a large number of social aspects as well. The excerpts given here refer to what he had to say about the people of Makkah and some of their customs, as well as his description of how Prayers were held in the Holy Mosque at the time of his visit.

C(i): The People of Makkah and their Merits

"The people of Makkah are gracious of deeds, perfectly noble of traits and comely of characteristics... one of these is that, when one of them prepares a banquet, he starts by feeding the poor and homeless recluses acting as voluntary attendants at the Mosque, inviting them with courtesy and kindness... Many of these homeless poor would be about the ovens where people have their bread baked, so that, when any of them has his bread baked and carries it to his house, the poor follow him and he gives to each one of them his fated share and does not allow them to return dejected; even if he has only a loaf, he would willingly and without irritation give away a third or a half of it....".

Of the Makkans' personal appearance, he says: "The people of Makkah have a flair for elegant and neat attire and most of their clothes are white; hence, you see their apparels always bright and radiant. They use perfume much and colour their eyelids with 'koḥl' (antimony) and constantly brush their teeth with sticks of green 'Arāk' wood (softened at the top by chewing)... and the women of Makkah are of exquisite beauty and outstanding grace, possessed with piety and virtue. They make excessive use of perfume, so much so, that, any of them would willingly go hungry in order to buy perfume with her subsistence. They go for the 'Ṭawāf' on each Friday night (i.e. the night preceding Friday morn) and arrive (there) in their finest dress and 'the Ḥaram' is overcome with the odour of their perfume and when any of these women leaves, the trace of the perfume lingers on for long after she is gone...".

About the daily eating habits of the Makkans, he says: "The people of Makkah do not eat save once a day, after 'al-'Aṣr' (the afternoon) and restrict themselves to it till that sort of time and he who desires to eat during the rest of the day, eats dates; because of this, their bodies are healthy and diseases and maladies amongst them are few". (p148-149,151).

C(ii): Congregational Prayers in the 'Holy Mosque' of Makkah

"Their custom is for the 'Imām' (Prayer Leader) of the Shāfi'īs—(one of the four 'Sunnī' or Orthodox schools of Islāmic jurisprudence, the other three being the Mālikī, the Ḥanbalī and the Ḥanafī)—to be the first to start the congregational Prayers, having been given this precedence by those in authority, and he Prays

behind the Noble 'Maqām' ('the Station') of Ibrāhīm, 'the Friend (of God)', peace be upon him…. When the Shāfi'ī 'Imām' finishes his Prayer, the 'Imām' of the Mālikīs follows in a niche opposite 'al-Rukn al-Yamānī' (the Yamānī Corner of the Ka'bah) and the 'Imām' of the Ḥanbalīs leads his followers in Prayer simultaneously, facing the area between 'the Black Stone' and that Corner; after them, the 'Imām' of the Ḥanafīs starts his Prayers facing the blessed 'Mīzāb' (the water drain of the Ka'bah)… This is their order during four of the (Obligatory) Prayers. As for the 'Maghrib' (Sundown) Prayer, they (all) offer these at the same time, each 'Imām' doing so with his group…".[268]. This of course is because the duration permitted for this 'Ṣalāt' is rather short. (p160).

('Riḥlat Ibn Baṭṭūṭah', Beyrūt)

In connection with the separate 'Maqāms' for the four 'Imāms' and this innovation of the offering of the 'Furūḍ' (Obligatory Prayers) separately by the followers of each 'Madh'hab', the historian of Makkah, Bāsalāmah and some others are of the opinion that, this practice must have crept in during the Fāṭimid era and prior to the visit of those travelers who have reported it like Ibn Jubayr al-Andalusī and later on Ibn Baṭṭūṭah also, but after the demise of those of the earlier chroniclers who have written on the 'Ḥaram' in great detail, such as Ibn 'Abd Rabbuh al-Andalusī (d. 328H/940) and yet surprisingly did not mention anything on the subject. An interesting feature to note here however, is that, while Ibn Jubayr refers to the presence of a Zaydī 'Imām' as well in the 'Ḥaram' in addition to the four Sunnī ones, Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, writing later, does not.



The Ottoman Empire at the Apogee of its extent between the 10th and 11th cH (16th and 17th c CE) – Custodians of the Holy Cities

CHAPTER VII

Makkah, al-Madīnah and the Four Ottoman Centuries

A: The Ottomans—Origins and Early History

Details of the origins of the Ottoman Sulṭāns are somewhat shrouded in mystery. For example, the famous Egyptian chronicler of the latter Mamlūk era, Muḥammad ibn Iyās (d.930H/1524) airs the view that the founder of this dynasty had hailed from the Wādī al-Ṣafrā in the vicinity of al-Madīnah, but had fled to the territory of the Qarāmānlī (Karamanli) in search of better prospects and taken up service with their 'Amīr' then under the appanage of the Saljūqs (Selçuk), adopting their language and their ways. The Makkan chronicler Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī (d.1173H/1759), while providing a genealogical table traced back to Japheth the son of Noah, utilises the authority of Ibn Iyās to actually mention that, some genealogists also link their ancestry with the third 'Rightly-Guided' Caliph of Islām, 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān. Others, again using the authority of Ibn Iyās, associate the origins of this dynasty with the famous 'Abbāsid General, Abū Muslim al-Khorāsānī. Meanwhile, most Turkish historians trace back the genealogy of this dynasty to different Turkic tribes, but primarily the "Ghuzz" (Oguz) group.[269]

Nevertheless, all these sources generally agree over this 7th/8th century Hijrī (13th/14th century CE) common ancestor, 'Uthmān (pronounced "Osman" in Turkish), transliterated in European languages as "Ottoman"), who lived more or less in the purview of history and died in 726H(1326). 'Uthmān was born at Söğüt in north-eastern Anatolia, the elder (some say the younger) of the three sons of Ertugrul (d.680H/1281), himself the younger son of Sulaymān Shāh (Sūleyman Ṣah), who happened to rule the small area of Māhān in north-eastern Īrān in the late sixth century of the Hijrah (late 12th century CE) under the Saljūq (Selçuk) rulers until their decline, whence they were replaced for a while by the Ilkhānids as suzerains. Sulaymān Shāh, was the leader of the Kāyi tribe, a

member of the "Ghuzz" or Oguz group, also known as Turkomāns.[270]

It is related that, when the time came for 'Uthmān to get married, he decided to seek the hand of the daughter of a pious Shaykh, identified to me by the daughter of the last Ottoman Caliph 'Abdal-Majīd II, (r. 1340H/1922 till 1343H/1924), the late Princess Khadījah Khairīyyah 'Ā'ishah (better known as Durreshahvār Sulṭānah and also as Durdānah Beygam) and her historian sons Prince Bereket (Mīr Barkat 'Alī Khān, Niẓām VIII of Ḥaidarābād) and Prince Karāmat as "Edebali" (most probably "Adab'Alī" in Arabic), who lies buried at present day Bilacik, not too far from the ancient metropolis of Bursa. The name of the lady in question has been given to me as "Māl", "Mālhum", or "Bālā (Hatun) Khātūn". Others yet say and most probably correctly, like 'Urūj (Uruç) in his 'Tawārīkh-e-Āl-e-'Uthmān', that, it was "Rabia" ("Rābi'ah") and that, she was named after the famous female saint of al-Baṣrah, Rābi'ah al-'Udūwīyyah, who had lived between 95H(714) and 185H(801). The Shaykh, according to Prince Bereket, was actually born in Merv near Khorāsān and educated in Syria and Karamān, where he had acquired "vast knowledge in Islāmic sciences". Then, after a sojourn at Kahramānand in Anatolia, he had settled at Eskişehir. Later on, after the establishment of the Ottoman State, he was to become intimately involved in the "political, social, legal and administrative foundations of the new and yet small State. In effect, he was responsible for laying down "the future conduct of this State and its relations with its neighbours. Hence, along with 'Uthmān, he is also recognised as a founder of the Ottoman State and its structure" and he was to live to "the venerable age of 120 years".

Shaykh Edebali had at first rejected 'Uthmān's request, but changed his mind when the latter told him of the remarkable dream he had while resting in the Shaykh's house. In his dream, 'Uthmān had seen the moon rise as a crescent from the Shaykh's heart and when in full bloom, transfer itself into his bosom. After this, there had emerged from his loins a tree, that grew immediately to cover the whole creation with its shade, including lofty mountains, while rivers such as the Tigris, the Euphrates, the Danube and the Nile flowed from its trunk. The leaves of this tree were like swords and the blowing wind was directing their tips in the direction of Constantinople. According to another version, after the Shaykh

had heard details of the dream, with the crescent emanating from him, to be followed by an intense spiritual sensation that had gone on to surround the entire Creation, he had informed 'Uthmān of his interpretation that, he would eventually be the founder of a very large nation. The hand of Bāl Khātūn had already been promised to the Prince of Eskişehir (in Anatolia). However the Shaykh, realising the dream to be a great and potent omen, now agreed to marry his daughter to 'Uthmān and she thus became the matriarch of a great Muslim dynasty and of the many peerless champions of Islām—a long line of intrepid "Ghāzīs" in the cause of Allāh, His faith and its adherents.[271]

The Ottoman rulers during their heyday were to prove to be sincere practitioners of this tradition—a "Ghāzī" ("Gazi" in Turkish) being an alive and victorious fighter for the Faith, as opposed to a "Shahīd' or martyr. Not only did the Ottoman Sulṭāns take this role of theirs very seriously, but also placed great honour in adding it to their official style and titles, bearing this one in particular with as much genuine pride in tandem with humility, as they bore that of "Khādim al-Ḥaramayn al-Sharīfayn" ("The Servitor of the Two Holy Sanctuaries"). For example, each of these rulers was known as "Ghāzī Sulṭān" or "al-Sulṭān al-Ghāzī" in Arabic. These two titles would be followed by their names and from 'Uthmān down to the last of the line to rule, the title "Ghāzī", would almost form as much a part of the style of their address as "Sulṭān". The Ottoman dynasty was destined to last for around six and a half centuries and present the world of Islām with three and a half dozen rulers.

'Uthmān (Osman—r.699H/1299 till 726H/1326) and his three immediate successors Orkhān I (Orhan—r.726H/1326 till 761H/1360), Murād I (Murat—r.761H/1360 till 792H/1389) and Bāyazīd I (Bayezit—r.792H/1389 till 805H/1402) had continued to expand their state rapidly at the expense of the Byzantines. For example, Thrace, Macedonia, Bulgaria and Serbia were conquered in Europe during this period and further advances also made in Anatolia.

Of these, Bāyazīd I was born of a Byzantine Princess who had assumed the name of Gülcicek (Rosebud), and either because of his ferocious and irascible flashes of temper, or his lightning quick marches against foes and his brilliant exploits in the east and the west, not to mention his reduction of the Byzantine Emperor to vassalage, he was also referred to in his day and has been since as "Yildirim" or "the Thunderbolt". All was to go well for him until

he had the misfortune to contend with the invasion of Anatolia by the indomitable Amīr Taimūr Gurgān (Tamerlane- r.771H/1369 till 807H/1405) in 804H(1402). In this, the appeals to Taimūr of the Turkomān Princes of Anatolia, who had been dispossessed by Bāyazīd I had also played their role. In the fierce encounter that ensued, Bāyazīd I, brave to the point of ridicule and careless as well as insensitively arrogant, was taken captive. Treated well initially, his arrogance was to lead him to be displayed in a cage it is said, just as he had promised to do with Taimūr after capturing him. However, Taimūr was to end up making the latter his father-in-law by marrying his daughter Ḥamīdah and releasing him, when he soon died of an epileptic fit. Once Taimūr had departed and passed away, this hiccup in the continuation of the Ottoman dynasty, known as "the Interregnum", was only to last till the emergence and accession to power of Muḥammad I Chalabī (Mehmet Çelebi) in 816H(1413), after he had effectively disposed of the threat from his brothers. Amongst Bāyazīd I's queens were the daughters of such great rulers as the Emperor John V Palaeologus and King Lazar I of Hungary, and the latter's daughter Despina, was a particular favourite of his.

Muḥammad I (Mehmet—r.805H/1402 till 824H/1421) succeeded in restoring the boundaries of his father's empire after reorganising the State's apparatii and his son and successor, the great Murād (Murāt II—d.855H/1451) continued the development of these institutions, which of course included the army and to such a level, that, come the time, he was able to crush a very strong European crusading coalition against him led by Count Hunyadi of Hungary at Varna in 848H(1444).

His son, Muḥammad II "al-Fāteḥ" (Fatih Sultan Mehmet II—d.886H/1481) "the Conqueror", was enabled, thanks to these reforms, to make further additions to his dominions across the river Danube in Central Europe, as well as in Southern Europe and also in Asia. His most sonorous achievement and the one he is best remembered by was the conquest of Constantinople in 857H(1453), by which, he had also fulfilled an age-old prophecy of his namesake, the Prophet Muḥammad. Of this City's strategic significance, Napoleon had once said that: "If the world was a single kingdom, then Constantinople would be the city most suitable to be its capital". In this siege, he had used the unthinkable stratagem first explained to me by the Niẓām VIII (Prince Bereket) in a discussion in

had heard details of the dream, with the crescent emanating from him, to be followed by an intense spiritual sensation that had gone on to surround the entire Creation, he had informed 'Uthmān of his interpretation that, he would eventually be the founder of a very large nation. The hand of Bāl Khātūn had already been promised to the Prince of Eskişehir (in Anatolia). However the Shaykh, realising the dream to be a great and potent omen, now agreed to marry his daughter to 'Uthmān and she thus became the matriarch of a great Muslim dynasty and of the many peerless champions of Islām—a long line of intrepid "Ghāzīs" in the cause of Allāh, His faith and its adherents.[271]

The Ottoman rulers during their heyday were to prove to be sincere practitioners of this tradition—a "Ghāzī" ("Gazi" in Turkish) being an alive and victorious fighter for the Faith, as opposed to a "Shahīd' or martyr. Not only did the Ottoman Sulṭāns take this role of theirs very seriously, but also placed great honour in adding it to their official style and titles, bearing this one in particular with as much genuine pride in tandem with humility, as they bore that of "Khādim al-Ḥaramayn al-Sharīfayn" ("The Servitor of the Two Holy Sanctuaries"). For example, each of these rulers was known as "Ghāzī Sulṭān" or "al-Sulṭān al-Ghāzī" in Arabic. These two titles would be followed by their names and from 'Uthmān down to the last of the line to rule, the title "Ghāzī", would almost form as much a part of the style of their address as "Sulṭān". The Ottoman dynasty was destined to last for around six and a half centuries and present the world of Islām with three and a half dozen rulers.

'Uthmān (Osman—r.699H/1299 till 726H/1326) and his three immediate successors Orkhān I (Orhan—r.726H/1326 till 761H/1360), Murād I (Murat—r.761H/1360 till 792H/1389) and Bāyazīd I (Bayezit—r.792H/1389 till 805H/1402) had continued to expand their state rapidly at the expense of the Byzantines. For example, Thrace, Macedonia, Bulgaria and Serbia were conquered in Europe during this period and further advances also made in Anatolia.

Of these, Bāyazīd I was born of a Byzantine Princess who had assumed the name of Gülcicek (Rosebud), and either because of his ferocious and irascible flashes of temper, or his lightning quick marches against foes and his brilliant exploits in the east and the west, not to mention his reduction of the Byzantine Emperor to vassalage, he was also referred to in his day and has been since as "Yildirim" or "the Thunderbolt". All was to go well for him until

he had the misfortune to contend with the invasion of Anatolia by the indomitable Amīr Taimūr Gurgān (Tamerlane- r.771H/1369 till 807H/1405) in 804H(1402). In this, the appeals to Taimūr of the Turkomān Princes of Anatolia, who had been dispossessed by Bāyazīd I had also played their role. In the fierce encounter that ensued, Bāyazīd I, brave to the point of ridicule and careless as well as insensitively arrogant, was taken captive. Treated well initially, his arrogance was to lead him to be displayed in a cage it is said, just as he had promised to do with Taimūr after capturing him. However, Taimūr was to end up making the latter his father-in-law by marrying his daughter Ḥamīdah and releasing him, when he soon died of an epileptic fit. Once Taimūr had departed and passed away, this hiccup in the continuation of the Ottoman dynasty, known as "the Interregnum", was only to last till the emergence and accession to power of Muḥammad I Chalabī (Mehmet Çelebi) in 816H(1413), after he had effectively disposed of the threat from his brothers. Amongst Bāyazīd I's queens were the daughters of such great rulers as the Emperor John V Palaeologus and King Lazar I of Hungary, and the latter's daughter Despina, was a particular favourite of his.

Muḥammad I (Mehmet—r.805H/1402 till 824H/1421) succeeded in restoring the boundaries of his father's empire after reorganising the State's apparatii and his son and successor, the great Murād (Murāt II—d.855H/1451) continued the development of these institutions, which of course included the army and to such a level, that, come the time, he was able to crush a very strong European crusading coalition against him led by Count Hunyadi of Hungary at Varna in 848H(1444).

His son, Muḥammad II "al-Fāteḥ" (Fatih Sultan Mehmet II—d.886H/1481) "the Conqueror", was enabled, thanks to these reforms, to make further additions to his dominions across the river Danube in Central Europe, as well as in Southern Europe and also in Asia. His most sonorous achievement and the one he is best remembered by was the conquest of Constantinople in 857H(1453), by which, he had also fulfilled an age-old prophecy of his namesake, the Prophet Muḥammad. Of this City's strategic significance, Napoleon had once said that: "If the world was a single kingdom, then Constantinople would be the city most suitable to be its capital". In this siege, he had used the unthinkable stratagem first explained to me by the Niẓām VIII (Prince Bereket) in a discussion in

Makkah, of building and transporting some eighty ships overland, dragged up and down a shipway of greased tree trunks, from the Bosphorus to the Golden Horn with their crews in them and launching them beyond the great chain blocking the entrance into Constantinople's harbour (the Golden Horn), in order to besiege it from the sea as well. This was to help greatly in the reduction of that City, which, encircled by the three fortified walls built by the Emperor Theodosius II during the fifth century CE, was deemed till then to be impregnable, having defied conqueror after conqueror. The siege on this occasion had lasted some fifty-three days and it had been the twelfth attempt by a Muslim force.[272]

No less impressive were Muḥammad II's victories over the greatest naval power of the day, at least in the Mediterranean, Venice. These saw the Ottoman State's navy acknowledged as a force to be reckoned with in the waters of the Mediterranean, the Adriatic and the Black Sea. His conquest of Constantinople had also naturally made him the cynosure of Muslim eyes and more or less the prime acknowledged champion of Islām. He was now to decide to capitalise on it by demanding of the Mamlūk Sulṭāns the right of precedence over them as the prime leader of the "Millah" ('Millet' in Turkish) during the assemblage for the Pilgrimage in Makkah. He also soon came to blows with them in 873H(1468) over their occupation of Dhū'l Qādir (Dulgadir) and their support for Karamān, which he conquered. It has to be recognised though, that, till this stage, the exchange of correspondence and embassies between their two courts had been cordial, with the Ottoman Sulṭāns humbly displaying a filial deference towards their Mamlūk counterparts in the manner of address they used in reference to the latter.[273]

Muḥammad II's death was to open the doors for a civil war between his elder son, Prince Jām (Cem) Sulṭān and his second son, with the latter emerging victorious as Bāyazīd II (Bayezit). This and some subsequent events were briefly referred to earlier in the episode of the Mamlūks. Incidentally, Jām (Cem) is one of the earliest and few Ottoman princes to have performed the Ḥajj in person during 886H(1482), though, in his case, this was after he had fled his father's dominions.[274]

Bāyazīd II's reign in Ottoman history is looked upon as a watershed and a period of transition and consolidation before the resumption of further conquests. However, it may be recalled that, it was during his reign that the first war with the Mamlūks, over attempts by the latter to remove 'Alā'al-Daulah (Alauddevle) from Dhū'l Qādir, had taken place in 890H(1485). This had ended some six years later in an uneasy peace, with the Mamlūks controlling the Cilician towns and that territory's southern end and the Ottomans holding the main mountain passes.

It is also significant that, it was in this very year (896H/1491), that, Bāyazīd II had expelled the Venetian "Balyos" (Representative) in preparation for a war with that State. This, once declared after a gradual build-up, was to include many dazzling successes for the newly created Ottoman naval establishment. One of these was the great victory and capture of Lepanto (Inebahti) in 905H(1499), leading on to the occupation of the Morean ports that even included Durazzo (Draz) on the very gates of Venice in 907H(1501).

Meanwhile, a large Crusader fleet, organised in response to a call from "the heroic" Pope Alexander VI (in office from 897H/1492 till 909H/1503) and aiming to occupy the island of Lesbos commanding the Bosphorous, was dispersed by a Divine act, a storm, the same year, with dispute amongst the fleet's commanders adding to its woes. A trading City State unable to withstand the pressures of war for long, Venice also had decided to seek peace in 908H(1502) through Polish mediation. This war's end was to confirm the establishment of the Ottoman State as a major naval and economic power, now in control of the international commercial routes of the day passing through the eastern Mediterranean.[275]

In view of these military and naval achievements, it is indeed ironical and a travesty that Granada fell in 897H(1492) to Ferdinand (b.856H/1452 - d.921H/1516) of Aragon and Isabella of Castille (b.855H/1451 - d.910H/1504). Earlier on, when the Nāṣirids of Andalusia had appealed to Bāyazīd II for help in 887H(1482), which was shortly after his accession, he was too unsure of his naval strength to respond decisively. However, once Granada had fallen, retrieving it was to become and remain one of the major objectives of Ottoman policy for quite some time to come. In fact, it was with this in mind that Bāyazīd II had agreed with al-Ashraf Qā'it Bey to concert action by land and sea, leaving the Mamlūk army to attack across the Straits of Gibraltar, while he distracted Ferdinand and Isabella by launching his naval forces against Sicily, held at that time by this couple. Subsequently, while Bāyazīd II was to live up to his part of the bargain and send his fleet under his Admiral Kamāl Ra'īs (Reis) against the Spanish coast, the Mamlūk Sulṭān, perhaps be-

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cause of internal problems, had found himself unable to act, and was merely to suffice himself with addressing letters to the Pope and to Ferdinand and Isabella, asking them to stop the persecution of Muslims and threatening with retaliation against Christian pilgrims to Palestine, as well as against European commercial interests in case of non-compliance with his demands.[276] Dr. Nabīl 'Abdal-Ḥai Raḍwān has written an admirable work in Arabic on this episode and the continuing Ottoman efforts, at first to save and then to retrieve al-Andalus for the Muslims. This was published in Makkah in 1408H(1988), but, like many such works of scholarship, is totally unknown in the West.

The latter part of Bāyazīd II's reign was marred by the struggle between his sons over the succession and attempts to control the Shī'ah movement that had initially been started by Shaykh Ṣafial-dīn (d.734H/1333), a Ṣufī Shaykh, whose successors had come to control Īrān. Conquering Baghdād (914H/1508/9) and massacring Sunnī Muslims, they had desecrated their places of worship there and had even come to dispute Anatolia with Bāyazīd II, until routed near Kayseri in 917H(1511).

When the time had come for the tussle over the succession amongst his sons, Bāyazīd II had favoured the claims of his eldest son Aḥmad (Ahmet), who much resembled him in character and political inclinations. To counter this, another son of his, Korkut, erudite, sophisticated and with mystical inclinations, had sought to secure the support of the Mamlūks to his claims, while ostensibly in their territory on a Pilgrimage to Makkah and al-Madīnah. His father, upon learning of this, had nevertheless decided to pardon him his indiscretion on this occasion and to allow him to return to his former post as governor in Antalya in 917H(1511). This was also the year in which his brother, Prince Shāhinshāh (Şehinşah) had died, and the latter's full brother, Prince 'Ālam Shāh (Alemşah), too was to follow him to the grave a year later.

Emerging now from the shadows, Salīm I (Selim), the most warlike of the brothers, also decided to stake his claim openly and finally managed to win the throne with the help of the Janissaries, "Yeniceri" (meaning "New Force"), who compelled Bāyazīd II to abdicate in his favour during 918H(1512) under the pretext that, Salīm I alone could save the State from the Ṣafavid threat. Bāyazīd II, a man of religious leanings, passed away that very year after retiring to his birthplace to spend the rest of his life in prayer and

contemplation. However, there had still remained the challenge of his brother Aḥmad (Ahmet) to be dealt with, who, from his base in Amāsya, was now seeking the assistance of the Mamlūks. He was, however, to be defeated at Yenişehir before this help could materialise and executed a year later in 919H(1513), just as Korkut also was killed. This was to leave Salīm I the unrivalled master of his father's Empire.

That same year (919H/1513), the Mamlūks, concerned over the Ṣafavid Shāh Ismā'īl's designs, were to conclude a formal alliance with Salīm I, allowing him a free hand against the Ṣafavids. The latter however, after initial success, were to be decisively crushed at the bloody battle of Çaldiran in 920H(1514), which was to enable Salīm I to occupy Tabrīz, but not for long as it turned out, for Shāh Ismā'īl was to take it back no sooner than Salīm I had withdrawn to Karābāgh (Karabag) to winter, thus almost nullifying the gains of his hard-won victory, because of this lethargical lapse.

B: The Ottoman Conquest of the Mamlūk Dominions

When Salīm I had decided in 921H(1515) to complete the annexation of the whole of Anatolia, this had forced the Mamlūks to turn against the Ottoman alliance as already stated and they had joined hands instead with Dhū'l Qādir and the Ṣafavids, though the association with the latter was somewhat an uneasy one for them. The swift occupation of that Principality after a battle at Turna Dağ and the possession of Cilicia in south-eastern Anatolia was now to pave the way before him, either for a push against the Mamlūks into Syria, or a drive into the Caucasus, with a strike against Īrān also providing another alternative. Salīm I also understood well that he could not seriously think of concentrating on advances in Europe with a hostile rear, and he claimed to be particularly incensed by the new Mamlūk–Ṣafavid alliance.[277]

Alarmed by these developments, the then Mamlūk Sulṭān, al-Ashraf Qānṣūh al-Ghaurī, who had been in power since 906H(1500), had decided to move his main army across the Euphrates and into the Taurus mountains. This was in order to face any threat aimed in his direction, though Salīm I had continued to profess innocently to him in his correspondence that he had no designs against his territory.[278]

However, if Salīm I's mind had not already been made up at this stage about the course of action to adopt, then this push of al-

Ghaurī's into Anatolia made it up for him and he decided to advance into Mamlūk territory. In addition to the Governor of Aleppo, Khayr (Hayir) Bey, Salīm I had already been in secret communication with several Mamlūk officials, notably Jānbardī al-Ghazzālī and Fakhral-dīn al-Mārūnī of the Lebanon, who had promised him co-operation and support in return for offices and reward. When battle was joined, Mamlūk opposition was found in disarray due to inactivity or desertions in spite of individual displays of great bravery. Khayr Bey's reward later in lieu of this service was to be the Governorship of Egypt and that of Jānbardī, Syria (Ṣafad, al-Quds, Ghazzah, al-Karak and Nablus).[279]

At the battle of Marj Dābiq (Març Dabik), at which Khayr Bey was commanding the right wing and Jānbardī the left, both had betrayed their cause. Then, following the death of al-Ghaurī a little after this event and still during 922H(1516), Aleppo also was to fall without ado due to the co-operation of its Governor, followed within a month by Ḥamā and Damascus. At this stage, Salīm I decided to visit Islām's third holiest shrine in al-Quds (Jerusalem) before further military action and did so accompanied by a select group of horsemen. It is interesting to recall here that, Marj Dābiq is that very plain where the Umaiyyad Caliph Sulaymān ibn 'Abdal-Malik had wintered after setting out on an expedition against Constantinople, after vowing not to return to his Capital (Damascus) until he had conquered it. He had however died there in camp and was buried on a little hillock nearby, known since in association with his name as 'Tel Sulaymān'.[280]

While the Mamlūks in a state of great disconcert at this stage, went through the motions of electing a new Sulṭān, Ṭūmān Bey, the spirited nephew of al-Ghaurī, with the title of "al-Malik al-Ashraf", Salīm I had succeeded in crossing the Sinai Peninsula with his guns and baggage in a record five days. This was towards the end of 922H(the beginning of 1517CE).

He then managed to out-flank and overwhelm the Mamlūk defences at al-Raydānīyyah on the road to Cairo despite bitter resistance. Losing some 25,000 men and mostly in a single day (29th Dhū'l-Ḥijjah/22nd January), yet not their hearts and unwilling to accept defeat, Ṭūmān Bey and his commanders next organised guerilla resistance in the City, forcing Salīm I's troops to fight for each house and position at a terrible cost in life all round, before it could be said to have been taken. Over fifty thousand Mamlūks and other

citizens were to fall 'hors de combat' in these encounters. Mamlūk resistance was then to shift to the region of the Delta and Upper Egypt.[281]

This bitter struggle was to end shortly, when Ṭūmān Bey was betrayed and taken captive. He was executed on 21st Rabī'-al-Awwal 923H(23rd April 1517) at the same spot by the 'Bāb' (Gateway of) al-Zuwayla', where some forty-five years earlier, the ruler of Dhū'l Qādir, Shehsuvar had been executed by the orders of the Mamlūk Sulṭān, Qā'it Bey, for turning against him in favour of the Ottomans. Now, the execution of Ṭūmān Bey was supervised by 'Alī Bey, a son of the above Shehsuvar. It is related that, impressed by his intrepid personality and bearing, Salīm I was at first inclined towards pardoning him and even using him, failing which, to exile him to Makkah. He was however strongly advised against nourishing these clement thoughts by Khayr Bey and Jānbardī. In addition to his great valour, Ṭūmān Bey had also displayed considerable cruelty and this was to work against him. For example, on that fatal day of 29th Dhū'l-Ḥijjah (22nd January) at al-Raydānīyyah, also known as "al-Khānqāh", Ṭūmān Bey had personally led a daring raid upon Salīm I's headquarters in the hope of finding and killing him, capturing the latter's Grand Wazīr Sinān Bey instead and slaying him in person under the assumption that he was Salīm I.[282]

This could hardly have stood him in good stead with the latter. In any case, after the execution of Ṭūmān Bey, Egypt and the other Mamlūk dominions along with it, may be considered for all practical purposes to have become a part of Salīm I's empire. It has to be emphasised here that gunpowder, improved firearms and artillery were to play a major role in Salīm I's success over the Mamlūks. For example, Salīm I was to introduce in this campaign for the first time, a new type of gun known in the plural as "Yivli Toplar"-("Yivli" means "rifled bore"). This, according to the Egyptian research scholar Metwally, could fire five to ten rounds almost in rapid succession, using grape-shot and spraying splinters with deadly effect. Unconvinced, I had the occasion to discuss this with the Niẓām (VIII) of Ḥaidarābād, a soldier by training and a military historian with sound knowledge of the development of weaponry and a book on Islāmic hand-weapons awaiting publication. He explained to me that, he had seen a sample of this type of gun on display at the Naval Museum in Istānbul. Especially cast for this expedition upon Sulṭān Salīm I's orders, the specimen he saw had a

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citizens were to fall 'hors de combat' in these encounters. Mamlūk resistance was then to shift to the region of the Delta and Upper Egypt.[281]

This bitter struggle was to end shortly, when Ṭūmān Bey was betrayed and taken captive. He was executed on 21st Rabī'-al-Awwal 923H(23rd April 1517) at the same spot by the 'Bāb' (Gateway of) al-Zuwayla', where some forty-five years earlier, the ruler of Dhū'l Qādir, Shehsuvar had been executed by the orders of the Mamlūk Sulṭān, Qā'it Bey, for turning against him in favour of the Ottomans. Now, the execution of Ṭūmān Bey was supervised by 'Alī Bey, a son of the above Shehsuvar. It is related that, impressed by his intrepid personality and bearing, Salīm I was at first inclined towards pardoning him and even using him, failing which, to exile him to Makkah. He was however strongly advised against nourishing these clement thoughts by Khayr Bey and Jānbardī. In addition to his great valour, Ṭūmān Bey had also displayed considerable cruelty and this was to work against him. For example, on that fatal day of 29th Dhū'l-Ḥijjah (22nd January) at al-Raydānīyyah, also known as "al-Khānqāh", Ṭūmān Bey had personally led a daring raid upon Salīm I's headquarters in the hope of finding and killing him, capturing the latter's Grand Wazīr Sinān Bey instead and slaying him in person under the assumption that he was Salīm I.[282]

This could hardly have stood him in good stead with the latter. In any case, after the execution of Ṭūmān Bey, Egypt and the other Mamlūk dominions along with it, may be considered for all practical purposes to have become a part of Salīm I's empire. It has to be emphasised here that gunpowder, improved firearms and artillery were to play a major role in Salīm I's success over the Mamlūks. For example, Salīm I was to introduce in this campaign for the first time, a new type of gun known in the plural as "Yivli Toplar"-("Yivli" means "rifled bore"). This, according to the Egyptian research scholar Metwally, could fire five to ten rounds almost in rapid succession, using grape-shot and spraying splinters with deadly effect. Unconvinced, I had the occasion to discuss this with the Niẓām (VIII) of Ḥaidarābād, a soldier by training and a military historian with sound knowledge of the development of weaponry and a book on Islāmic hand-weapons awaiting publication. He explained to me that, he had seen a sample of this type of gun on display at the Naval Museum in Istānbul. Especially cast for this expedition upon Sulṭān Salīm I's orders, the specimen he saw had a

bore of 25.5 Cm, a length of 7.4 Metres and weighed 23 Tons. While maintaining that, this in his opinion would be one of the earliest examples of a gun of the type under discussion, and that, the rifling and the length of the gun would have added greatly to the range, velocity and accuracy of its projectile, he was to add that, the specific qualities of such a weapon would generally be found to be inconsistent with the concept of utilising it for firing shells or canisters at random in order to spray shrapnel or splinters, as this does not call for a high level of accuracy. He also indicated that, because of its size and weight, the gun would have added to problems of transportation and also called for the use of regular shot because of the rifled bore, though its handling during operations would certainly have been much smoother and faster because of these very factors, yet hardly in as rapid a succession as Metwally seems to imply.

Before such superior fire power and considering the Mamlūks's distinct contempt for the use of such weaponry as unmanly, their training in "Futūwwah" or chivalry, however excellent, could only be a poor answer in practical terms to the former's awesome destructive capabilities. Indeed, considering the deep attachment of the Mamlūks to the various branches of 'Futūwwah' and their high level of proficiency in its martial skills, Salīm I would often marvel at and amuse himself in court by repeatedly asking some of the Mamlūks such as Qānṣūh al-'Ādilī to display their expertise in some of its branches such as spear and sword play, and ask of his courtiers if anyone could emulate and match them.[283]

Throughout this campaign, Salīm I had been distributing largesse, using clemency and conciliatory measures whenever and wherever possible and repairing mosques and other edifices of public utility and interest in a persistent and objective manner, aimed at winning over his foes, as well as the "Ulamā" (scholars) and the common folk to his side, as if with an additional goal. For example, in Damascus, he had ordered the repair of the great Umaiyyad Cathedral Mosque ('al-Jāmi' al-Umawī'), where, in the Friday sermon—the 'Khuṭbah'—he was addressed as "Khādim al-Ḥaramayn" ("the Servitor of the Two Holy Sanctuaries").[284]

In Cairo as well, he had visited all the sites of religious significance, displaying great humility, veneration and charity and bestowing robes of honour on men of eminence and religion. In all

cases, Salīm I's display of piety was genuine and not merely out of considerations of political finesse or necessity. So dedicated was he to the cause of his faith, that, he even seriously considered taking the logical step of making Arabic—the language of the Qur'ān—the first and official language of his empire and was bent upon inducing his subject peoples to adopt it, until finally dissuaded by the Grand Muftī of the State in Istānbul, a fact, that is not too well known.[285]

C: The Beginning of the Ottoman Caliphate

The issue of the ongoing Ottoman contest with the Mamlūks over primacy in the leadership and affairs of the world of Islām as already dealt with to some extent apart, Salīm I by these meritorious acts was not merely staking a claim to reward in the hereafter, but also wittingly or unwittingly paving the grounds for the realisation of his greatest ambition, if indeed he did nurture it—the headship of Islām.

The last 'Abbāsid successors to the title of "Caliph", Abū al-Ṣabr Ya'qūb al-Mustamsik Bi'llāh and his son Muḥammad al-Mutawakkil 'Alā Allāh III were then established in Cairo under Mamlūk protection, just as their ancestors had been since the sack of Baghdād and the murder by the Mongols in 656H(1258) of Abū Aḥmad al-Musta'ṣim Bi'llāh. In 659H(1261), the Mamlūk Sulṭān Baybars, had restored the office of the Caliphate to the House of 'Abbās, when a scion of that clan, Abū'l Qāsim Aḥmad al-Mustanṣir Bi'llāh, who had escaped the clutches of the Mongols, had managed to establish his credentials before him and a panel of the land's leading jurists.[286] Though al-Mustanṣir disappeared the following year while leading an expedition against the Mongols, the office survived, primarily as one of some religious significance and social prestige and honour, with the name of the office holder (the Caliph) being mentioned in the Friday 'Khuṭbah' (sermon) and on similar occasions, along with that of the ruling Sulṭān, though by no means always.

During the 274 lunar years (some 266 solar years) of Mamlūk rule, seventeen members of the 'Abbāsid clan were appointed to the office of Caliph in Cairo twenty-one times, some of them, namly al-Mu'taṣim Bi'llāh and al-Mustamsik Bi'llāh, twice and al-Mutawakkil 'Alā Allāh I even thrice. Of course, an earlier name-

sake had also ruled earlier on from Baghdād between 232H(847) and 247H(861) and another, Abū'l 'Izz 'Abdal-'Azīz al-Mutawakkil 'Alā Allāh II, acknowledged Caliph in Cairo from 844H(1479) to 903H(1497). One of their ranks, al-Musta'īn Bi'llāh, as may be recalled, had also had the occasion to combine the religious and the temporal function in 815H(1412) for the odd year or so.[287]

In fact, al-Mutawakkil 'Alā Allāh III, as the Caliph in office at the time of Salīm I's invasion, had been present in a spiritual capacity with Qānṣūh al-Ghaurī at Marj Dābiq and had surrendered himself to Salīm I after the defeat, to be sent back to Cairo in an honourable manner a little later. During this phase, just as the Mamlūks had chosen for themselves a new Sulṭān, al-Ashraf Ṭūmān Bey, they had also elected to appoint a new Caliph, al-Mustamsik Bi'llāh (d. 926H/1520), who had held that office earlier between 903H(1497) and 915H(1509) before abdicating in favour of his above son, al-Mutawakkil 'Alā Allāh III. The former was now deputising for this latter son of his, then absent in Syria with the Mamlūk forces. Al-Mustamsik Bi'llāh at this stage was an octogenarian suffering from poor sight, not to mention paucity of funds. Hence, upon the safe return of his son al-Mutawakkil III, al-Mustamsik had handed back the office to him.[288]

Muḥammad al-Mutawakkil 'Alā Allāh III and some of his close relatives were later to be conveyed to Istānbul by sea in 923H(1517), though he himself was destined to return to Cairo and die there, either during 945H(1538) according to some, or five years later if others are to be believed, leaving behind three sons—'Umar, 'Uthmān and Yaḥyā. Prior to his departure, he had presented to the Sulṭān Salīm I some of the Prophet Muḥammad's relics that he had held in his possession, such as one of his standards, a cloak, a sword and the keys of the two Holy Sanctuaries in Makkah and al-Madīnah. By now, Salīm I, for all purposes, had effectively become the 'Commander of the Believers' and the 'Khalīfah'—the "Successor of the Messenger of God, the Lord of the worlds".[289] It is important to add this little known but amazing fact that no contemporary documentary, numismatic or other historical record or evidence of any sort exists to support, or even suggest, that Salīm I had ever asked the Caliph to abdicate the Caliphal office in his favour, or that al-Mutawakkil III ever did so! In fact, till the latter's death, records continue to refer to him as "Caliph" and to Salīm I and after him his successors, as "the Servitors of the Two Noble

Sanctuaries". One of the Sulṭāns of this earlier era found introducing the Caliphal title officially in a document—the Treaty of Kuchuk Kainardji with Russia in 1187H(1774)—was 'Abdal-Ḥamīd I, who had reigned from that year till 1203H(1789). He had been provoked by the Czarina Catherine II's (r.1176H/1762 till 1211H/1796) representatives into doing so after being questioned about his right to speak for the Arabs. Almost a hundred and five lunar years later on, 'Abdal-Ḥamīd II, ruling over an empire with more Arabs than Turks and a believer in Pan-Islāmism out of genuine conviction as many credit him with rather than sheer political expediency, was to revive the official utilisation of references to the term of "Khilāfah" (the Caliphate) in the Ottoman Constitution of 1293H(1876).[290]

Contemporary accounts record that, Salīm I had entered Cairo on Sunday 23rd Muḥarram 923H (15th February 1517). He had gone on to offer his first Friday Prayers in the Cathedral Mosque of al-Mu'ayyad the following Friday, there to hear the 'Imām' refer to him in his sermon by the title of "Khādim al-Ḥaramayn al-Sharīfayn". It is related that, upon hearing this, Salīm I had taken off his turban as a mark of humility and after turning over the Prayer-mat, prostrated himself over the bare floor in gratitude to the Almighty for this mark of favour and would not stop weeping until the 'Imām' had completed his sermon and descended from the pulpit to lead the Prayer.[291] Earlier on, upon his entry into Aleppo and hearing the 'Imām' refer to him thus for the first time in the 'Khuṭbah' of Friday, he had reacted out of humility and gratitude in a like manner.[292] Of course, Salīm I had much to be grateful to God for, as He had distinctly favoured him by enabling him to treble the territory left to him by his father, from 2,373,000 square kilometres to 6,557,000 square kilometres in a mere four years, between 920H(1514) and 924H(1518). By the conquest of the Mamlūk domains alone, Salīm I, according to a letter he had written to his son Sulaymān, had come into possession of "all the territories of lower Egypt, Malatya, Aleppo, Syria (Damascus), Cairo, upper Egypt, Abyssinia, and the Yaman, right up to al-Qairuwān in the west lengthwise, and al-Ḥejāz, Makkah, al-Madīnah and Jerusalem.... in their comprehensive entirety width-wise".[293]

To add emphasis to this development, the then Sharīf of Makkah, Zaynal-dīn Barakāt (r.903H/1497 til 932H/1525), who had been more than perplexed about the course to adopt following the turn

that events had taken, had also then wisely decided to offer his humble submission and allegiance in time rather than face an invasion of his barren domain, an episode, concerning which, more details follow.

Indeed, it is related that, at the time of his departure from Egypt, Salīm I had addressed Khayr Bey, the Governor he had nominated, in the following words according to Auliyā Chalabī (Evliye Çelebi), the eleventh Hijrī century (17th Christian century) compiler of the voluminous 'Siyāḥatnāmeh' ('Book of Travels' or 'Travelogue'): "I hope to serve the Prophet well. I have no desire for anything from Egypt. I have won only the title of 'Khādim al-Ḥaramayn al-Sharīfayn' and I have left in endowment to the august person of the Prophet the revenues of Egypt. Bear witness that, from now on, you are the Agent of the 'Waqf' (Endowment) of God. So, serve it well". That same year (923H/1517), Salīm I is reported to have sent to the Holy Land for distribution a 'Ṣurra' ('Surre') or purse of 200,000 gold coins and fixed a sum of 450,000 'Para' (a 'Para' is a fortieth of a 'Qarsh' or 'Piastre') for the expenses of the Ḥajj.[294]

D: (i) Salīm (Selim) I
(r.918H/1512 till 926H/1520)

Makkah and al-Madīnah

Shortly after the unexpectedly rapid collapse of the Mamlūks, Barakāt had received a strong letter of advice from the Qāḍī of Makkah, Ṣalāḥal-dīn Ibn Ẓahīrah al-Makhzūmī (d.950H/1543), who had been set free from internment in Cairo by the Sulṭān, Salīm I, to either present himself in person, or to send his son Muḥammad Abū Numai, then twelve years old, to Egypt, to express his father's allegiance and desire to enter into the Ottoman fold.

The Qāḍī's letter, which had been forwarded simultaneously in accompaniment with an epistle from the Ottoman Grand Wazīr under the Sulṭān's signet ('Tauqī'), bore similar contents. In this instance, the Wazīr was actually acting upon the Qāḍī's advice and both had decided that, in order to prevent the Sulṭān from leading an army into the Ḥejāz as he was then intending to do and which would have placed an unbearable burden on its meagre resources, barely able to sustain its own population at the best of times, the Sharīf ought to be addressed officially and informed of the end of Mamlūk rule and summoned to wait upon the Sulṭān in person as

his former suzerain's successor, in order to offer his allegiance. Failing this, he was advised to depute his son swiftly to represent him for the purpose, as this would be considered adequate enough under the circumstances.

Thus, in less than two months after the execution of the Sulṭān Qānṣūh al-Ghaurī during the third lunar month of Rabī' al-Awwal (April), that is Jamād al-Awwal (the fifth lunar month), the young Muḥammad Abū Numai ibn Barakāt had already had his audience with the Ottoman Sulṭān in Cairo, after being received with due honour upon his arrival there. Following this, the Sharīf Barakāt was officially welcomed into the imperial Ottoman embrace and confirmed in his position as ruler of the Holy Land with an annual stipend of 25,000 'Qurūsh', while his above son was recognised as his successor, thus ensuring the continuation of the domination of the Sharīfian clans in the Ḥejāz, which had started with Abū Muḥammad al-Mūsawī during the fourth Hijrī century (tenth century CE) and was destined to last for another four hundred years. Some chroniclers like al-Qirmānī (d. 1019H/1611) and al-Malwānī (ibn al-Wakīl—d. 12th cH/18thcCE) wrongly assert that, the Sharīf Barakāt, accompanied by Abū Numai, did have an audience with Salīm I on the latter's journey homeward and not as mentioned above.[295]

Henceforth, in the Ḥejāz too as in Syria and then Egypt as was mentioned earlier, the name of the Ottoman Sulṭān along with the titles of "Amīr al-Mū'minīn wa Khādim al-Ḥaramayn al-Sharīfayn" ("Commander of the Believers and Servitor of the Two Honoured Sanctuaries") was introduced into the 'Khuṭbah' and the supplications that normally would have been followed by the name of the local ruler. Besides, on the wall of the palace he had ordered to be built in Cairo as the centre of administration, a tablet with an Arabic couplet of his own composition was to be installed as per his wishes, in which he had referred to himself as "Khādim al-Fuqarā', Salīm" ("the Servant of the poor, Salīm").[296]

For the purposes of presentation to the Sulṭān, the Sharīf Barakāt had sent along with the Keys of the Ka'bah a large number of holy relics from the treasuries in Makkah and al-Madīnah, which contained the items that had been preserved in them over the epochs and had survived the depredations of time. While there is some confusion amongst the sources about who presented what to Salīm I between the above Sharīf of Makkah and the last 'Abbāsid Caliph,

the Egyptian research scholar, al-Metwally, in his admirable work on the Ottoman conquest of Egypt, "based" entirely "on contemporary Turkish and Arabic documents and sources", has assembled a list of these gifts, which makes highly interesting reading. Of the pre-Islāmic relics traceable to other Prophets, there were Ibrāhīm's (Abraham's) cauldron, Nūḥ's (Noah's) cooking pot, Dā'ūd's (David's) sword, Yūsuf's (Joseph's) shirt and two staffs belonging to Shu'ayb (identifiable with Jethro). The Islāmic relics had included the Prophet's standard, Prayer mat, cloak, a sword handle, some arrows and his slippers. Then, there were the relics associated with some of the Prophet's 'Companions' and their descendants, who had acquired fame in Islāmic lore for their piety and learning. These again were in the guise of turbans, Prayer mats, prayer beads, standards and swords, plus two manuscripts of the Qur'ān, one copied by 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib and the other by his grandson 'Alī (Zayn al-'Ābidīn). Metwally also gives a list of many of the other relics introduced into the Ottoman treasury by other Sulṭāns and still preserved at the Top Kapi (Topkapi) Palace Museum in Istānbul. Of these, the copy of the Qur'ān that the Caliph 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān had copied and was reading at the time of his assassination, had been presented to the Sulṭān Murād II by his Mamlūk counterpart, Jaqmāq, on 20th Dhū'l-Ḥijjah 843H(1440). Al-Ẓāhir Sayfal-dīn Jaqmaq had ruled between 842H(1438) and 857H(1453).[297]

Furthermore, prior to his departure for home from Egypt, when the Ḥajj season had arrived, Salīm I had attended the ceremony of the departure of the Pilgrims Caravan and the 'Maḥmal' with the 'Kiswah' for the Ka'bah and the traditional 'Ṣurra' or the purse for disbursement amongst the needy of Makkah and al-Madīnah. The Ottomans had been sending their contribution to the latter since the era of Muḥammad (Mehmet) Celebī (r.816H/1413 - 824H/1421) and this amount was now increased to the equivalent of 28,000 Ducats.[298]

Gifts had also been sent for dignitaries and scholars there and Salīm I, when returning to his Capital, had taken with him from Egypt a host of such men of eminence and learning, along with some two thousand different artisans and craftsmen.[299]

Before leaving Egypt, and while re-organising the administration of the conquered Mamlūk dominions, Salīm I had assigned the disbursement of the tax collection from there for purposes of expenditure by dividing the revenue into three tranches. A portion

was allocated for local security and administration. Another was to be paid into the Central Exchequer and the last one was reserved for the Two Holy Cities. The source from which this information is derived further comments that, while such administrative measures had helped keep Egypt under the Ottoman weal for some two hundred years, it was lack of adherence to them that was ultimately to contribute towards the increasingly moribund state and decay of the Ottoman Empire.[300]

A great quantity of wheat, some seven thousand 'Irdab'—(an 'Ardab' being 198 Egyptian pounds as mentioned earlier)—was also forwarded, with orders that, this exercise be repeated with regularity at this time every year. Five thousand 'Irdab' of this quantity were for Makkah and the remaining two thousand 'Irdab' were assigned for al-Madīnah. After a census, each individual, save the soldiery and merchants, were provided with four "Measures" of corn and a gold Dīnār—(a 'Measure' or "Kaylah" being 16.72 Egyptian pounds). These measures for distribution were adopted after due deliberation by a local consultative body with appropriate membership.[301]

It is estimated by some contemporary historians that, the quantity of grain sent thus to the Ḥejāz during the reign of Salīm I's successors was sufficient to cater to the population's complete yearly needs. The great historian of Makkah, Aḥmad Zainy Daḥlān, in reference to the arrival of these annual shipments of grain during the Ottoman era, starting with the year 923H(1517), adds while acknowledging their ability to cover the yearly requirements of the local population and deeming it obligatory for all Muslims to pray for the eternal life and glory of the Ottoman State, that Selīm I's son, Sulaymān I, had added a further three thousand 'Irdab' to this quantity for Makkah and another two thousand according to al-Naharwānī for al-Madīnah, Sulaymān I's grandson, Murād III, was to sanction a further quantity of five thousand 'Irdab' a mere six decades or so from Salīm I's initial 'Firmān' in this regard.[302]

In addition to the 'Maḥmal' from Egypt, Salīm I had also ordered the dispatch of a similar one from Istānbul known as the "al-Maḥmal al-Rūmī", along with gifts, a 'Kiswah' (cloak) for the Ka'bah and funds including a purse from his personal resources for distribution.[303] In actual fact, Ottoman philanthropy and charity towards the Ḥejāz, as established by historians and records, did go back a long way indeed and to well before their conquest of Egypt. This is

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hardly surprising, for the very genesis of the Ottoman State was deeply steeped in the 'Ghāzī' (Gazi) mode of thought, with the defence of Islām and service to its cause always destined to play a major role in the rationale of Ottoman policies, and Makkah, al-Madīnah and the Pilgrimage foremost in their considerations. Indeed, how far this feature of Ottoman political thinking officially goes back could well be traced to the allocations of funds for distribution amongst the needy of the Holy Land, as mentioned before, by the earlier Sulṭāns Muḥammad Chalabī and his son, Murād II.[304] Moreover, this was always to be the case, unless the nerve centre of the Ottoman State in Istānbul happened to be severely paralysed due to some dangerous crisis and of a magnitude that would prevent them from this cherished role of theirs; for the Ottoman Sulṭāns indeed took the obligations that went with the titles of "Ghāzī" and "Khādim al-Ḥaramayn al-Sharīfayn", most seriously.

Muḥammad II (the Conqueror) with his high status in the Islāmic world as the primary Muslim leader of his day, had been even more attentive to issues of charity in the two Holy Cities. Then, contrary to general belief that no Ottoman ruler had performed the Ḥajj, it is worth clarifying here that, Bāyazīd II, for example, had participated in the Pilgrimage the year of his accession, but before taking over as ruler, befriending the then Sharīf, Muḥammad Barakāt and other scholars and notables, with whom his association was to continue till his death. His brother and chief rival for the division of their father's empire, Jām (Cem—diminutive form of the Persian name, Jamshāyd, a great legendary Persian King), had also performed the Ḥajj during 886H(1482) while at the Mamlūk Sulṭān Qā'it Bey's court, in order to seek support for his claim to the Ottoman throne. Then, Bāyazīd II's son Qorqūd (Korkut) was also to perform the Ḥajj during 915H (1510).[305]

Even during the later era, when the spectre of the days the Ottoman armies could be expected to rap at the gates of European capitals from time to time was deemed long gone, the Ottoman Sulṭāns continued to look upon the defence of Islāmic interests as vital and the most sacred of their duties and Makkah and al-Madīnah and the affairs of the Ḥajj were to continue to occupy their prime position on the list of Ottoman political priorities till the very end.

Though it is a little early to jump to events during the middle of the First World War, it may not be out of place to mention here due to its direct link and bearing on the discussion, that, during

early 1916(1334H), when it was felt the time had come to focus on the critical question of the defence of al-Madīnah in the face of a deteriorating military and political situation compelling an earnest examination of the possibility of Ottoman withdrawal from the region in the interests of their overall strategy, Jamāl Pāshā, the Commander of the Fourth Army in Syria, had summoned a valiant and successful young General, Muṣṭafā Kamāl Pāshā, who had already proved his mettle at the defence of Gallipoli (Gelibolu) and was destined later on to become famous as "Ataturk". This was with the idea of consulting him over whether al-Madīnah should be defended "at all costs" as was sought by the General in command there, Fakhral-dīn or "Fakhrī" (Fahrettin) Pāshā. Such was the awe and esteem in which this issue was held even at that stage of the War and in the secular circles then managing it, that Muṣṭafā Kamāl, although a Turkish nationalist who was not particularly known for his religious motivation, is said to have responded that, he would not wish to go down in history as the man who had abandoned al-Madīnah.[306] Hence, the policy of defending al-Madīnah then, come what may, was bravely persisted with against all odds till the signing of the Armistice and even for three further months, thanks to Fakhrī Pāshā's resilience.

Some twenty-eight Sulṭāns were to ascend the Ottoman throne since the entry of the Ḥejāz into their imperial fold and a large number of Sharīfs too were appointed to the office of the Sharīfate in Makkah. The story of the slow decline of the great Ottoman Empire, primarily through negligence, is a long and painful, but interesting one. The annals of the Sharīfs too, with their monotonous feuds and squabbles are nevertheless hardly without interest.

The Sharīf Barakāt passed away in 931H(1525) after a very long reign leaving his son and partner in authority, Muḥammad Abū Numai II, in sole charge of the Sharīfate. It is assessed that, in all, Barakāt had ruled for fifty-four lunar years, twenty-seven of which were as an associate of his father in authority. This Abū Numai II, in the annals of the Sharīfian clans, is deemed without a peer for his administrative capacity, his vision, strength and determination, the viability of his measures and the effectiveness of his policies, as well as his patience and resilience to see them through. A major result of this all was general stability and the many economic benefits that go with it and are the fruit of wise administration.[307]

Later on, in 945H(1538), the great successor of Salīm I, Sulaymān I "al-Qānūnī" (the Law Giver—d.974H/1566) had appointed Abū Numai II's sons, Ḥasan and then Aḥmad to assist him.[308] However, this did not prevent the father from seeking assistance in administrative matters from other members of the Sharīfian clan, when and as he saw fit. Abū Numai II was to seek and acquire the Sulṭān's approval for his decree that, henceforth, the office of "Sharīf of Makkah" be restricted to candidates amongst his issue. It was also during Abū Numai II's Sharīfate that, the major Portuguese raid of 948/49H (1542/43) on Jiddah and the western Arabian coastline had taken place. How the Sharīf had raised and amassed a force to oppose and compel it to retire has formerly been touched upon.

The chronicler al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī (d.1173H/1759) relates that, the Portuguese had used eighty-five vessels "loaded with men and weaponry" in this operation and that, though it was Ḥajj time, Abū Numai II had appointed one of his sons to represent him in his duties in Makkah and according to the crisis due priority, had sent out a call to arms throughout the land (Ḥejāz), tempting men with the lure of booty in addition to the Divine rewards in the hereafter for the 'Jehād', alongside the promise to bear all operational expenses and to provide arms to all who volunteered. That he was successful in his efforts and was able, due to his resilience, in compelling the Portuguese to retire after some bitter fighting which had stretched over a period of time, is history. When the Sulṭān Sulaymān I had learnt of this, he had rewarded the Sharīf with "half of the dues collected at Jiddah (from entrants) in addition to the half that were already in his hand and favoured him with gifts and presents." The annual revenue of Jiddah at this time was around 90,000 Dīnārs.[309]

It is from around this period that the Ottoman Empire's zealous desire to preserve the Red Sea as an Islāmic lake, into whose waters non-Muslim vessels had to enter under great scrutiny, may be dated. This policy was to last almost till the end of the thirteenth Hijrī century (the last quarter of the nineteenth century). It is little known that, apart from dispatching a powerful fleet in 945H(1538) under his Governor of Egypt Sulaymān Pāshā "al-Khādim" to Indian waters in order to check Portuguese depredations in the region on land and sea by capturing their ports, a mission in which he was unsuccessful, Sulaymān I had actually thought very seriously and had ordered a feasibility study to be conducted in order to link

the Mediterranean with the Red Sea via Suez with a canal. This was to enable his naval squadron in the Mediterranean to enter the Red and the Arabian Seas and protect the Ḥajj sea lanes. However, it would appear from the date of the documentation available regards this issue, that, the actual survey was conducted after his death during the reign of his successor Salīm II, during 975H(1568).[310] Though this Project was ultimately destined to be implemented between 1286H(1869) and 1291H(1874) during the reign of a vassal of one of his descendants, 'Abdal-'Azīz (r. 1277H/1861–1293H/1876), it was the 'Abbāsid Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, who according to Daḥlān's 'Khulāṣat al-Kalām' was one of the earlier Muslīm rulers to have thought seriously of it during the second century Hijrī (eight century CE), before being discouraged by his Wazīr, Yaḥyā ibn Khālīd al-Barmakī on the grounds that, this would expose the Pilgrims to the depradations of the Christian navies.

The duration of Abū Numai II's Sharīfate is of great import besides for the many improvements that the two Holy Cities and 'Ḥarams' were to witness prior to his abdication in 974H(1566) in favour of his son, the gifted and able Ḥasan. This was in order to devote himself to Prayer and worship until death overtook him as an octogenarian in early 992H(1584). By then, although he had abdicated authority in the year of accession of the Sulṭān Salīm II, he was destined to live ten years into the reign of Murād III (r. 982H/1574–1003H/1595) and to witness the completion of the great rebuilding of the Makkan 'Ḥaram' by the Ottomans in 989H(1581CE). It was also during his reign that the Ottoman "Vali" ('Wālī' in Arabic) of the Yaman, then Muṣṭafā Pāshā al-Nashshār, had started to send an Ottoman 'Maḥmal' from there. This was in 963H(1556CE), and it became an annual tradition that was continued with till 1049H(1640CE).[311]

The Sulṭān Sulaymān I—("al-Qānūnī" or "the Law Giver" to his people, but also remembered in history as "the Magnificent" and in European annals as the "Grand Turk")—was the first Ottoman ruler to be involved in the repair and reconstruction of the two 'Ḥarams' and in a manner befitting his great and magnificent titles.

D: (ii) Sulaymān "the Magnificent" (r.926H/1520 till 974H/1566)

Makkah

In Makkah, Sulaymān I ordered the renovation of the Ka'bah's ceiling, the floor of the 'Maṭāf' area and the repair of some of the entrances, or doors. The door of the Ka'bah and the 'Mīzāb' ('the Drain Pipe') were both plated in silver chased with gold. The wooden 'Minbar' was replaced by a grand edifice of marble. Apart from building 'al-Maqām al-Ḥanafī'—(the place from where the 'Imām' of the Ḥanafīs led the Prayers)—he also constructed colleges for the four 'Sunnī (Orthodox) Madhāhib' (Schools of Jurisprudence), each with a dome in the northern sector of the Grand Mosque, between the 'Bāb al-Salām' and the area where the 'Dār al-Nadwah' had once been located. A lofty new minaret, the tallest in Makkah at the time, was also built between these. The minaret above the 'Bāb 'Alī', which had collapsed, was again rebuilt along with a 'Ribāṭ', located behind this newly constructed complex of four colleges. According to the scholar, Quṭbal-dīn al-Ḥanafī al-Makkī al-Nahrawānī (d.988H/1580) in his 'al-I'lām', the colleges and the 'Ribāṭ' were the fruit of a suggestion to Sulaymān I by the nobleman Ibrāhīm, whom the Sulṭān had charged with commissioning the spring at 'Arafāt upon the Sharīf's suggestion. The then Governor of Jiddah, Qāsim had been ordered to select the most suitable locations for these edifices and to over-see their construction.[312]

Though the colleges were completed during the reign of his son, Salīm II, Sulaymān I had already fixed handsome amounts out of his endowments in Syria for financing the pay of the lecturers and support for the students and other staff in minute detail. This was very much in keeping with his nature. For example, each of the four colleges was to receive fifty "Uthmānī' daily. The 'Mu'īd' or Dean was to be paid four "Uthmānī', while each student received an allowance of two, as did the 'Farrāsh' (Sweeper) and the doorman got half of that. The 'Muftī' of each of the four Orthodox Schools of faith was also fixed a mensem of fifty "Uthmānī', while the Chief 'Qāḍī' (the 'Qāḍī al-Quḍāt') received an allowance of a hundred "Uthmānī' after being additionally charged with the supervision of the Mālikite 'Madrasah' also.[313] According to Auliyā Chalabī, the author of the previously referred to 'Siyāḥatnāmeh', Sulaymān I was also the first Ottoman ruler responsible for constructing a dome over the house of the Lady Khadījah, the wife of the Prophet Muḥammad, as well as over her tomb.

Al-Madīnah

In al-Madīnah, one of Sulaymān I's earliest construction works was the repair and building of the City's wall between 939H(1532) and 946H(1539). According to Auliyā Chalabī, this was undertaken following a dream, in which, the Sulṭān had seen the Prophet giving him the good news of the conquest in the near future by his arms of Belgrade, Buda (the capital of Hungary) or Bogdan (Romania), Rhodes and many forts and exhorting him to build fortifications and other charitable institutions in al-Quds (Jerusalem) and "my City" (al-Madīnah), as well as a strong protective structure around the Holy Sanctuary in Makkah, particularly against the flash-floods.

Serious work on the Prophet's Mosque had started during 947H(1540) under the Egyptian Architect and Engineer 'Alī bin Tubuk. Another Egyptian, Tājal-dīn al-Khuḍayrī was the supervisor. Sulaymān Pāshā was then the "Vali" in Egypt and the materials too were mainly sent from there. That the Sulṭān Sulaymān I had also bought vast agricultural tracts there from his personal purse and endowed their harvests and revenues for the purposes of complementing the quantity of grain fixed by him for distribution amongst the needy in Makkah and al-Madīnah, that had to be despatched annually, as has already been alluded to. This was to be along with the increase in the amount of the purse also for disbursement. The construction works in Makkah were undertaken by the master architect Sinān Pāshā and took no less than seven years to complete, which was by 959H(1552).

At the time of Chalabī's visit, there were in al-Madīnah no less than 118 schools of sorts catering for students at all levels, public baths, drinking fountains, hostelries, soup kitchens, and about seventy free lodging homes for the poor, some of them so well cared for that they even provided their guests with honey and sugared syrups. This, while in its gardens could be found fruits such as several varieties of dates, citrus (sweet and bitter), apples, grapes, figs, plums, peaches, apricots, pomegranates, melons, watermelons and olives.

Meanwhile, Makkan gardens, of which there were as many as 95 in and around the City, were particularly famed for their dates and also grew many types of citrus fruit, grapes, lotus fruit, eglantine, sweet basil and myrtle, the perfumed waters of which "have no equal in the inhabited quarter of the world". Chalabī found the houses there all beautifully white-washed with lime, which provided the City with a unique aura. He also located in Makkah 176 schools, of which, "forty great schools" were around the 'Ḥaram'. These were used by the Pilgrims during the Ḥajj season as lodgings. He further observed the existence of 78 hospices associated with well known 'Shaykhs' or men of piety and learning, probably also related in cases with 'Sūfī' Orders, as well as 145 private baths, mostly located in the houses of the affluent. Referring to the economic hustle-bustle in both the Holy Cities during the time of his visit, Chalabī reports that, in Makkah, there were fifty-three trading houses or agencies belonging to different manufacturing and trading centres, each with as many as a hundred or two hundred shops or commercial premises. In al-Madīnah, he found traders "from the seven climes of the world", with shops open day and night throughout the lunar months of Rajab, Sha'bān and Ramaḍān.[314]

In the Prophet's Mosque, the 'Bāb al-Raḥmah' ('the Doorway of Mercy') and the 'Bāb al-Nisā'' ('the Ladies' Doorway') were installed during his era. The 'North-Eastern' or 'Sinjārī' Minaret, knocked down and rebuilt during the Mamlūk Sulṭān Qā'it Bey's era, was again pulled down and replaced by a minaret in Ottoman architectural style. This Minaret came to be known henceforth after the then Sulṭān as 'al-Sulaymānīyyah'. A 'Miḥrāb' for the Ḥanafīs was installed in 948H(1541) near the Niche for the Shāfi'īs. In 974H(1566), a section of the western wall lying between the above 'Bāb al-Raḥmah' and the North-Western (wooden) Minaret was knocked down and rebuilt. The area in the Mosque known as "al-Rauḍah"—"a garden of the gardens of Paradise"—was laid with marble. The Prophet's Chamber was also skirted with it and the lead on the dome above his grave renovated. On this occasion, a crescent of gold was installed on it, while plated ones were placed over the four other domes. When Chalabī visited this Mosque during 1081H(1671), he found as many as 1,700 attendants serving in it, while the local population stood at around 14,000.[315]

Sulṭān Sulaymān I passed away in camp after a long reign during 974H(1566) while leading an expedition against the Hapsburgs. He had brought his empire to a peak of prosperity, prestige and grandeur without parallel. It is related that, even though he knew he was dying, he had launched himself on this course of action in the hope that, he would meet martyrdom while fighting in the cause of Allāh. May his soul rest for ever in peace—'Āmīn'.

A very great military commander, he had spent over ten years in the field and led his army in thirteen major and several minor campaigns, expanding the boundaries of his dominions by land and sea, far beyond those that he had inherited from his predecessors. Sulaymān I was just as great an administrator, well able to organise and codify the government of an empire composed of peoples with diverse ethnic, linguistic and cultural backgrounds and traditions, greatly assisted of course in most cases by that cord of a shared faith, that bound them indivisibly together, though by no means always.

The great "Law Giver's" reign however also constitutes something of a minor watershed in early Ottoman history in one particular aspect—for his latter days, according to critics, saw a rise in the influence of the "Harem" in matters well beyond the pale of social affairs or calls of charity, where Ottoman ladies, led by their royalty, were already seen to be playing a sizeable role.

However, to accept this criticism without question, is to ignore the important status of women in Islām and the great role played by them in various capacities and in all walks of life throughout the ages, in changing environments, with the strong, work-oriented traditions of a semi-nomadic/pastoral society behind them, just because Islām demands modesty in dress and behaviour and places conditional restrictions on the free inter-mingling of the sexes. Hence, it may be stressed that, with Islāmic and Turco-Mongol traditions to back them, it ought not to be deemed unusual to discover the namesakes of members of the Prophet Muḥammad's household like Khadījah, 'Ā'ishah, Ḥafṣah and Fāṭimah, and later on, relations of the Ottoman Caliphs, playing like important roles down the ages during the reigns of these successors to his Apostolic heritage as leaders of his 'Ummah'. In fact, from about the era of the Umaiyyads, the institution of the 'Harem' had come to form an increasingly important integral part of the institutions that constitute, or are associated with sovereignty and its concepts, often influencing rather than meddling with the course of policies in favour

of the ruler's, the state's and the subjects' interests and as advocates of leniency, clemency and charity. It cannot be denied though that, increases in their ability to intervene and interfere in affairs of state often did lead to negative impacts on its policies and particularly its finances, due to laxity in management in this sector.

For example, as early as during the reign of Orkhān (r. 726H/1326–761H/1359), when Ibn Baṭṭūṭah had passed through Iznik, he was to record in his "Account of the Sulṭān of Burṣā" in the 'Riḥlah' that, he had found "his wife Buyūn Khātūn ruling over them" (the populace and the Sulṭān's retainers). Presented to her by an eminent and pious local scholar and jurist later on, he was to discover her to be "pious and virtuous" and was treated by her with "honour, hospitality and beneficence".

One of the most notable of these, along with Sulaymān's mother, Ḥafṣah or Ḥafīẓah (d.940H/1534), was his surviving daughter Mehromāh, referred to by the Ḥejāzī historian al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī amongst others as "Khānum Sulṭān" and by al-'Āṣimī etc. as "Jānum Sulṭān". The term "Jānum" in Persian literally means "my life" or "my darling". She has been described in every work touching upon this theme in the most glowing of terms, and often compared with the great lady Zubaydah, the consort of the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Rashīd, for her major contribution in servicing and commissioning the springs at 'Arafāt and bringing this most precious commodity, water, to Makkah.[316]

Again, in an era at least recognised as a paradigm for the Harem's role in public-building for charitable purposes, one of his powerful favourites, the Russian Khurram Sulṭān (Hurrem Sultan, née Roxelana—d. 965H/1558), had proved to be a leading light, with her philanthropy covering several parts of the Empire, particularly Makkah, al-Madīnah and al-Quds (Jerusalem). For example in the latter, she had built a vast complex completed during the 960sH (1550s), which contained a large Mosque, fifty-five rooms for poor pilgrims, a bakery, a soup kitchen, public toilets, a storeroom, and in addition, an inn and stables for travellers. Indeed, the walls of al-Quds (Jerusalem) too were restored during this era along with 'al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf' (the Sacred Enclosure). In al-Madīnah, it was Salmān Āghā who had been charged with the supervision of like projects with the 'Wālī' of Egypt directed to extend full support.[317]

Khurram Sulṭān is also known to have courted the support of the French Ambassador in taking on an older rival, Gulbahār Khātūn,

over the issue of succession in favour of one of her four sons, instead of the latter's son Muṣṭafā, who happened to be the eldest and an immensely popular prince of extraordinary talent. He was to be executed on his father's orders during 960H(1553) on the false grounds that, he had been conniving with the Ṣafavids in order to ensure his own succession to the throne.[318] Mehromāh (a daughter of Sulaymān I and Khurram) also happened, like her mother, to be a close confidante of her father. Furthermore, since it was the policy of the Sulṭān, to win and retain loyalty by offering the hands of princesses to men of ability and stature, and Sulaymān I was no exception, three of his Grand Wazīrs, Ibrāhīm Pāshā (Grand Wazīr), Rustam (Rüstem) Pāshā (Grand Wazīr) and Sokullu Muḥammad (Grand Wazīr) were to fall in this category, with Rüstem Pāshā (d.968H/1561) being Mehromāh's consort.[319] Sokullu Muḥammad was of course the husband of Esmahān Sulṭān, another daughter of Sulaymān.

Due to the teachings and cultural traditions of Islām, Muslim society tends to regard the females of a family as its ultimate point of honour and sacrosanct or inviolable. Hence, the women (Arabic: "Ḥarīm") or their quarters are referred to as the 'Ḥaram' or 'Sanctuary', to which, only those who have a legal right in the light of the 'Sharī'ah' may have access. Despite the similarity in the pronunciation of the two terms, it is the latter term that has entered other languages after undergoing a slight modification, as, the 'Harem' (derived from 'Ḥarīm' and 'Ḥaram'). Therefore, in the interests of avoiding confusion due to the numerous references in this book to the Sanctuaries of Makkah and al-Madīnah by the term 'Ḥaram', the institution of the Women's seraglio or quarters, as understood by non-Islāmic cultures—the "Harem"—will be referred to in that manner throughout this work.

Another institution beginning to have its teeth felt towards the latter part of Sulaymān I's reign was the "Devşirme" class, which was starting to gain ascendancy over the old Ottoman ruling elite. The "Devşirme" were non-Muslim youths, conscripted, converted and selectively trained for service and loyalty to the Sulṭān's person, with prospects of rising to the highest rung of the ladder, like Sulaymān I's own Grand Wazīr Ibrāhīm Pāshā. The above-mentioned Rüstem Pāshā was another such case. However, for members of this class, as loyalty and service to the Sulṭān were the main keys to success and since their parents would bear the sacrifice of

separating with them, at least in part, in order to allow them the opportunity of self-advancement in this system, where indeed as stressed earlier, the highest offices were open to them provided they had the ability and the luck, it is but logical to assume, that, success and personal aggrandisement were what they inevitably would have ended up seeking sooner or later, be this at the expense of other priorities, such as the interests of the State or whatever.[320]

On the issue of succession to Sulaymān I's heritage, it has already been alluded to that, Khurram Sulṭān's desire had won the day in her struggle against her rival Gulbahār Khātūn and her gifted son Muṣṭafā, Sulaymān I's eldest. Hence, one of her four sons, Salīm, ultimately succeeded to the throne of his fathers as Salīm II in 974H(1566).

Then, in the tussle between the two full brothers, Salīm and the abler Bāyazīd (Bayezit), both born of Khurram Sulṭān as mentioned before, the latter was destined to lose out and actually compelled during 967H(1560) to flee to the Ṣafavid court. There, the Shāh Ṭahmāsp (r.930H/1524 till 984H/1576) at first welcomed him, then, after striking a deal, had him and his four sons executed on the instigation of Sulaymān I in 969H(1562). Meanwhile, Khurram Sulṭān had passed away in 965H(1558), with her two remaining sons Muḥammad (Mehmet) and Jahāngīr (Cihangir) dying before her in 950H(1543) and 960H(1553) respectively.[321]

A mere glance at the course of Ottoman history, and particularly the topic of succession, will surely reveal how much royal blood was spilt in fraternal rivalry, real or imagined, and in tussles for the throne. What is truly amazing is that, to allow the sword to act as the ultimate arbiter in deciding the issue of succession, was taken for granted by the Ottoman rulers—not merely tolerated or accepted, but actually regarded as the best way out of the dilemma and therefore, even encouraged.

For example, it is little known that, even the great Sulṭān Muḥammad (Mehmet) II had seen this exercise as a practical enough way for settling the issue of succession and once the "Ulamā" had been consulted and compulsions and scruples on account of religion removed, a special Decree code for the Ottoman Imperial House—'the Qānūn Nāmeh-é-Āl-é-'Uthmān' ('the Legal Epistle or Code for the House of 'Uthmān')—was issued by him as a guideline. In this, the exposition regards the article governing the issue of succession under the heading "On Regulating the Canon Specific

to Affairs of the Sultanate", stipulates: "Let the Sultanate be within the reach of all my sons as the majority of the "Ulamā" (scholars of jurisprudence) also have opined in favour of permissibility for the Sulṭān amongst them to execute all his remaining brothers in keeping with the (ways of the rest of the) world. So, let them act in accordance with this universal (practice) law".[322]

Hence, not surprisingly, this practice was to leave its indelible blot on the pages of most reigns in Ottoman history. It was ignored though for the first time in the Dynasty's history by the fourteen year old Aḥmad I (Ahmet) upon his accession during Rajab 1012H(December 1603), when he merely had his brother Muṣṭafā confined to the palace walls. This departure from norm had later on enabled the latter to succeed him, if only for a short spell of three months between 1026H(1617) and 1027H(1618) as it turned out, as Muṣṭafā I. Then replaced by his nephew 'Uthmān (Osman) II, a son of Aḥmad I, for a duration of some four years, he was to be reinstated once more for a brief while lasting from 1031H(1622) till 1032H(1623).[323]

This ugly ruling or tradition, approximating in European practice to what is usually defined as "Hamilton's Rule", "a Golden theory of evolutionary biology", whereby monarchs eliminate their closest of heirs in order to maintain a secure grip on the throne, was officially annulled by the Ottomans during the reign of Muḥammad IV (Mehmet) (r.1032H/1623 till 1049H/1640) and replaced by a law, which gave preference to the eldest eligible member of the imperial family.[324] It may be recalled for example that, Kings Henry IV and Henry VIII of England had each removed the presence of no less than five cousins and "the good Queen Bess" (Elizabeth I) of three such prospective rivals. Nevertheless, the practice of eliminating rivals continued to be one of the most corrosive factors contributing towards this Dynasty's and the State's decline throughout its history.

Another feature requiring comment before moving on is the serious manner in which the Ottoman Sulṭāns and indeed, the Ottoman establishment and the Turanian race observed and hung on to such traditions, until forced by revolutionary measures to break away from them! For example, 'Uthmān II (r.1027H/1618 till 1031H/1622), the young son of the above Aḥmad I (d. 1026H/1617) and the nephew and successor of the latter's brother, Muṣṭafā I, is reported to have been killed amongst other reasons according

to al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī for desiring to perform the Ḥajj and after he had set out on the first stage of the journey towards Makkah. "As none of his predecessors had set forth as Pilgrims", "hence the soldiers killed him for ignoring the law" is how he puts it, which was during 1031H(1622). In fact, 'Uthmān II had even been formally advised by the Grand Muftī that, "the Ḥajj was not obligatory upon Sulṭāns" and that, they ought preferably to stay in their place and ensure the dispensation of justice. "This was lawful, since disorder might ensue". Earlier on, Aḥmad I also had been advised strongly against leaving his Capital in order to put down the Jalālī Revolt.[325]

D: (iii)—Salīm (Selim) II (r.974H/1566 till 982H/ 1574)

Makkah and al-Madīnah

Historians detect the first serious signs of lethargy in Ottoman conquests and instability and decentralisation in their administration system from the accession of Sulṭān Salīm II (Selim) in 974H(1566). He ruled for eight years only, during which, he had to settle with Shah Ṭahmāsp the price of the removal of his brother Bāyazīd (Bayezit and his sons) from contention for the throne by paying 400,000 gold pieces and handing over some territory, that included the great fortress of Kārs. He initially also had to buy support and placate and conciliate several elements at home from the ranks of the soldiery, the administration and the "Ulamā" through gifts and favours.[326]

Salīm II has been known in history by a number of sobriquets. "Sari Selim" ("Selim the Sallow") was common amongst his subjects and "Selim the Sot" was how he was referred to in the West for preferring a life of ease and pleasure. However, in just over a year of his accession and thanks to "Sokullu" ("the bearded") Muḥammad (Mehmet), the Austrians had agreed by virtue of a treaty (signed in 975H/1568), to pay tribute, actually the 'Jizyah'—(a tax levied in an Islāmic state on non-Muslims in lieu of the obligation to provide protection to their person, freedom and property)—this for being allowed to retain their possessions in Hungary and accepting Ottoman suzerainty over Transylvania, Wallachia and the Bogdan (Romania).[327]

Right from the dawn of his reign, Salīm II was to take a keen interest in naval affairs and listen to and discuss these issues with his admirals. The episode of him seriously considering building a canal

to link the Mediterranean with the Red Sea and the survey he had ordered in 975H(1568) to be carried out for this purpose, has already been mentioned. It would appear that it was the thought of giving the sea-faring European nations with their heavier vessels access to waters that the Ottomans were beginning to consider solely their own, which was ultimately to prevent him from carrying out this project.

Then, within less than a year of the seizure of distant Ṣana'ā by the Zaydī tribes inhabiting the Yaman highlands in south-western Arabia under their 'Imām', al-Muṭahhar Sharafal-dīn (d.980H/1572), Salīm II's Governors in Aleppo and Cairo, 'Uthmān (Osman) Pāshā and Sinān Pāshā had successfully managed to co-operate during 980H(1572) to re-establish Ottoman authority there.[328] This episode was immediately to be followed by the conquest of Tunisia by an expedition launched from Istānbul in 981H (1573/74CE) under the above Sinān Pāshā, soon after his victorious return from the Yaman.[329]

In the meantime, Salīm II's able and enterprising Grand Wazīr "Sokullu" Muḥammad (Mehmet) Pāshā was also able to blunt Russian efforts under Ivan IV "the Terrible" (r.940H/1533 till 992H/1584), to expand east and west of the Black Sea.[330]

Chios (Sakis) also was captured from Genoa by his navy under Piyale Pāshā during 981H(1573), to be followed by Cyprus, with Salīm II, in keeping with tradition, proving himself to be genuinely keen to consult the "Ulamā" before the adoption of a new policy measure or initiative, or the launch of such expeditions.[331] In response to this grave threat, Pope, Pius IV had formed the Holy League. In 979H(1571), its fleet, under Don Juan (d.986H/1578), the bastard son of the Emperor Charles V, did manage to surprise the Ottoman fleet, then wintering at Lepanto (Inebahti), with most of its officers and sailors away on home leave and unfortunate and mistimed political differences on the increase between the Wazīr "Sokullu" Muḥammad and his Admiral Piyale Pāshā. The result under the circumstances could only have been a foregone conclusion.[332]

Credit has to be given to Salīm II's determination and presence of mind that, within a year, he had rebuilt his fleet, adding to it eight of the largest vessels ever seen in those waters and had seen the Holy League's fleet off from the eastern Mediterranean. Venice was to sign a peace treaty by 980H(1573), even as the Ottoman

to al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī for desiring to perform the Ḥajj and after he had set out on the first stage of the journey towards Makkah. "As none of his predecessors had set forth as Pilgrims", "hence the soldiers killed him for ignoring the law" is how he puts it, which was during 1031H(1622). In fact, 'Uthmān II had even been formally advised by the Grand Muftī that, "the Ḥajj was not obligatory upon Sulṭāns" and that, they ought preferably to stay in their place and ensure the dispensation of justice. "This was lawful, since disorder might ensue". Earlier on, Aḥmad I also had been advised strongly against leaving his Capital in order to put down the Jalālī Revolt.[325]

D: (iii)—Salīm (Selim) II (r.974H/1566 till 982H/ 1574)

Makkah and al-Madīnah

Historians detect the first serious signs of lethargy in Ottoman conquests and instability and decentralisation in their administration system from the accession of Sulṭān Salīm II (Selim) in 974H(1566). He ruled for eight years only, during which, he had to settle with Shah Ṭahmāsp the price of the removal of his brother Bāyazid (Bayezit and his sons) from contention for the throne by paying 400,000 gold pieces and handing over some territory, that included the great fortress of Kārs. He initially also had to buy support and placate and conciliate several elements at home from the ranks of the soldiery, the administration and the "Ulamā" through gifts and favours.[326]

Salīm II has been known in history by a number of sobriquets. "Sari Selim" ("Selim the Sallow") was common amongst his subjects and "Selim the Sot" was how he was referred to in the West for preferring a life of ease and pleasure. However, in just over a year of his accession and thanks to "Sokullu" ("the bearded") Muḥammad (Mehmet), the Austrians had agreed by virtue of a treaty (signed in 975H/1568), to pay tribute, actually the 'Jizyah'—(a tax levied in an Islāmic state on non-Muslims in lieu of the obligation to provide protection to their person, freedom and property)—this for being allowed to retain their possessions in Hungary and accepting Ottoman suzerainty over Transylvania, Wallachia and the Bogdan (Romania).[327]

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fleet continued to ravage the coasts of Sicily and Southern Italy, before re-capturing Tunis in 982H(1574) from the Ḥafṣids, who were then supported by Spanish troops. This victory was due in no small measure to Kiliç (originally Uluç) 'Alī Pāshā, an Italian convert to Islām, who after distinguishing himself in several naval engagements including the defeat at Lepanto, was to serve as Governor over Algiers and the "Kapudān-e-Daryā" or Grand Admiral of the Ottoman fleet with the title of "Kiliç" ("Sword") instead of Uluç. It is while in Algiers that he was to meet the famous Spanish writer of "Don Quixote", Miguel Cervantes, taken captive at Lepanto, and to assist him in returning home thus earning the latter's gratitude, also expressed in Chapter 32 of his above book. Meanwhile, the "Kapudān-e-Daryā" was to celebrate his achievements by commissioning the great Mi'mār Sinān to build him an imposing mosque on the shores of the lower Bosphorus on land reclaimed from the sea, which stands as a living tribute to his memory.[333]

On the cultural side, Salīm II, a learned man, was a patron of letters and arts. His 'nôm de plume' as a poet in Turkish and Persian was "Salīmī". His generosity, whether motivated politically or otherwise, duly encompassed the Holy Cities and in a measure befitting the latters' status in Muslim eyes as well as in the Ottoman scheme of ordainment of such religio-political priorities. For example, he almost doubled the quantity of grain to be sent annually to the Ḥejāz in charity from the imperial endowments in Egypt, this by adding an additional seven thousand 'Irdab' per year to the regular quantity fixed by his father and grandfather. The grain for al-Madīnah was preferably landed at Yanbu' from Suez, while the quantity consigned for the Makkah region would arrive at Jiddah. Indeed, of the prosperity enjoyed by the Ḥejāz during the Ottoman era, it is often useful to remember what a major Arabic source for the history of this era, the Muftī Quṭubal-dīn al-Ḥanafī al-Nahrawānī, dubbed by some modern revisionist historians as "partisan", often had to say. For example, Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī in his 'al-Jawāhir al-Thamīnah' ('The Valuable Jewels') attributes the following comment to him: "The people of the Two Venerable Sanctuaries have never had their appetites sated by any of the (former or present) States, as they have been satisfied under the realm of the 'Āl' (the Sons of) 'Uthmān'.[334] An exaggeration? possibly!—but, nevertheless worth remembering.

In al-Madīnah, Salīm II provided finishing touches to the works initiated by his father, prominent amongst which must have been the ceilings, as his name, transcribed in the calligraphic style used for headings and titles, the "Thulth" (i.e.—"a third curved"), was found on the inner side of the dome to the west of the 'Minbar', in the southern or the 'Qiblah' end of the Prophet's Mosque.[335]

It was also during Salīm II's reign and in 979H(1572) that the eastern colonnade in the 'Ḥaram' in Makkah was to appear to tilt towards the Ka'bah's courtyard and about a third of the wood supporting the ceiling and formerly buried in the wall, had begun to show itself after having withstood the onslaught of time and the elements in all guises for over eight centuries since its construction by the great 'Abbāsid Caliph, al-Mahdī. Hence, it was decided to place the matter before him. Given to bursts of energy and decision, Salīm II immediately consulted the "Ulamā" and ordered the mobilisation of all the needed sources for the rapid reconstruction of the whole of the Grand Mosque in the finest manner possible. Then, according to al-Nahrawānī in his 'Kitāb al-I'lām', the Governor of Egypt, Sinān Pāshā, was directed to select the most suitable person in terms of piety, knowledge, experience and every other required qualification for the overall supervision of the implementation of this highly important and honourable task. His ultimate choice fell on Aḥmad Bey Kutkhudā'ī—(the latter term means a lieutenant)—while the 'Nāẓir' (Superintendant) of the 'Ḥaram' al-Qāḍī Ḥusayn al-Ḥusaynī was appointed the 'Nāẓir' of this project too. Before setting out towards the end of 979H(1572) for the Ḥejāz, Aḥmad Bey had also been appointed Governor of Jiddah and charged, in addition, with completing the project for bringing the water of the spring at 'Arafāt, from al-Abṭaḥ to the end of al-Masfalah in Makkah.[336]

Demolition work was to begin in earnest in the eastern sector around mid-Rabī' al-Awwal 980H(mid-August 1572). This was after the arrival in Makkah of the architect sent by the Sublime Porte, Mehmet "Çavus" (the latter term once meant a junior officer). The whole area between the 'Bāb al-Salām' and the 'Bāb 'Alī' was dug and cleared up to the foundations and all utilisable material retained safely. The construction phase in this sector was then started within two months (6th Jamād al-Awwal to be precise) and amidst great popular celebration. To complete the requirement

of the columns in addition to those saved from the construction of the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Mahdī, fresh ones were cut and polished from the stone with the yellowish tinge—"al-Shumaysī"—found on a mountain of that name some thirteen miles away from Makkah, at al-Ḥudaybiyah and already met with during the earlier reconstructions as a replacement for marble.[337]

Besides, the new edifice was to be provided with domes instead of the former flat roof that till then had covered the Grand Mosque's arcades, as this would have improved the ventilation and lowered the general temperature within the Mosque's precincts. Also, since domes required greater support, many of these columns of "Shumaysī" stone were cut to four times the size in circumference of their marble counterparts saved from the Caliph al-Mahdī's era.[338]

The columns of marble and "Shumaysī" stone were then alternately used, starting with the latter and the first colonnade to be built thus was the one closest to the outer wall. In the other three colonnades, the arrangement in general was for three columns of marble to be followed by one of "Shumaysī" stone, though there were sections in the southern sector of the Mosque, which also had entire colonnades of "Shumaysī" stone, as well as of Granite. These of course had been installed following the disastrous fire of 802H(1400) and retained because of their durability and utility. In this new construction and in keeping with architectural requirements, each column supported the tips of four vaults in the four directions and a dome was provided above each four-some of these vaults.[339]

When Salīm II passed away in 982H(1574) as a result of injuries following a fall in a Turkish bath after having given up drinking, only the eastern sector of the Grand Mosque (between the 'Bāb 'Alī' and the 'Bāb al-Salām') and the northern sector had been completed. It was left to his eldest son Murād (Murat) III to properly complete the remainder of the Project, which had started in 979H(1571) and it was to be completed during 995H(1587).[340]

D: (iv)—Murād (Murat) III
(r. 982H/1574 till 1003H/1595)

Makkah

Murād III, in keeping with his dynasty's accepted tradition, celebrated his accession to the throne, by killing all five of his brothers

on the same day, along with banning the consumption of alcohol amongst his subjects.[341] Due to the ascendancy of his able and experienced Wazīr Sokullu Muḥammad's opinions in his councils at the time, backed as the latter was by Murād III's wise mother Nūr Bānö Sulṭān and his sagacious aunt, Eṣmahān Sulṭān (Sokullu's wife), his reign was to start well with the renewal of peace and commercial treaties with Īrān (in 982H/1574), Venice (in 983H/1575) and the Habsburgs (in 984H/1577).[342] One of Murād III's wives, Ṣafiyyah (Safiye) Sulṭān, who constituted and led the opposition in the "Harem" to the two former ladies, also happened to be of Venetian origin and hence, not unnaturally, pro-Venice in her inclinations.[343]

The military successes too of Murād III's reign and his gains in Europe, North Africa and the Caucasus were impressive indeed. Fez was captured in 984H(1576), leading to a build-up of hopes over the prospects of the restoration of Islāmic rule in the Iberian Peninsula.[344] In the Caucasus, the expansion was primarily realised at the expense of the Ṣafavids and the regional principalities, with Murād III himself ably leading his arms on occasions, well served in the field by the likes of 'Uthmān (Osman) Pāshā, Lālā Muṣṭafā Pāshā and Farhād (Ferhat) Pāshā.[345]

Yet, it is surprising that Murād III is seen by his critics as one of the early architects of the disintegration of organisation and administration in his empire, egged on in this, it is said, by his jealousy and dislike of his great Grand Wazīr Sokullu Muḥammad, and the latter's dominance at court. This petty weakness of his had often led him to dismiss able men, merely because of their association with Sokullu Muḥammad and to appoint others inimical to him, more because of their nuisance value and a general reluctance to implicitly obey and execute his orders, rather than any gifts of capacity or quality.[346]

Besides, as Murād III had a great passion for the pleasures of the "Harem", maintaining some forty concubines and producing a very large number of daughters in addition to a hundred and thirty sons, his reign also stands accused of contributing much to the further rise of the influence of the "Harem" in public and political affairs.[347]

Be that as it may, as far as the two 'Ḥarams' of Makkah and al-Madīnah were concerned, Sulṭān Murād III had ordered the alluded to Governor of Jiddah, Aḥmad Kutkhudāī (alias Iskandar Pāshā) and the architect cum engineer Muḥammad (Mehmet) Muṣṭafā

Çavus to continue the works in Makkah delegated to them during his father's reign, as mentioned earlier. Hence, the implementation of the remainder of the projects there was to continue unabated until their completion two years—some sources say four years—later.[348]

The south-facing section of the Grand Mosque called for greater attention as it overlooked the path of the flash-floods coursing down the 'Wādī' Ibrāhīm, depositing silt and debris as they flowed by, and a 'sayl' did enter the 'Ḥaram' on the night of tenth Jamād al-Awwal 983H(August 1576), affecting seven Obligatory Prayer sessions during a day and a half, before the water that had risen to cover 'the Black Stone', was drained out. As the deposits tended to raise the level of the Wādī's bed, which also served as a main street, it had become the norm till then to attempt to level it about every ten years. However, this practice had been neglected somewhat during the recent decades. Upon Murād III's orders, the street or Wādī bed was now cleared at great expense of all the accumulations of the past until its original level was exposed and then levelled. The houses and other structures such as hospices, which had grown to clutter the 'Wādī' now and congested and restricted the flash-flood's flow, were moved and the buildings pulled down and replaced by an arrangement with taps for performing the ' Wuḍū" (ablutions). A common resting house for the poor was also provided in a suitable location. This was in order to discourage these homeless from utilising the precincts of the 'Ḥaram' for this purpose.[349]

These taps, which were located to the left of the exit of 'al-Ṣafā' and also near to Qā'it Bey's 'Madrasah', were only removed as late as 1315H(1897), and that too because water had taken to accumulating in front of the Grand Mosque's facade and entrances there, causing a stench and other inconveniences, while providing a breeding ground for mosqitos.[350]

The works in the 'Ḥaram's' southern sector were followed by the swift completion of the western sector and then the doors, balconies and stairs and of course the ornamentation. This was primarily, with appropriate Qur'ānic Verses and the names of God, the Prophet and the four 'Rightly-Guided' Caliphs in painted frames, medallions and beautiful calligraphic devices in various styles, but eminently the bold "Thulth" ("a third curved"), so much preferred

in this sort of decorative embellishments. According to al-'Āṣimī, the execution of these works of beautification had been ordered by Murād III during 988H(1580).[351]

For the lovers of statistics, it may be mentioned that, the 'Ḥaram' now had 589 pillars (278 of "Shumaysī" stone and the rest of marble); 881 arches; 152 domes and 26 doors—(five facing east; six opposite the west; seven opening onto the south and eight directed towards the northern side).[352]

Quṭbal-dīn al-Nahrawānī, in his 'al-I'lām', a major reliable source of information for this period as emphasised earlier, mentions that, the funds expended on this project at the hands of the Amīr Aḥmad exceeded a hundred thousand "Uthmānī' (gold pounds) and this excludes the cost of the raw materials and equipment sent from Egypt, as well as of their transportation to Makkah, which he estimates to be not less than an additional fifty thousand "Uthmānī'.[353] A further sum of twenty thousand "Uthmānī' had also been spent by Murād III through Muṣṭafā Çavus on the works at the southern end of the Mosque, where some houses and colleges opposing the course of the flood-flow had been knocked down in 994H(1586) and replaced by a building providing free lodging for the poor and fountains and other provisions for drinking water in a large number of places. Some of these works have already been alluded to in part a little earlier. The plating on the Ka'bāh's Door had been renewed in 992H(1584). The Makkan historian of the 'Ḥaram' of Ḥaḍramī origin, Bāsalāmah, estimates in his history, that, since the era of the Orthodox Caliphs down to the reign of Murād III, the total expenditure on the Holy Sanctuary exceeds ten million gold Dīnārs.[354]

However, the area of the 'Ḥaram' at this stage was more or less the same as after the expansion of the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Mahdī—28,000 square metres. This area corresponds to the figure of 120,000 square "Adhru'" (cubits) provided by al-Azraqī in his 'Akhbār Makkah' for al-Mahdī's extension.[355]

Murād III's last act as far as the Grand Mosque in Makkah was concerned, was to order in 1003H(1594) that, the granite floor covering the 'Maṭāf' area be re-laid around its periphery, while the surface of the 'Maṭāf' itself was to be covered with marble.[356]

According to al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, it was also Murād III, who uniquely was to have the Ka'bah dressed from the interior and "for

the first time ever", with an exactly fitting 'Kiswah', for which, the measurements had been taken in advance upon his orders. This had been done in 1001H(1593) with due ceremony and in the presence of Makkah's notables and scholars, under the supervision of the Sharīf Ḥasan's popular and able son, Mas'ūd, who unfortunately was destined to pass away soon during 1003H(1595).[357] It may be recalled here however, that, the Mamlūk Sulṭān Qā'it Bey had preceded Murād III in dressing the Ka'bah from within in 884H (1479), following a dream.

Murād III also passed away in the same lunar year. Al-Muḥibbī (d.1111H/1699), the great compiler of the biographical dictionary—'Khulāṣat al-Athr' ('Quintessence of Vestige') on the notable personalities of the eleventh Hijrī (17th Christian) century describes him as "a unique Sulṭān of the era" and "the most majestic of his House in terms of knowledge and letters and the best endowed of them in intelligence and depth of understanding. He concerned himself with (the acquisition of) learning and the sciences, until he excelled and (the reputation of) his status in letters filled the horizons. He was a complete master of the knowledge and traditions of 'Taṣawwuf' (Mysticism) and in the composition of excellent verse in the three languages (Turkish, Arabic, and Persian) with the greatest facility…".[358]

Al-Madīnah

In the Prophet's Mosque in al-Madīnah, Murād III's reign had witnessed the installation of a fine marble 'Minbar' in 998H(1590). This had been preceded by the renovation of its 'Qiblah' facing or southern wall in 995H(1587) and it was to be followed four years later by the area of 'al-Rauḍah'. As the eastern wall of the Mosque too had begun to incline dangerously, the portion between the 'Bāb al-Nisā'' and the North-Eastern Minaret was also rebuilt along with such other repairs to the Mosque as were necessitated by the earthquake of 996H(1588).[359]

D: (v)—Muḥammad (Mehmet) III (r. 1003H/ 1595 till 1012H/ 1603)

Born of Ṣafiyyah, the Venetian mentioned earlier, and the third son of his father, one of the earliest acts of the Sulṭān Muḥammad (Mehmet) III after succeeding his father, was to kill nineteen of his brothers, twenty sisters and a whole score of other relatives from whom he assumedly sensed the slightest threat. These executions were usually carried out by deaf and dumb eunuchs and by means of suffocation. Another act was to remove from the Wazīrate the wise and experienced Sinān Pāshā, who, as the 'Wālī' in Egypt, had played such an important role in the affairs of Arabia during the reigns of his predecessors and was looked upon as a close confidant of his father, Murād III.[360]

Muḥammad III ruled for almost nine years, however, little of consequence affecting the Two Holy Mosques or the Ḥajj took place during his reign, with the exception of the tiling of parts of the 'Maṭāf' area and the 'Maqām' of the Ḥanafī 'Imām' in 1005H(1597) and in 1010H(1601) respectively. On the latter occasion, the 'Shādharwān'—(best described as an assemblage of tilted stones at the lower part of the Ka'bah's walls, that is barring the northern one and installed in order to protect it from flooding)—was also replaced. During the earlier year (in 1009H), he also happened to have had a great dome and a minaret added to the place where the Prophet Muḥammad was born. Caretakers were appointed to maintain the place, cry out the 'Prayer Call' and give lessons in its precincts, which had been walled as well. Suitable assets had also been endowed by the Sulṭān for its overall maintenance in "Rūm" (Turkey).[361]

It is said of Muḥammad III that, whenever he sensed defeat facing his arms on any of the various fronts, he was not found to be slow in galvanising himself into action and being an able military leader, he was to achieve a number of stunning victories in Europe, reducing fortresses that even the mighty Sulṭān Sulaymān II had failed to take during his campaign of 963H(1556) and this, while inflicting a crushing defeat on a combined Austro-Hungarian army at Mezö Kerésztés, near the famous field of Mohács in 1005H(October 1596) in the face of tremendous odds. It is related that, this victory was in no small measure due to his "Khöjā" (religious/spiritual tutor) Sa'dal-dīn Effendī, who had successfully urged him to remain resolute and even to don the Prophet's mantle in order to retain his composure in the midst of the battle's critical stage, a measure which had proved effective in inducing the desired result.[362]

CHAPTER VIII

The Grand Sharīfs of Makkah During this Era

The great Sharīf of Makkah Abū Numai II's son Ḥasan (b.932H/1526), after his accession to authority alongside his younger brother Thuqbah, following their brother Aḥmad's death in 962H(1555), had decided to make a conscientious effort to ensure that, the duration of the tenure of his office would be remembered for its good deeds and to continue to rule in the manner of his wise father, who was later on to pass away an octogenarian in a Wādī known as al-Abbār, in the direction of the Yaman in 992H(1584).[363]

Though renowned in his day like his venerated father for his learning, and enjoying particular fame for his knowledge of "'Ilm al-Firāsah" (the science of physiognomy) so admired amongst the Arabs, the Sharīf Ḥasan was nevertheless a man of trusting disposition. Hence, the latter part of his reign—from 1003H(1595) to be precise—unfortunately came to be tainted and associated with the tyranny of his dubious, avaricious and opportunistic 'Wazīr', 'Abdal-Raḥmān ibn 'AbdAllāh ibn 'Atīq al-Ḥaḍramī, who, according to historians such as al-Muḥibbī (d.1111H/1700), gave the people a taste of tyranny and oppression in all their forms and guises, cleverly managing at the same time to keep the true nature of his administration out of the sight and hearing range of the good-natured Ḥasan.[364]

When Ḥasan passed away in 1010H(1610) at a place called "Fā'īyyah" at the furthest confines of Najd while on an expedition, he was succeeded by his son Abī Ṭālib (ibn Ḥasan). At this development, Makkans were to breathe a sigh of relief at the expectation of being rid at last of the tyrannical 'Wazīr' and Abī Ṭālib was not to let them down, imprisoning and questioning him immediately following his accession. Unable to withstand the ordeal, the Wazīr thereupon committed suicide in prison by stabbing himself.[365] However, Abī Ṭālib also died most unexpectedly and inconveniently a little later without appointing an heir. This was at a place called "al-'Ish" and during 1011H(1603), while returning from a successful expedition towards al-Bīshah, on which he had gathered much booty. Incidentally, the Ottoman Sulṭān Muḥammad III was also

to pass away a little later during Rajab 1012H (December 1603), to be succeeded by his fourteen year old son Aḥmad (Ahmet) I (d.1026H/1617).[366]

With these later developments in particular, the relative tranquillity enjoyed by the people of the Ḥejāz since its incorporation into the Ottoman Empire was to take a downward turn in a number of respects. As amidst what appeared even that early to be an atmosphere of irretrievable decline as opposed to some mere lapse in international status of Ottoman power, the situation in the Holy Land too was once again inevitably to give way to internecine feuding for rank amongst the rival Sharīfian claimants, as had often happened in the past during so many episodes of this land's and that dynasty's history.[367] Nevertheless, the Sulṭān Aḥmad I's reign on the whole, at least as far as the Ḥejāz was concerned, is regarded to have been a bright one for the attention he extended to all charitable issues and in particular to the maintenance of the holy and historical monuments and institutions there and this was to apply almost throughout the rest of his domains.[368]

Meanwhile, on the score of the sqabbling for position amongst the Sharīfs in the Ḥejāz, after much heated deliberation, the choice of the elders of the clan was to settle on Idrīs ibn al-Ḥasan (Abī 'Aun), a brother of Abī Ṭālib, who in turn was to be supported in office by another brother, Fahayd and a nephew, Muḥsin ibn Ḥusayn ibn Ḥasan. Allowed to remain in office until 1034H(1625) and braving several crises till then with great ability, Idrīs was also asked next to abdicate in favour of his above nephew, Muḥsin. This he did. Fahayd ibn Ḥaṣan had died in the meantime during 1021H(1612).[369]

Very soon, the Sharīf Muḥsin too was found undesirable by the Sharfian clans and forced to flee for his life to the Yaman, there to die during 1038H(1629). He was replaced at home by the Sharīf Aḥmad ibn 'Abdal-Muṭṭalib, with the Ottoman authorities accepting the Sharīfian clans' choice once again, just as they had ultimately assented to all their nominations throughout this period, almost as a principle of policy. Al-Muḥibbī had described Idrīs as a brave and pre-possessed ruler, who had managed to extend his authority as far eastwards as al-Iḥsā'.[370]

It was also during Idrīs' Sharīfate and in 1020H(1611), that, the Sulṭān Aḥmad I had sent the architect Ḥasan Āghā with a silver (some say copper) "belt" or "girdle" plated with gold to be girded around the Ka'bah, after a 'Sayl' had badly affected its walls and the

"Ulamā" had opined against pulling it down to be rebuilt. As Aḥmad I was a great builder, his original plan had been to rebuild it along with the other monuments on the most lavish scale conceivable in keeping with their importance in the world of Islām as a whole. He had also sent gold plating for the Ka'bah's door, as well as for the other ones and the 'Minbar' etc., along with silver duly chased with gold in the guise of roundels, medallions and lozenges, all suitably decorated with Arabesque designs and inscribed with Qur'ānic Verses and invocations, many in calligraphic devices. The ceiling and the marble too were repaired in several places. In addition, he had also instituted special provisions and funds for charity, which came to be known by his name.[371]

Incidentally, it was during this era that the famous Makkan Scholar of Ḥaḍramī origin, Shaykh Jamāl Muḥammad Bāqushayr had come to be recognised for his learning and piety. In fact, there had been two Ḥaḍramī Governors of Makkah also during an earlier era, for the Orthodox Caliph 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān had appointed 'AbdAllāh ibn 'Āmer al-Ḥaḍramī, while during the Umaiyyad period, Ṭalḥah ibn Dā'ūd al-Ḥaḍramī had been appointed by its seventh scion, Sulaymān ibn 'Abdal-Malik. Since then, amongst the many others recognised for their eminence in learning and piety in Makkah around this era, there were such names as: Ismā'īl ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥaḍramī (d.828H/1425); 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥadramī; Muḥammad ibn 'AbdAllāh "Abī 'Īd" al-Ḥaḍramī; 'AbdAllāh ibn Muḥammad Bāfaqīh (d.916H/1510); 'Abdal-Raḥmān ibn Abū Bakr, 'Umar al-Mash'hūr and Abī Ḥasan al-Mash'hūr; Muḥammad ibn 'Alawī al-Saqqāf (d.1071H/1661); 'Abdal-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad al-Saqqāf; 'Abdal-Raḥīm Bāwazīr; Aḥmad ibn 'Abdal-Raḥīm Bāwazīr; the Qāḍī 'AbdAllāh ibn Aḥmad Bākathīr (d.926H/1520); the Qāḍī 'Abdal-Laṭīf ibn 'AbdAllāh Bākathīr (d.950H/1543); the Qāḍī 'Abdal-Raḥmān ibn 'AbdAllāh Bākathīr; the Qāḍī 'Alī ibn Ḥasan Bākathīr (d.987H/1579); the Qāḍī and astronomer Aḥmad ibn al-Faḍl Bākathīr (d.1047H/1638); and 'AbdAllāh ibn Sa'īd Bāqushayr (d.1076/1665). Almost all of them have left behind a number of works on 'Taṣawwuf' (mysticism), 'Fiqh' (jurisprudence), language and history in addition to verse and had been recognised in Makkah in their day, and since, as men fit for "high office relating to jurisprudence, excellence, glorious achievement and letters".

Meanwhile, regards the Sharfiian feuding, the choice of the candidate chosen by the elders of their clans had once again failed to help matters and merely proved to add fuel to fire. Instead of abating, feuding amongst the rival parties was to reach a new peak. The death of the Sharīf Aḥmad in 1039H(1629) at the hands of the unscrupulous and uncouth new "Vali" of the Yaman, Qānṣūh Pāshā, then did succeed in tenuously calming the situation a little.[372]

It was also during this period that the consumption of Coffee, then spreading rapidly, was forbidden. So was the newly introduced Tobacco. In the end however, religious authority had to bow before popular clamour in both cases and legalise their consumption in private and in public.[373]

The Sharīf Aḥmad's successor was the good-natured and "pacifist" Mas'ūd ibn Idrīs (d.1040H/1631). It was during the reign of the Sharīf Mas'ūd that a particularly heavy fall of rain and hail stones on the night of Wednesday, the eighteenth of Sha'bān 1039H (May 1630) wreaked great havoc in Makkah, flooding the 'Ḥaram' and filling it with debris. The Ka'bah's structure too was severely affected, giving way the next day, that is, save "the wall facing the direction of the Yaman". On this occasion, the Sharīf had played a major personal role in mobilising every possible force that could be utilised and then, joined hands with all and sundry, in clearing up the 'Ḥaram' and the town in preparation for the assistance that was duly expected by him after he had sent forth urgent appeals to all feasible quarters for help, with a full report on what had happened. This episode, because of its several important aspects, will be dealt with more adequately a little later.[374]

Mas'ūd unfortunately died after this event by a year, most probably of tuberculosis, and was followed into office by 'AbdAllāh ibn Ḥasan ibn Abū Numai. The latter, it may be recalled, was the patriarch of the Sharīfian clan of al-'Abdalī, of whom the Āl 'Aun also form a part. However, the Sharīf 'AbdAllāh decided a year later in 1041H(1631) to abdicate in favour of his son Muḥammad ibn 'AbdAllāh and his nephew Zayd ibn Muḥsin ibn Ḥasan and this decision was challenged by the Sharīf Nāmī ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. Eventually, an armed clash ensued at al-Jalālīyyah, south of Makkah, with Nāmī being supported in his designs on this occasion by his cousin 'Abdal-'Azīz ibn Idrīs. In this encounter, Nāmī won the

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Thereupon, the Ottoman authorities decided to recognise Nāmī, but insisted upon the introduction of ʻAbdal-ʻAzīz ibn Idrīs as ruler over a quarter of Makkah. Nāmī's subsequent efforts to establish his authority over Jiddah, however, were opposed by its Ottoman Governor, Dilāwar Āghā and during the confrontation, the Port was plundered. This could hardly have been expected to go down well with the higher Ottoman authorities and the stage was set for further clashes in the future.[376]

Then come the Ḥajj, when the Egyptian 'Maḥmal' arrived accompanied by its usual complement of soldiers and was followed by the arrival at Yanbuʻof a large additional force to be placed at the disposal of Zayd ibn Muḥsin, the latter, after putting on the robe of honour sent to him by the Sulṭān in no less an auspicious place than the Prophet's venerated Chamber in his Mosque in al-Madīnah, had set out to meet them there and place himself at their head as directed. Three thousand of these troops had arrived overland and five hundred by sea. Upon the arrival of this force, Nāmī and his supporters were to vacate Makkah on the fourth of Dhū'l-Ḥijjah 1044H(May 1635) and heading eastwards, to fortify themselves at Turabah. Thereupon, Zayd ibn Muḥsin, who by now had been formally proclaimed "Sharīf of Makkah" by the Ottoman authorities, was to enter the Holy City on 6th Dhū'l-Ḥijjah 1041H(1631) in order to participate in the Ḥajj proceedings.[377]

A little later after the Ḥajj, the Sharīf Nāmī also was taken prisoner at Turabah and executed along with his brother in Makkah in early 1044H(July 1634). His lieutenant, 'Abdal-'Azīz ibn Idrīs had meanwhile managed a little earlier to flee Yanbuʻ.[378]

This was Zayd ibn Muḥsin's second appointment as the Sharīf of Makkah and his reign was to prove a long and interesting one before he had died during 1077H(1666). As expected, the sad event was to prove a sure signal for the flood-gates of rivalry and contention amongst the various claimants to be flung open once again.

However, at least for the time being and prior to Zayd's demise, the people and even the Sharīfian clans themselves had grown exhausted of these long spells of feuding and strife. Therefore, Zayd, enjoying then the the full support of the Ottoman authorities at home and beyond, was left more or less undisturbed in his tenure of the Sharīfian office for some time to come. Yet few, if any, had

reckoned with the cruel hand of fate. For hardly had the military units returned with the Syrian and the Egyptian Ḥajj caravans, when death started removing from Makkah and without distinction, droves upon droves of its population, including several of its most eminent residents, many of them renowned for their learning and other gifts. These included such names as, "the Miracle of his time" and "the Genius of letters", the Saiyyid Aḥmad ibn Masʻūd ibn Ḥasan—(the doyen of the Āl Ḥasan—d.1044H-1634/35—though in Constantinople, to which he had traveled to press forward his claim to the Sharīfate before the Sulṭān Murād IV, and gained his desire); the "Shaykh of the Makkans" Khālid al-Mālikī (d.1044H); the Indian-born Saiyyid NiʻmatAllāh al-Jīlānī (d.1046H-1636/37) and the Ḥaḍramī Saiyyid Sālim ibn Aḥmad Shaykhān of the clan of Molā al-Dawīlah (d.1045H-1635/36). Others to follow later were: the Shaykh Tājal-dīn ibn Zakarīyā al-Nakhshbandī al-Hindī (d.1050H-1640/41); the Shaykh Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Ṣiddīqī (d.1056H/1646); the Imām 'Alī ibn Muḥyal-dīn al-Ṭabarī (d.1070H/1660); the Shaykh 'Abdal-'Azīz ibn Muḥammad al-Zamzamī (d.1072H-1661/62) and the Shaykh 'Alī ibn Bakr ibn Nūral-dīn al-Jamāl (d.1072H).[379]

The period, particularly the year 1045H(1635/36), was also a duration of deprivation and high prices, with the epidemic to boot, that had claimed besides the lives of all the horses in Makkah, until the Sharīf himself was left with the lone survivor of this debacle in his stable.[380]

Establishing his credentials immediately after taking over, by bringing to heel a clan of the Ḥarb tribe, the Banī Saʻd and also the Ghāmid, who had taken to raiding, Zayd let it be known soon after his accession that, if he could be lenient, he could be tough and resolute also whenever a situation demanded.[381]

His long reign and its stability, barring some small hiccups, and his eminent position in the sight of the world of Islām as the Sharīf of Makkah, saw him drawn into the vortex of international politics and Zayd was not the one to let such opportunities pass without extracting some advantage or gain. Erudite as he was, he made full use of the Ḥajj traffic and opened lengthy correspondences with the various rulers of the Muslim world such as the Sunnī Mughals and the Shīʻah Sulṭāns of Bijāpur and Golkundah in India, sending emissaries and embassies to their courts on an annual basis and in keeping with the navigational patterns in the seas concerned, who

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would regularly return laden with gifts for him and rich purses for charitable purposes and for distribution amongst the citizens. One of these ambassadors was the Ḥaḍramī ʻAbdal-Ṣamad al-ʻAmūdī, who had represented him at the court of the great Mughal Emperor Shāh Jahān and other contemporary Muslim rulers on a fair number of occasions, before ultimately taking up service under the Mughals.[382]

Another, Saiyyid Aḥmad ibn Maʻṣūm, a Shīʻah scholar of Makkah, sent by the Sharīf Zayd in 1055H(1645) to the court of the Sulṭān of Golkundah, ʻAbdAllāh Quṭub Shāh, was not only to find himself elevated to the rank of an "Amīr" (a term meaning a nobleman in India), with the title of "Niẓāmal-dīn", but also became the Sulṭān's eldest son-in-law and but for intrigues, would assuredly have succeeded him to the throne, as ʻAbdAllāh Quṭub Shāh had no sons. A sample of Zayd's composition and if not, then of the literary style of his court, has been preserved for posterity by Aḥmad ibn Maʻṣūm's son, ʻAlī ibn Aḥmad, better known as "Ṣadral-dīn" (d.1107H/1695), in one of his works, 'Sulāfat al-ʻAṣr fī Maḥāsin Aʻyān al-Shuʻarā' bi Kulli Miṣr'. It is a commendation written for his father to the Sulṭān and it reads thus: "The great Saiyyid, who hails from a noble family and has surpassed all others in the achievement of virtues and merits, who follows in the foot-steps of his ancestors in their right and perfect ways and who has mastered all sciences, is Saiyyid Aḥmad ibn Maʻṣūm. As you know, he has sucked milk from the breast of honour and greatness, has inherited knowledge without any slackness or fatigue, has related 'Traditions' from his ancestors on authoritative basis, has astonished the intelligent with his rational and traditional knowledge, has attained skill in scholarly researches and has a great command over prose and poetry. In addition to this, he possesses the noblesse of his ancestors".

Then, continuing, the Sharīf of Makkah was to write: "He has prepared himself for the journey though the idea of his separation from us had never occurred to our mind … However, when your request for sending him reached us again and again, and when we understood that you desired that we should depute him in your direction, we allowed him to go to your fertile and prosperous country, which is a resort for all seekers of knowledge, and what may not be expected to await the one who is himself the desired goal! It is, therefore, hoped that he will be received in a befitting manner, and will be treated in accordance with his high status and qualifications, and will be placed in as exalted a position as the loftiest star in the firmament, and nothing ought to be higher than it".[383]

Under the main events of 1115H(1703/4), al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī notes, in his 'Tārīkh Makkah' the arrival in the Holy City of the Saiyyid ʻAlī ibn Maʻṣūm along with the seasonal convoy of Indian ships and then, of his departure during 1117H(1705), followed by his death in Golkundah, news of which was to reach Makkah a couple of years later during 1119H(1707). In the notice, he is referred to as "Nābighat al-Adab" ("Genius of Letters") and no less![384] In the meantime, the Sultanate of Golkundah was to fall to the Mughals under their great Emperor Abū'l Muẓaffar Muḥīal-dīn Muḥammad Aurangzayb ʻĀlamgīr I Pādishāh Ghāzī (r.1069H/1659 till 1118H/1707) in 1098H(September 1687).

It is worth adding here that, the rulers of Golkundah then used to include the name of the Ṣafavid Shāh in the 'Khuṭbah' instead of that of the Ottoman Sulṭān. The Ṣafavids under ʻAbbās I (r.985H/1578 till 1038H/1629), had also seized Baghdād from the latter in 1033H(1624) after the accession of Murād IV (r.1032H/1623 till 1049H/1640) and retained it for nine years before being expelled by him in 1042H(1632). Following this, Murād IV had even decided to attempt to ban the Shīʻah of the Ṣafavid dominions from making the Pilgrimage, by having the ban proclaimed amongst the Pilgrims during the Ḥajj of that year (1042H/1633). Al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī reports of orders arriving on that account during the Pilgrimage season of 1045H(May 1636), while Daḥlān ascribes their receipt in Makkah to have taken place during the Ḥajj of 1047H(1638). It is related however, that, since the Ḥajj caravan from the Ṣafavid dominions had already arrived, the Pilgrims were allowed to participate in the Pilgrimage and perform their rites and then informed on the seventeenth of Dhū'l-Ḥijjah (after the "'Īd" festival and celebrations) that, henceforth, Pilgrims from Īrān would not be allowed to do so.[385]

Reference has already been made earlier to the Andalusian traveler Ibn Jubayr's notice, recorded under the observations of his visit to Makkah in 578H(1183), that, the Sharīfs of Makkah were followers of the 'Madh'hab' ('School of Belief') of the Imām Zayd ibn ʻAlī "Zaynal-ʻĀbidīn" ibn Ḥusayn ibn ʻAlī, who, as it may be recalled, had been killed leading a Kūfan revolt against Umaiyyad authority in 121H(739). Zaydīs who presently proliferate in the

northern part of the Yaman proper or old Yaman are generally recognised by the 'Sunnīs' as the mildest of the 'Shī'ah' sects and said to constitute a bridge between their beliefs and 'Sunnī' practice. The term "al-Madh'hab al-Khāmis" ("the Fifth School of Belief") is also used in reference to their School of Jurisprudence. Amongst his observations, Ibn Jubayr also noted that he had found Prayers in the Grand Mosque of Makkah being led by five 'Imāms' representing the four Sunnī Schools and the Zaydī School. Abū 'AbdAllāh Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-'Ayāshī (d. 1149H/1735) records in his 'Riḥlah' (Travel Account) that, the Sharīf Zayd ibn Muḥsin parted from, the 'Madh'hab' of the rest of his clan and became a follower of the School of the Imām Abū Ḥanīfah (d.150H/767), whose followers included amongst their ranks the Ottoman Sulṭān and the majority of the Turks as well, thus encouraging others of his clan to follow suit. Al-Muḥibbī, in his biographical sketch in 'Khulāṣat al-Athr' clearly emphasises that, "the Sharīf Zayd, upon his accession, had eliminated many abominations (religiously unacknowledged practices) and abolished whatever disagreed with (the teachings of) 'the Book' (the Qur'ān) and the Sunnah...".[386]

During his lengthy tenure of the Sharīfate, Makkah experienced many events, including some severe floods. There was a great flood at 'Arafāt during the Ḥajj of 1053H(1644) and on the very 'Day of Standing', which was to prevent the Pilgrims from entering the 'Holy Sanctuary'. Then on the afternoon of Saturday, 7th Sha'bān 1073H(March 1663), heavy rains and another major flood wreaked great havoc inside and outside the 'Ḥaram'.[387] The construction and repairs necessitated by these will be covered later under a separate heading. Al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī says of the extent of the Sharīf Zayd's writ and his reign that, during it, "a rider from the furthest limits of the Tihāmah to Makkah would not have the occasion to see anything he would disavow" and in the east, his standards, according to Daḥlān, were recognised as far as "within five (marching) days of al-Baṣrah".[388]

When the Sharīf Zayd fell ill and passed away in early Muḥarram during 1077H (July 1666) after a reign of thirty-five years, his youngest son Sa'd, who happened to be by his bedside, succeeded him after securing local Ottoman support.[389] However, the latter's succession was challenged by the two Sharīfian houses of the Āl Barakāt and al-'Abdalī. This latter clan ought not to be confused with a tribe in the southern part of the Yaman, which, coming to power

about 1143H(1730), had ruled 'Adan till 1250H/(1834) along with Laḥej, and the latter by itself until independence from British rule at the end of November 1967(Sha'bān 1387H). In this episode, the 'Abdalī, Ḥamūd ibn 'AbdAllāh ibn Ḥasan was found not merely to be playing a leading role, but even attempting to interfere with the administration, the general commercial traffic and even the affairs associated with the Ḥajj itself.[390] He was joined in his efforts by Sa'd's brother Muḥammad ibn Zayd who had been refused by the ruler a quarter of Makkah's revenues that he sought for himself and together, they managed during the Rajab of 1079H(January 1669) to waylay a force of five hundred regulars, after it had landed at Yanbu' to restore order.[391]

However, as Ḥamūd ibn 'AbdAllāh could not retain the tribes under his control for long, he decided to make up with Sa'd ibn Zayd a little later the same year. But this hardly improved Sa'd's position, as a new clash developed between him and the newly appointed 'Sanjaq' (Military Governor) of Jiddah, Ḥusayn Bey, over the payment of dues to the former from the Port's revenues. Sa'd in the meantime had also agreed to grant his brother Aḥmad ibn Zayd, upon request, a quarter of Makkah's revenues, to have his name mentioned in the 'Khuṭbah' alongside his own as co-ruler, and in addition to seek for him a patent from the Sublime Porte in confirmation of this decision of his.[392] Then, as if to complicate Sa'd's predicament further, a ferocious fire, which had started during the Dhū'lQa'dah of 1078H (May1668) in the district of al-Ma'ābidah in upper Makkah, had raged for a whole week, consuming the 'Sūq' in the ward of al-Mu'allāt in its wake. This had been followed by another fire in the ravine of Ajyād in the City's vicinity on 2nd Rabī'al-Thānī of the following year. Not unnaturally, prices under such conditions had spiralled upwards and to make matters worse, many parts of Arabia were also to be affected during this period by a famine. Furthermore, to add to the general woes of the situation, Makkah on the third of Shawwāl 1080H(February 1670) was to be affected by a severe flash-flood, which had entered the 'Ḥaram' and covered the Sanctuary with water up to the level of the Ka'bah's door.[393]

Sa'd ibn Zayd was ultimately deposed towards the end of 1083H(1673) due to the efforts in animosity of a senior official of the Court in Istānbul, Ḥasan Pāshā and replaced by Barakāt ibn Muḥammad. Shaykh Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān al-Maghribī

(d.1094H/1683), an influential scholar and man of means and connections, who then resided in Istānbul, had played a major role in this event against Sa'd and he was now to begin to exercise great influence in local affairs in the Ḥejāz. This was to continue through much of Barakāt's reign and it was often noted for inspiring steps that sadly failed to endear him to the local citizenry. Some of the major reforms, mostly to do with the misuse of the endowments, the misappropriation of annual charities and a number of religious innovations, for which he had sought a mandate and was granted by the Sulṭān and which had also led him to clashes with local vested interests, are listed by al-'Āṣimī in his 'Samṭ al-Nujūm al-'Awālī'.[394] While reflecting on this period, the chronicler, al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī surprisingly was to state that "the Sharīfs did not become affluent save in his days, owning real estate, wealth, servants and retinues".

According to Bāsalāmah, a sundial to tell the time had been installed in the courtyard of the Makkan Ḥaram as early as 551H (1156) by "al-Jawwād"—a popular title for the Wazīr of al-Moṣul, Jamālal-dīn Muḥammad bin 'Alī al-Iṣfahānī (d.559H/1164)—renowned for his many great charitable works and deeds throughout his life, particularly in the Holy Land. The existence of another on the edifice over the Zamzam was also reported later on. Al-Maghribī also installed a sundial in the 'Ḥaram' and built a 'Ribāṭ' by the 'Bāb' Ibrāhīm, which was used by the Yamanīs. These sundials were eventually to be replaced by clocks. The graveyard known as al-Sulaymānīyyah in the suburb of al-Mu'allāt is also traced back to him. However, when the source of his influence in Istānbul, Aḥmad Pāshā Koprulu was removed from the scene by the hand of fate during 1086H (1675), al-Maghribī's power also vanished overnight. In confirmation of this, an official letter from the new Grand Wazīr was received in Makkah, asking him not to interfere forthwith in the affairs of the Holy Land. He was later on asked to leave the Ḥejāz and died in Damascus.[395] Al-Muḥibbī, in his biographical dictionary, sings high praises of his literary, scholarly and spiritual merits, but unfortunately pays scant attention to details associated with his political activities in Makkah.[396]

It was during the Sharīf Barakāt's reign that Makkah again experienced severe flooding on 12th Dhū'l-Ḥijjah 1091H(January 1681). On this occasion, the level of water had risen to cover half the Ka'bah. Earlier on, during Rabī'al-Awwal of the same year,

"the great (Ḥaḍramī) scholar of his time" the Saiyyid Aḥmad ibn Abī Bakr ibn Sālim Shaykhān had passed away and had been buried in the graveyard of al-Mu'allāt. Another great scholar of Ḥaḍramī origin to pass away during this era was the Saiyyid Muḥammad al-Shillī (d. Dhū'l-Ḥijjah 1095H/December 1684), the son of another fine scholar, Abū Bakr ibn Aḥmad al-Shillī.[397]

The Sharīf Barakāt himself died in 1094H(1683) after a reign of some twenty years, to be succeeded by his son and nominee Sa'īd ibn Barakāt. This, as usual, was to act as a signal for the inauguration of a fresh round and more of open strife between the various rivals, fueled on this occasion by the new Sharīf's unwillingness to implement the then Sulṭān Muḥammad IV's orders to distribute three-quarters of Makkah's revenues amongst the various clans, in return for the requirement of maintaining a fixed number of armed retainers at all times for Government service, as and when required.[398] This was of course the old 'Iqṭā'' (feudal fief or tenure in lieu of pay) system in operation, but with assignment on the commercial revenue of a town, rather than on an agricultural holding.

Before his death, the Sharīf Barakāt, as was usual, had dispatched his emissary with presents to the courts of the Muslim rulers of India and other places in South-East Asia, renowned for their wealth and generosity and given to sending regular gifts and purses for distribution. The Mughal Emperor 'Ālamgīr I (Muḥial-dīn Muḥammad Aurangzayb), upon learning of the regular misappropriations by the Sharīf of his gifts and charities, even those meant for the scholars and the poor, had on this occasion decided to ignore him. Kept waiting without an audience for an inordinately long duration, the emissary had decided to sail on and present the Sharīf's gifts to the Sulṭānah of Acheh, most probably Zakīyyatal-dīn 'Ināyat Shāh (r.1089H/1678–1099H/1688), with the desired response from her. The avaricious behaviour of the Sharīfs regards the distribution of these charities and gifts and particularly in this case, is succinctly told by al-'Āṣimī. Thus, during the Ramaḍān of 1094H(September 1683), when the gifts of gold—(some three 'Qanṭār' or over 300 pounds)—and rare exotic camphor, perfumes and spices, along with gold candelabras, incense-burners and lanterns for the two 'Ḥarams' arrived from the Sulṭānah, who some wrongly maintain was a Christian, while the lamps were hung in the Ka'bah, the Sharīfian clans demanded that Sa'īd part with three-quarters of the value of these as well. This he initially refused to

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The ensuing struggle was to see him removed within the year (1095H/1684) and replaced by the Sharīf Aḥmad ibn Zayd, who then happened to be in Istānbul. The Sharīf Aḥmad knew and understood the Ottoman administration well from within, having served as the Governor of Karak and also been offered positions in the Tarsus and Rumelia and the Sulṭān Muḥammad (Mehmet) IV (r.1058H/1648 till 1099H/1687), when receiving him before his departure to take up his new post, was to direct him to revive and develop the Ḥejāz, as it had become "a ruin". During the short duration that he ruled, the Sharīf Aḥmad did everything in order not to let the Sulṭān down. Unfortunately, as he was already a septuagenarian at the time of his appointment, he passed away in 1099H(1688) before much could be achieved.[400]

Concerning the issue of succession to the Sharīfate, the Sharīf Aḥmad ibn Zayd had indicated a preference for his nephew, Sa'īd ibn Sa'd ibn Zayd. However, once he was out of the picture, the Āl Barakāt gained the day through the support of the Governor of Egypt, who had been won over by the Barakātī, Aḥmad ibn Ghālib. Consequently, Sa'īd ibn Sa'd had to leave the country.[401] Nevertheless, he need not have worried, for he was destined to be appointed to the office of his forebears no less than a record five times and on each occasion, under some extraordinary circumstances.

The Sharīf Aḥmad ibn Ghālib, after taking over, had just completed a troublesome year, when the leader of the opposition to him, Muḥsin ibn Ḥusayn ibn Zayd was to succeed in replacing him.[402] However, once in the seat of authority, Muḥsin also found himself incapable of controlling the situation, which soon began to acquire alarming proportions. This now led the Sharīfian clans to clamour for the restoration of the former Sharīf, Sa'īd ibn Sa'd. It is

said that, the conditions affecting the general populace had reached such a nadir at the time, that, the 'Sanjaq' (Turkish: 'Sançak') of Jiddah and the 'Qāḍī' were actually compelled to face Muḥsin ibn Ḥusayn ibn Zayd and advise him: "If you cannot ensure security in the land, then you should stand down from office".[403]

Hence, in less than a year and a half—i.e., around (1103H/1691), Sa'īd ibn Sa'd was again Sharīf. However, he was destined to lose the office again in less than six months and, on this occasion, to his own father, Sa'd ibn Zayd, who was then residing in Istānbul and had been appointed by the Sulṭān himself with an imperial edict issued in his favour, alongside promises of full support. This was to be Sa'd's second term as Sharīf of Makkah.[404]

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In Makkah, Sa'd ibn Zayd's second term in office also did not last very long again, as he was forced to abdicate after some three years because of his differences with the 'Sanjaq' of Jiddah, Muḥammad (Mehmet) Pāshā. As a result, the Barakātī 'AbdAllāh ibn Hāshim was appointed to the Sharīfate, just before the Ḥajj of 1105H(1694).[406] However, in spite of the 'Sanjaq's' military support for the latter, the Sharīf Sa'd managed to raise a force, expel 'AbdAllāh ibn Hāshim within a few months and resume his old office, while the latter fled to Istānbul, there to pass away. On this occasion, Sa'd was to rule for some seven years before abdicating in favour of his son Sa'īd in 1113H(1701). This now was Sa'īd ibn Sa'd's third appointment as Sharīf of Makkah.[407] It is interesting to observe at this stage notices of the presence of Yamanī and Yāfi'ī soldiery amongst the Sharīfian troops, such as in the force used by the Sharīf Sa'd ibn Zayd in his punitive operations against the great tribal confederation of the Ḥarb gathered in the Wādī al-Ṣafrā' dur-

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ing Rajab 1104H(April 1693), where at al-Jadīdah, eight Yamanīs and twenty-six Yāfi'īs were to fall 'hors de combat' alongside almost a hundred of the Ḥarb according to al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī. Reflecting on the level of reliance of the Sharīf on mercenary soldiery of these origins during that era, the same Chronicler again reports for example that, when there was a sudden scare in Makkah on 15th Shawwāl 1116H (February 1705) from the Sharīf 'Abdal-Karīm ibn Ya'lā', the Sharīf Sa'd ibn Zayd had immediately alerted his soldiery present then with him, by shouting out: "Oh people of the Yaman, take to your arms". To this, the ever at the ready warriors' response in unison had been: "We are at the ready O' Abū Sa'īd". This does not merely reflect the Sharīf's reliance on this group, but also on the strength in which they were present with him in his camp and presence as his trusted troops.[408]

During his seven year reign, the Sharīf Sa'd ibn Zayd was hardly to be provided with a chance to rest on his laurels, not that he was the type to remain inactive. For example, the dawn of the year 1109H (20th July 1697) was to find him setting off on an expedition into Najd, while also non-challantly imposing additional dues on goods from Egypt and on Indian shipping too, upon its arrival, as well as its departure and without the prior approval of the Ottoman authorities.[409]

The start of the year 1112H(June1700) saw Makkah come face to face with the early stages of a major epidemic and all the challenges that it was to bring and this too in the wake of two years of severe drought, which had also reflected itself accordingly on the level of prices of commodities.[410] It was in this year that the 'Sanjaq' of Jiddah, Sulaymān Pāshā was replaced by Ibrāhīm Bey, but only for a short period and while the former had been assigned some tasks of repair to supervise in and around the Holy Sanctuary in Makkah. These had included the 'Maqām Ibrāhīm', the Zamzam, the other 'Stations' of the 'Imāms' who led the Prayers, the 'Saqāyah' (watering place) of al-'Abbās and wherever else the walls, the floor, the ceiling the portals and the minarets needed such attention. The house of the Prophet's wife, the Lady Khadījah, the place of birth of their daughter Fāṭimah and the Masjid al-Jinn (which had turned into a ruin under the weight of debris brought down by floods) were all repaired, restored, or rebuilt to the highest acknowledged standards of their day, with landscaping and the planting of suitable

greenery wherever feasible, in order to add to the general visually pleasing effect.[411]

Some sources mention that, it was during the Sulṭān Muṣṭafā II's era and the Sharīf Sa'd's reign in the Ḥejāz that tobacco had first been introduced into Makkah and from Egypt. This was most probably during 1112H(1701) and not earlier on during the reign of Sulṭān Aḥmad I, as in the case of the other Ottoman lands. In any case, tobacco began to be smoked in Makkah during this period with such disdain, that, by 1149H(1736)—during the second term in office of the Sharīf Mas'ūd ibn Sa'īd when the Sulṭān Maḥmūd I was on the throne—orders were issued with the support of the religious authorities, to prevent its consumption in public places.[412]

Upon replacing his father in authority, Sa'īd ibn Sa'd was again to find himself unfortunate in the tenure of his office, for the Sharīfian clans of the Āl Barakāt, the Āl Ḥusayn, the Āl Qatādah and some of the Āl Zayd also, rose to oppose him over their financial claims as if of right, which he would not meet. They then decided to let loose their slaves and adherents on the populace in order to create instability and to compensate themselves with the loot thus acquired. These henchmen, taking to the hills of Makkah beyond the 'Turbah' or the tomb and graveyard of al-'Aydarūs—(the Āl al-'Aydarūs being a family of Ḥaḍramī Saiyyids, who had produced many famous men of religion and scholars)—and the suburb of al-Shibaykah, managed to create a great disturbance, which was even to spread towards Jiddah.[413] They then parleyed with Sulaymān Pāshā, the 'Sanjaq' of Jiddah, in order to secure his support for one of their leaders, 'Abdal-Muḥsin ibn Aḥmad (Āl Zayd). He was consequently acknowledged Sharīf, but as it was to turn out, for no longer than thirteen days according to the chronicler al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, before having to abdicate in favour of 'Abdal-Karīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Ya'lā of the Āl Barakāt, who earlier on had succeeded in creating a major scare in Makkah and its environs during 1116H(1705), as already mentioned.[414]

However, as it turned out, 'Abdal-Karīm ibn Muḥammad's term as ruler was also to be a brief one, but through no fault of his own. A verbal altercation between the 'Qā'im Maqām'—(Turkish: 'Kaimakam', meaning Adjutant and here the chief administrative officer representing the Sharīf 'Abdal-Karīm during his absence in the Yaman)—and the Sharīf Sa'd ibn Zayd, was to lead to an armed tussle between the followers of the two groups and its outcome was

to see the expulsion of the Barakātīs from Makkah and the installation of Sa'd ibn Zayd as Sharīf for the fourth time, on 16th Shawwāl 1116H(February 1705).[415] Nevertheless, as can be expected, the depredations in Makkah by his supporters from amongst the tribes of Ghāmid and Zahrān (that inhabit the hills south of al-Ṭā'if) and then cantoned in the Holy City, much irked the populace. As a result, the Sharīf 'Abdal-Karīm, upon returning from the Yaman, managed the same month to take back the office seized from him during his absence by the Sharīf Sa'd ibn Zayd and his supporters. In this recent effort, 'Abdal-Karīm ibn Muḥammad had been supported by clans of the Ḥarb tribe as well as men of the 'Utaybah, that reside and wander in areas north-east of Makkah. Meanwhile, the Sharīf Sa'd, who had retired from Makkah to a place called al-'Ābidīyyah, was unexpectedly to pass away there within some seventeen days.[416]

The 'Sanjaq' of Jiddah, Sulaymān Pāshā, who had been reinstalled in 1113H(1702) as the Governor over Jiddah and "al-Ḥabashah" (Abyssinia) as well on this occasion, was much pleased with this outcome in favour of 'Abdal-Karīm ibn Muḥammad and addressed approving reports to the Sublime Porte. After his successful supervision of the reconstruction and improvements in the Makkan 'Ḥaram' and the City, Sulaymān Pāshā had been sent back by the Sulṭān Muṣṭafā II (who ruled between 1106H/1695 and 1115H/1703), with the particular objective of instituting the convening of a "Maulid", described below, on an annual basis on the seventeenth eve of the month of Ramaḍān, during or after which, and on an odd night uptill and including the twenty-ninth, the Prophet is recognised to have received his first "Waḥī" ("Divine Revelation").[417]

The Pāshā was to execute these new responsibilities of his with great humility and solemnity. A procession of sorts would start from the 'Ḥaram' following the end of the 'Tarāwīḥ'—(the special Prayers performed during the nights of Ramaḍān after the fifth and last Obligatory Prayer of the day, the "Ishā" and that have already been referred to). During this ceremony, men led by the Pāshā and other dignitaries, would voluntarily walk along in congregation at a gentle pace from the Ḥaram's door known as the 'Bāb al-Ḥarīrīyīn' towards the house of 'the Mother of the Believers', the Lady Khadījah, where the Prophet was residing at the time he received his first

"Waḥī", marking the beginning of his mission as a prophet and messenger of Allāh. A 'Miḥrāb' (Prayer Niche) had been introduced into this house converting it into a mosque of sorts as early as during the reign of the Umaiyyad Mu'āwiyah I. There, they would listen to the recitation of some Verses from the Qur'ān and Orations ('Ḥadīth') of the Prophet and compositions in his praise, offer the 'Fātiḥah'—(recitation of the opening chapter of the Qur'ān)—towards the end in honour of the Prophet and make their way back towards the Grand Mosque and re-enter it through the entrance called 'Bāb 'Alī'. Sweets and refreshments would then be offered there to the congregation under the Dome of 'Abbās. Following this, they would proceed towards the 'Maqām Ibrāhīm' for the bestowal of the robes of honour and the distribution of the dresses amongst the needy, before dispersing in the 'Ḥaram' in order to continue with their acts of worship through the night, as is the case in this blessed month of vigil and Prayer, that is Ramaḍān.[418]

A similar 'Maulid' was also instituted in al-Madīnah, but on the night of the twenty-seventh of Rajab—the 'Laylat al-Mi'rāj'—the Night of the Prophet's miraculous 'Nocturnal Journey', first to al-Quds (Jerusalem) and then the ascent into the Heavens.[419]

While these ceremonies have now officially been discontinued as latter day innovations, the above house has also disappeared over the years along with a number of other monuments of historical, sentimental and religio-cultural interest and value, mostly as a result of cruel necessity. In this particular case, it was due to the most recent expansion of the 'Ḥaram' complex, some distance to the right of the hillock of 'al-Marwah' as one looks at it from the direction of 'al-Ṣafā'. Of course, the challenge perceived by the appropriate authorities is how to keep pace perennially with the wants and comfort of the regularly increasing number of Pilgrims, presently in seven figures, that converge on and utilise the facilities at the Holy Sites during the annual Ḥajj. One wonders if it would have been possible at all to avert the payment of such a price in terms of history and heritage!

Another event worth mentioning that occurred during this period was the trouble with the Hamitic Africans settled in Makkah and referred to locally in the singular as "Takarūnī" and at times and more correctly as "Takarūrī". The term has already been met with in connection with the Ḥajj of their Sulṭān "Mansā Mūsā" with some 1,500 followers. Certainly, Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-'Abdarī

(d.837H/1433) in his book of quotations "Timthāl al-Amthāl" mentions that, the well-known Imām of the Mālikī School of Jurisprudence in the Makkan 'Ḥaram' 'Alī ibn Aḥmad al-Nuwayrī (b.723H/1323–d.799H/1396) used to be showered with gifts and shown great reverance by the "Maghāribah" and the "Takārirah" (North and West African) Pilgrims and was also the recepient of a thousand 'Mithqāl' of gold annually from the "Sulṭān al-Takārirah" for many years. Nevertheless, socially and economically backward, they were prone to rising from time to time in order to draw the attention of justice to their problems. Unfortunately they often did this by taking the law into their own hands and going on sprees of lawlessness. Hence, during the Muḥarram of 1114H(June 1702), the Sharīf Sa'īd ibn Sa'd had decided on this occasion to expel them all and even sent out criers asking them to prepare to leave the land permanently. However, sound sense prevailed in the end and he agreed that only those clans who were proven to be responsible for illegal activities ought to be punished.[420]

The Takarūnīs as a topic of historical, cultural and social interest, have from time to time deserved mention in the annals of Makkah since some centuries till the very present. Yet, all those who have referred to them till now often appear unsure and confused about their origins. While it is true that Arabian geographers like al-Bakrī had made great and early contributions to geographical knowledge in Africa, however, Makkan citizens and writers alike, who refer to all Hamitic Africans settled in Makkah as "Takārinah" (in the plural), prove surprisingly ignorant of the geography of the African heartland and have regularly associated their origins with an unspecified land associated with that name, somewhere distant along or beyond the eastern coastline of Africa. I myself had assumed that, since most of the present day Takarūnīs are of central or western African origin, the port of Dakar along Africa's opposite or western coast and presently the capital of Senegal, may have had something to do with the term.

Be that as it may, the Swiss Johann Ludwig Burckhardt, who had explored large parts of some of these areas prior to his departure for the Ḥajj from there during Sha'bān 1229H(July 1814) mentions that, during his exploratory activity in the region between the River Nile and the Red Sea called "Taka", covered now by the present Sudan, he had found that, prospective Pilgrims on their way to Makkah from various neighbouring and interior parts of Africa and

hopeful of boarding a vessel to cross the Red Sea to Jiddah, would often congregate at Dārfūr, to travel with the caravan from there via Assiūṭ to to the port of Quṣayr. Meanwhile, those coming from or through Kordofān, would make it along the Mogran river to the Taka region and there join caravans to Suākin to board boats for Jiddah. At these points of congregation for the Ḥajj caravans, they would often stay on for long durations, improving their religious knowledge at the several great traditional 'Ṣufī' centres and schools before moving on. He also asserts however that, all the Hamitic "Ḥājīs from west of Bagarma, from Burnu as far as Timbuctū, either travel with the Fezzan, a great Maghribī Pilgrim caravan, or proceed by sea from the coast of Barbary", thus bringing into question the general emphasis on the West African origins of the Takarūnīs arriving from across the Red Sea!—Attempting to cast light on the term under discussion, Burckhardt goes on to assert, and it would appear erroneously, that, the name "Takarūnī" is derived from the Arabic verb "Takarrur"—"to multiply, renew, to sift, to purify, to invigorate i.e. their religious sentiments, by the study of the Sacred Book and by Pilgrimage. The appellation is bestowed on all Negroes who come east, in search of learning.... or for the Ḥajj, of whatever country they may be. They do not call themselves.... Takarūnī" and "many assured me that they had not heard of (it) till they reached the limits of Dārfūr." He further adds: "The greater part of the Takarūnīs who visited Makkah comes from the schools of Dārfūr".[421]

The concepts Burckhardt emphasises in connection with the origins of the Takarūnīs have been admirably corrected of late by a Sudanese Scholar, 'Umar al-Nagar, with whom I was recently put in touch by my former tutor at Cambridge, Aḥmad al-Bushrā and his erudite wife, Judy. In a number of articles in learned journals and a book, al-Nagar has eloquently discussed and clarified the various aspects of this topic at considerable length.

Agreeing along with the Author of "The History of Islāmic West Africa", J.S. Trimingham, that a relationship does exist between the name and the ancient Kingdom of Takrūr on the Senegal Basin and quoting Abū 'AbdAllāh al-Bakrī that the King of Takrūr War Jabi Ibn Rabīs had embraced Islām in 431H (1040) making it the land's religion, al-Nagar comments that the expansion of this Kingdom was greatly facilitated by the start of the rapid decline at about this period of the al-Moravid ('al-Murābiṭūn') empire and

that by the thirteenth century CE (the seventh century Hijrī), Takrūr was not merely prosperous commercially, but an Empire. Al-Nagar further adds in his book, "The Pilgrimage Tradition in West Africa" that, while "many great Sudanese states and empires existed before and after the rise of Takrūr" such as Kānem in the East and Mālī in the west, which had emerged during the seventh century Hijrī (thirteenth century CE), "none achieved a similar popularity …". Certainly, the King of Mālī, Mansā Mūsā, for example, disliked being addressed as "Sulṭān al-Takrūr" instead of "King of Mālī".[422]

However, the message that emerges from his writings on the subject is that, while the application of the term "Takrūrī" may have been accurate at a time when that empire furnished the majority of Pilgrims from West Africa, with the passage of time, the term can at best be looked upon as a loose and convenient generalisation, especially with "the gradual spread of Islām to other peoples and races of the greater Sūdān".[423]

In any case, Jiddah's 'Sanjaq' Sulaymān Pāshā, had not taken into his contention the "Vali" of Egypt and his friendship and support for the late Sharīf Sa'd ibn Zayd and his son Sa'īd, when he had decided to back the claims of 'Abdal-Karīm ibn Muḥammad to the Sharīfate. Hence, by the time of the Ḥajj of 1116H(1705) and thanks to this source of support, Sa'īd ibn Sa'd ibn Zayd was to find himself appointed ruler in Makkah again for the fourth time.[424]

As on the earlier occasion, 'Abdal-Karīm ibn Muḥammad refused to take this lying down and no sooner the rituals of the Ḥajj had been completed than his supporters managed to entrench themselves in the south-western part of Makkah. Later on, there even was exchange of fire in the 'Haram's' vicinity between the followers of Sulaymān Pāshā and the Sharīf Sa'īd ibn Sa'd, because of the former's support for 'Abdal-Karīm. Formerly, he had also at one stage been strongly in favour of the then Sharīfs Sa'd ibn Zayd and Sa'īd ibn Sa'd.[425]

If Sa'īd ibn Sa'd was not already aware, then it did not take him long to realise that, he could not survive without Ottoman support and sensing the "Vali" of Egypt's backing for him to be getting lukewarm, he decided to bow before what appeared to be the inevitable. As 'Abdal-Karīm ibn Muḥammad was appointed Sharīf on 6th Sha'bān 1117H(December 1705), he set off for Egypt, where he was granted a daily allowance of a thousand "Dīwānī" and a fief

by the new Sulṭān, Aḥmad (Ahmet) III, who reigned from 1115H(1703) till his abdication in 1143H(1730).[426]

On this third occasion, 'Abdal-Karīm ibn Muḥammad managed to stamp his authority on the situation, first, by immediately gathering the Sharīfian clans and promising in the presence of the 'Qāḍī' of Makkah to pay them their share of three-quarters of the Holy City's revenue and secondly, by hanging and publicly displaying the bodies of eleven men of the tribe of Hudhayl, who had dared interfere with the 'Barīd' (the Official Post) to Jiddah. 'Abdal-Karīm was also successful, at least for the time being, in beating back all efforts by Sa'īd ibn Sa'd to expel him from office. These had surprisingly started just over a month after 'Abdal-Karīm's installation, when Sa'īd had succeeded in seizing the small port of al-Qunfidhah, south of Jiddah and then dared advance as far northwards as al-Ṭā'if.[427] He was to be defeated however at al-Sharafiyyah, near al-Ḥusaynīyyah, south of Makkah and forced to retire. Sa'īd ibn Sa'd then reappeared once again and managed to seize al-Ṭā'if in Ṣafar 1118H(June 1706). However, he was defeated by 'Abdal-Karīm on this occassion also.[428] Incidentally, it was during the Ḥajj of this year that, the unusual event of the clash between the Egyptian and the Syrian 'Maḥmals' over precedence in the order of departure from 'Arafāt was to take place, though it had been the norm for the Egyptians to depart first.[429]

Sa'īd ibn Sa'd was to try again his fortune in the middle of 1119H(November 1707), but with the same result. Nevertheless, he still refused to give up and renewed his efforts again in early 1120H(1708) following the Ḥajj of the previous year (1119H), but on this occasion too without any genuine success. At this stage, the sudden arrival of Sulṭān Aḥmad III's orders for the expulsion of Sa'īd from the Ḥejāz were unexpectedly to come to 'Abdal-Karīm's aid and he was not the one to waste any time in intimating this favourable development to his persistent rival. Thereupon, Sa'īd ibn Sa'd obediently withdrew to the Yaman, but again, as was generally the norm and particularly with him as already seen, to bide his time till the appropriate opportunity presented itself.[430]

The year 1119H(1708) is also the one during which, due to a Sulṭānic command from Aḥmad III, the authorities in Makkah formed a "committee" in the month of Dhū'l-Qa'dah (coinciding with February), to make the rounds, ordering the removal of unauthorised encroachments outside houses and shops in the guise

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of: extensions; awnings from walls for shade ("al-Ashri'ah"); platforms for rest ("Dikak" in the plural and "Dikkah" in the singular); and also any other illegal forms of occupation of street space on a regular basis for the display of wares. It is related that, it took this "Committee" three days to complete its function and with admirable results.[431]

Faced with the domination of a considerably greater financial and military power like the Ottoman Empire, the Sharīfs only basked under the illusion of such authority as was allowed to them by Ottoman officialdom, or by its predecessors, to clash with whose representatives was inevitably to invite trouble and even disaster for oneself. This had been proved time and again and it has just been seen how 'Abdal-Karīm's rival, Sa'īd ibn Sa'd had withdrawn voluntarily to the Yaman after learning of the Sulṭān Aḥmad III's desire.

It would appear that 'Abdal-Karīm ibn Muḥammad's sense of honour and adventure refused to permit him to recognise this hard fact or aspect of 'real politik'. Hence, 'Abdal-Karīm's reign as Sharīf finally was to come to an end with something of a rude shock, when he clashed with Nuṣūḥ Pāshā during the Ḥajj season of 1122H (1711) over the latter's support for the Pilgrims of al-Iḥsā' in their dispute with the Sharīf's men over their refusal to comply this time with the payment of a special due the Sharīf had regularly collected from them, as per tradition.[432] It had so happened that, the Sharīf had rather successfully raided some tribes of the Muṭayr only a few months earlier, during Sha'bān and Ramaḍān (October and November) that year (1122H/1710). Thus, after basking much in official favour, when the Sharīf, boldly asked the Pāshā, much to his annoyance, not to interfere in his affairs and this altercation was followed by an ambush that Nuṣūḥ had to face on his way to al-Madīnah, Nuṣūḥ's aroused suspicions rightly or wrongly fell on the Sharīf 'Abdal-Karīm, who, in the meantime had also encouraged the prominent citizens of Makkah, the Sharīfs and the Governor of Jiddah to compose reports against the Pāshā for the attention of the Sublime Porte, a move, of which the Pāshā also was aware. Hence, mobilising the leaders of the Pilgrims in his caravan and the notables of al-Madīnah, the Pāshā too had a memorandum composed about his version of this whole event and addressed to the Sublime Porte, accompanying it with a covering report of his own. In this and amidst his recommendations for a cure, he was also to suggest

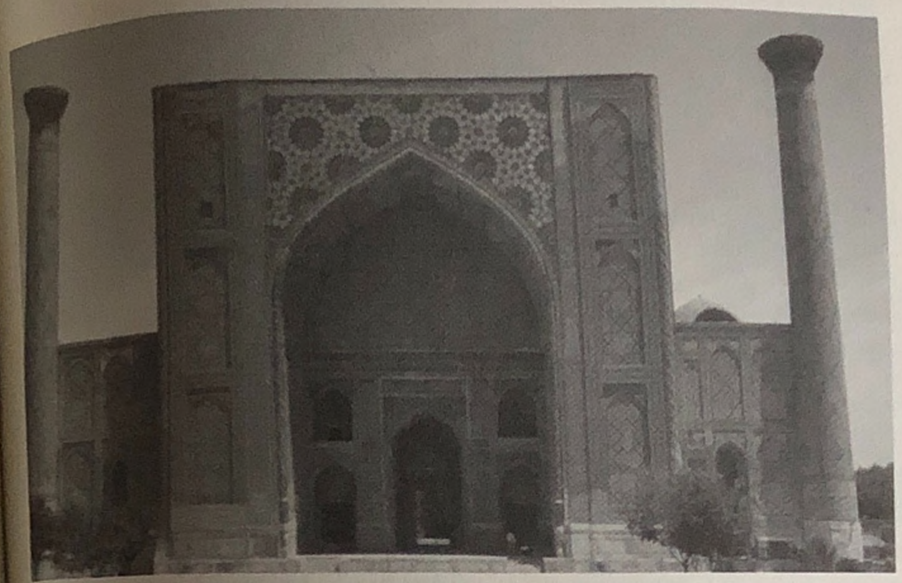
the deposition of 'Abdal-Karīm ibn Muḥammad and the appointment of his arch-rival Sa'īd ibn Sa'd to the Sharīfate.[433]

The Sublime Porte's assent to the Pāshā's suggestion took its time as 'Abdal-Karīm had been looked at with favour till then. However, the 'Firmān' did eventually arrive as Nuṣūḥ had anticipated it would. Upon the receipt of these new orders in late Shawwāl 1123H(December 1711), Nuṣūḥ immediately had them publicly proclaimed in al-Madīnah and addressed letters concerning their nature and the call for prompt implementation to the 'Sanjaq' of Jiddah and the 'Qāḍī' of Makkah. This was while the Sharīf Sa'īd ibn Sa'd was impatiently waiting in the wings, in al-Ṭā'if to be more precise, to pounce on his doughty rival at the first signal.[434]

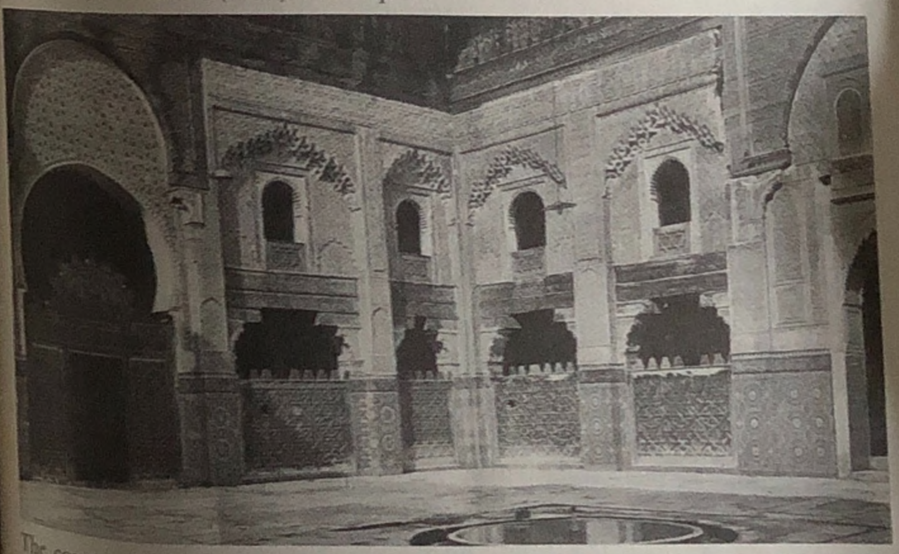
A bloody encounter then took place on the plain of 'Arafāt on 22nd Dhū'l-Qa'dah 1123H (around the New Year of 1712CE), between Sa'īd ibn Sa'd and 'Abd al-Karīm ibn Muḥammad, but unfortunately proved to be indecisive. To prevent further bloodshed, senior and influential members of the Sharīfian clans ultimately succeeded in patching up a peace, the terms of which were the immediate cessation of fighting and that, Sa'īd should stay away from Makkah until the Ḥajj was technically over. However, when 'Abdal-Karīm returned to Makkah, he learned that, as per the orders from Istānbul and thanks to the Pāshā's haste and tactics, Sa'īd ibn Sa'd had already been proclaimed Sharīf in his stead during his absence from the City.[435]

'Abdal-Karīm ibn Muḥammad's intention, in keeping with his nature, was to resist, but finding his supporters unwilling, he decided to bow before reality. He even asked of Sa'īd ibn Sa'd that he be allowed to remain in the Ḥejāz, to which the new Sharīf generously agreed. The great Makkan historian Daḥlān specifically mentions that, during the last year of his reign (1123H/1711), his wealth and power had been greatly added to by the arrival during the month of Rabī' al-Awwal (May/June), of a rich purse of half a million Rupees from the Mughal Emperor Shāh 'Ālam I (alias Bahādur Shāh I) of India as a gift for the denizens of the Two Holy Cities. After staying with the Ḥarb clans for a brief while, he left for Egypt, sadly to be claimed a victim by the plague there that same year—1123H (1711/12). "However, when (his) time was up, men and materials proved to be of no avail" is how a historian chose to refer to this final part of the episode.[436]

This was also Sa'īd ibn Sa'd ibn Zayd's fifth and last term as Sharīf, though some, such as Philby, calculate it as the fourth, ignoring the first occasion on which he had held office, because he had been deposed then before the arrival of the official Diploma of recognition and Investiture. He was to reign on this occasion till 21st Muḥarram 1129H (7th January 1717), when death due to a mysterious ailment separated him from his office. The total duration of his various reigns was ten lunar years and seven months, while the Sharīf 'Abdal-Karīm ibn Muḥammad's total period of tenure of authority covering his three reigns was six years and seven months.[437]

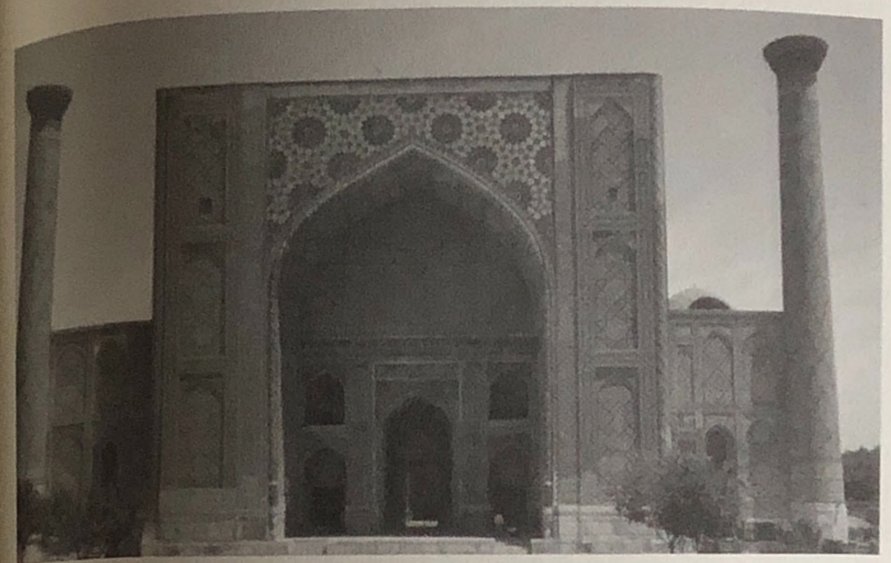


Ulugh Beg, the son of Shāhrukh Mirzā and grandson of the Amīr Taimūr, has been described as one of the most illustrious of Turkish rulers to patronise learning and promote scientific work. Born in Sulṭānīyyah in Central Asia in 795 H (1393), he is to be remembered in history in particular for two major achievements, the Observatory and Madrasah that took him between 820 H (1417) and 823 H (1420) to build and the catalogue of 992 stars that he was to assemble in 840 H (1437), the 'Zīdj-é-Jadīd-é-Sulṭānī'. Also, it is him` that the Spanish Ambassador Clavijo had met during his mission between 805 H (1403) and 807 H (1404). His actual reign as ruler was to last between 851 H (447) and 853 H (1449). Samarqand.

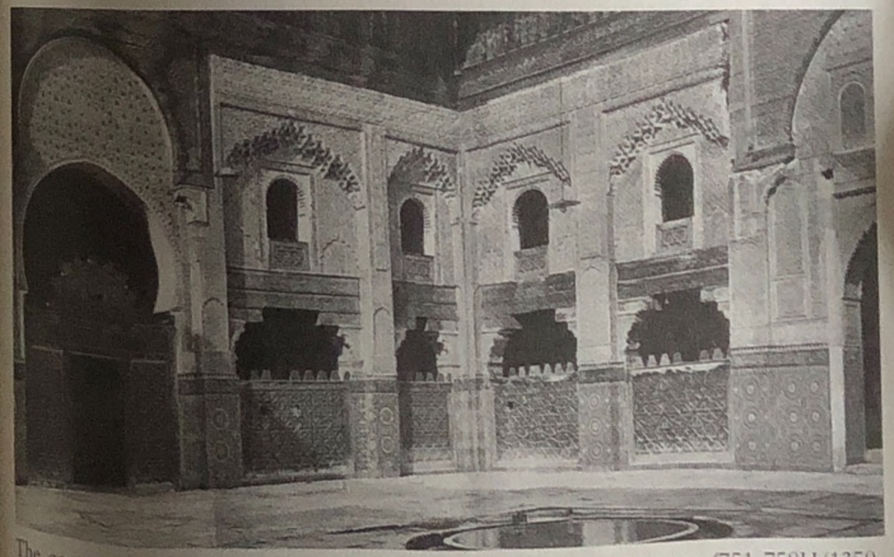


The courtyard of the 'Madrasah' of Būʿ Inānīyyah, Fez, Morocco (751-758H/1350-1357CE). The architecture speaks for itself.

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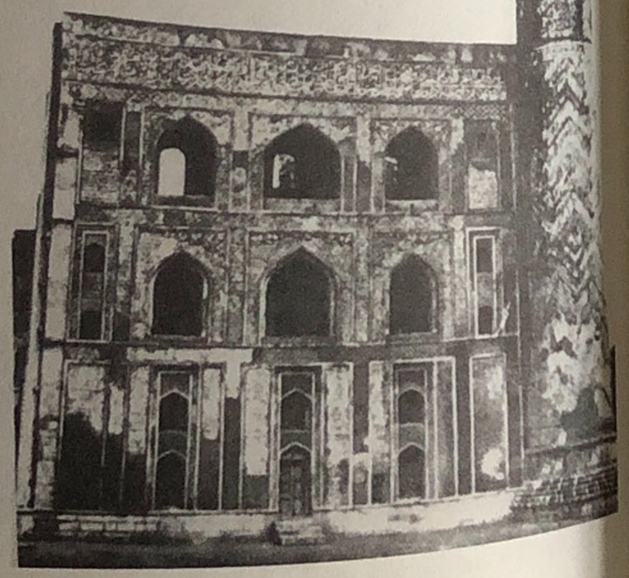


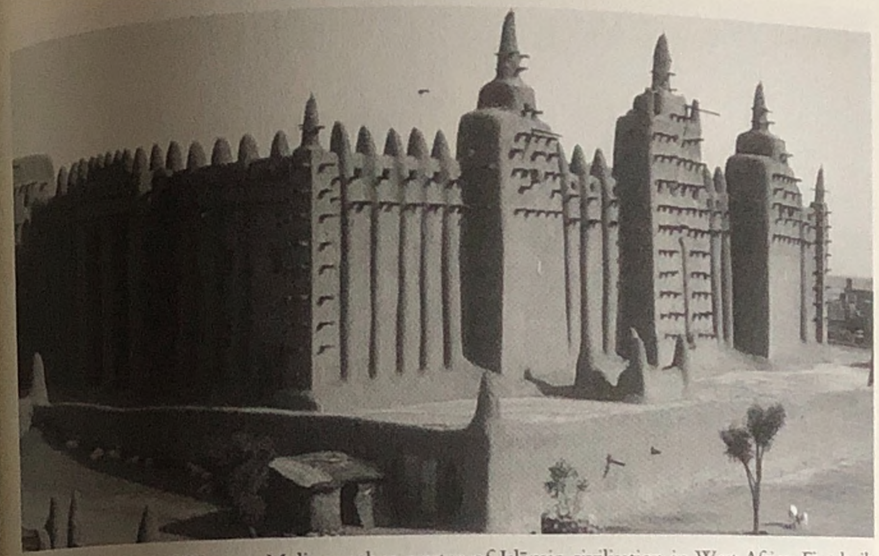
The courtyard of the 'Madrasah' of Bū'Inānīyyah, Fez, Morocco (751-758H/1350-1357CE). The architecture speaks for itself.



The interior and exterior of the 'Madrasah' of the Bahmanid Wazīr Ghayāthal-dīn Maḥmūd Gāwān (d.895H/1490) in Bidar. Completed in 877 H (1471), it displayed all the regular architectural and utilitarian features shared by similar institutions at their best in the lands of eastern Islām and yet, was unique in one aspect – its treble storeyed structure. Boasting of a fine library housing some 30,000 books according to some accounts, it was destined to be destroyed by fire. The Bahmanid Sulṭāns as patrons of learning had established several such residential institutions, some called 'Dār ul-'Ulūm' (in the singular) and other schools and libraries in their various provinces, several of them receiving 3,000 Dinars (Gold) per annum in support.

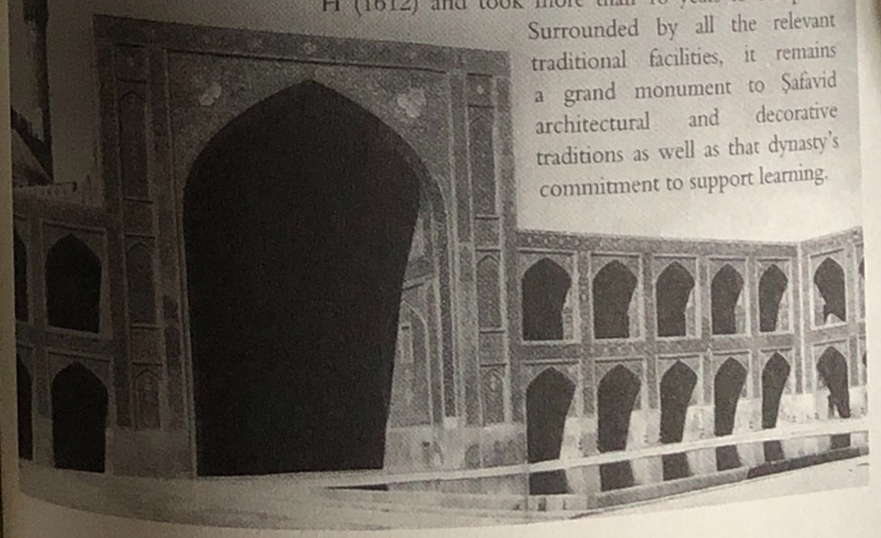






The great Mosque of Djenne, Mali, another center of Islāmic civilisation in West Africa. First built during the seventh cH (13th c) it has undergone several phases of reconstruction. This present structure which dates from 1325 H (1907) is considered the largest mudbrick building in the world. True to the original function of the mosque as a place for manifold religious and social purposes, this Mosque also had played the role of a 'madrasah' and a center for the community's affairs and many scholars look upon it as an architectural marvel of Sudanese-Sahelian style, imbued with that grace of grandeur in simplicity that signifies the Islāmīc spirit.

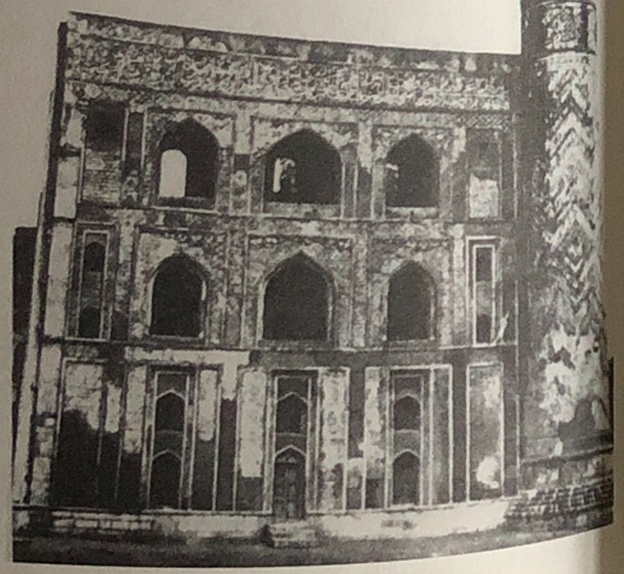
The northwestern wing and courtyard of the grand cathedral mosque and 'madrasah' complex of the 'Masjid-é-Jum'ah', also known as the Masjid-é-Shāh in Isfahān. Its building was first initiated during the reign of Shāh 'Abbās the Great in 1021 H (1612) and took more than 18 years to complete. Surrounded by all the relevant traditional facilities, it remains a grand monument to Ṣafāvid architectural and decorative traditions as well as that dynasty's commitment to support learning.

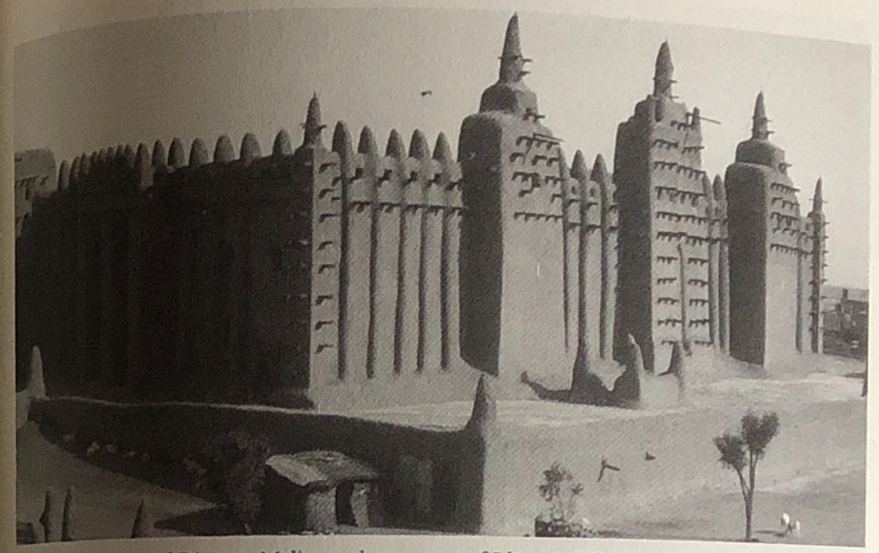




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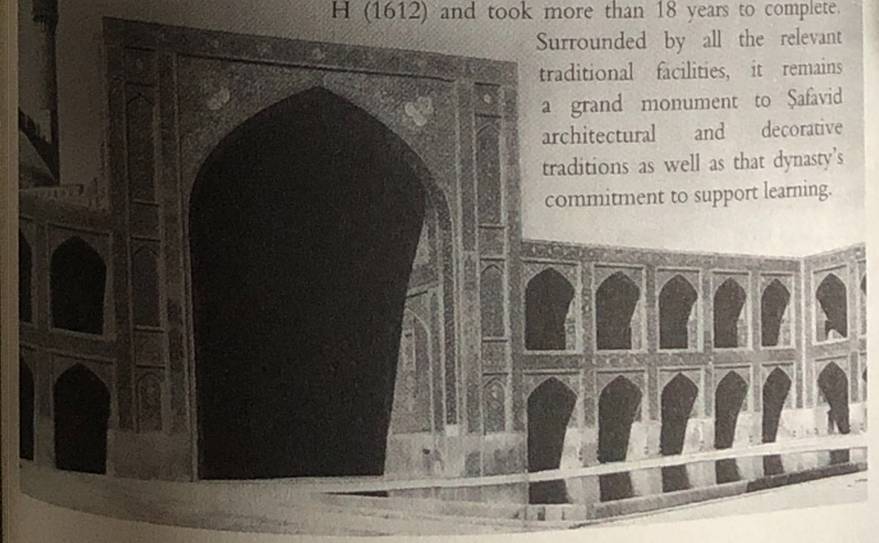


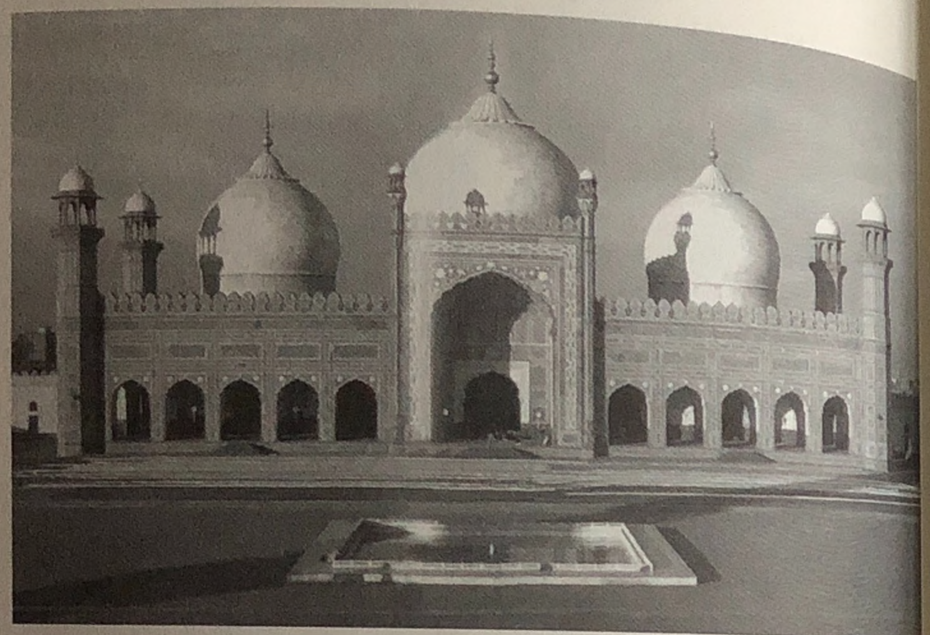




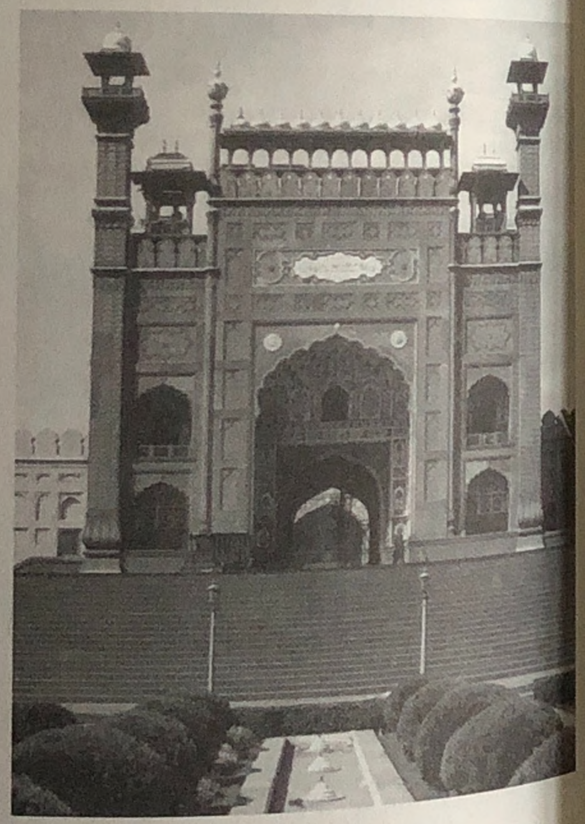
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The Bādshāhī Mosque in Lahore, was built in red sandstone with tinges of white marble by order of the Mughal Emperor ʻĀlamgīr (d.1118H/1707), described by the famous Muftī of Damascus, Shaykh Muḥammad al-Murādī (d.1206H/1791) as a sovereign worthy of the title of 'Amīr' and 'Imām' of 'the Believers'. Completed in 1044H (1634/5), its majestic Entrance leads into an almost square courtyard, the largest in the Indian subcontinent, watched over from the four corners by lofty minarets, some 143 feet high and with rooms and other facilities on either side, heavily utilised by scholars in former days.

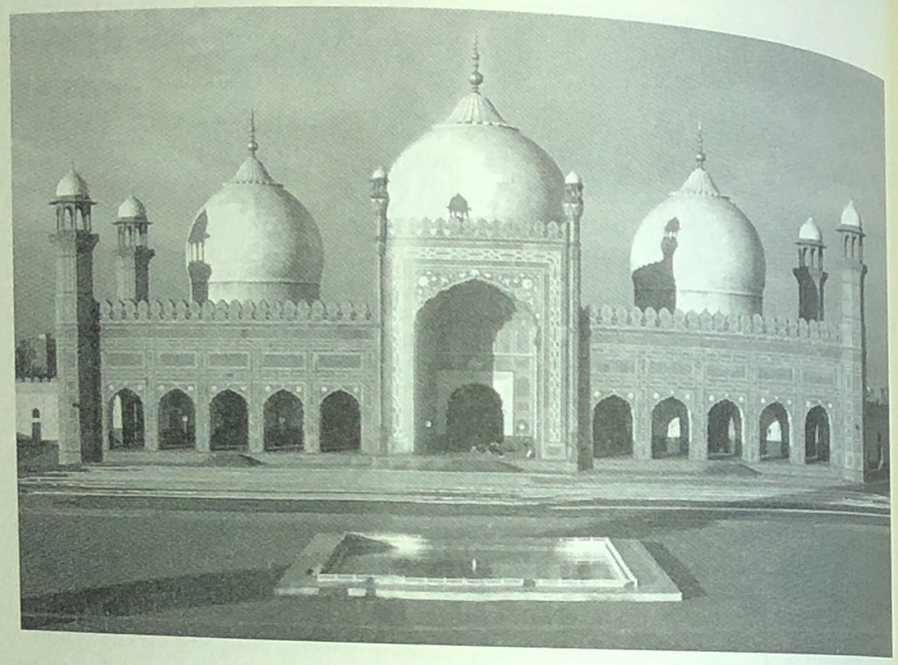


CHAPTER IX

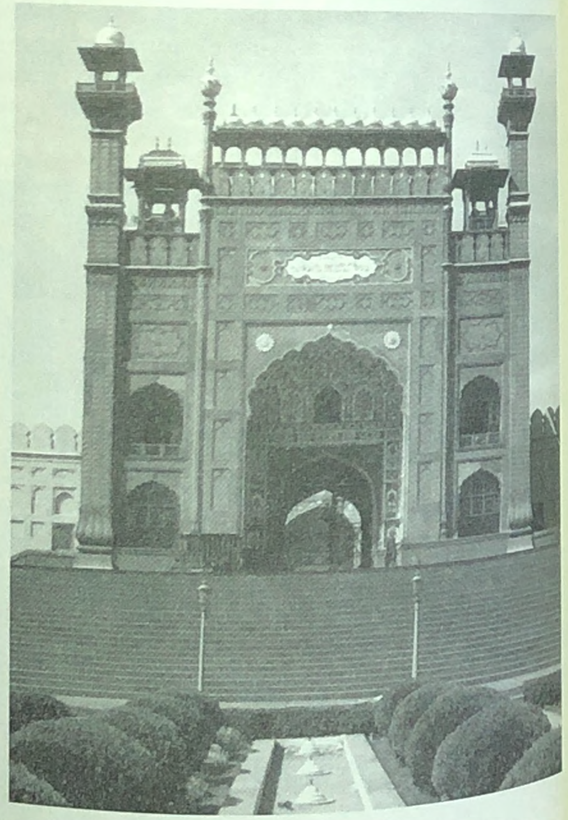
The Holy Cities, Muslim Philanthropy and the Role of Women

The arrival of a handsome purse of five hundred thousand Rupees from India during 1123H(1711) for distribution amongst the needy of Makkah and al-Madīnah has just been referred to. This, as may be imagined, was much to the delight of the Ḥejāzī ruling class and citizens alike, for they undoubtedly would have "benefited greatly" from it. Such gifts were more or less an annual occurrence, as presents and charity would often pour in from the various Islāmic lands, both rich and poor, on an almost regular basis.[438] A modern historian of Makkah, the compiler of the commendable 'Tārīkh Makkah', Aḥmad al-Sibāʻī, laments over the arrival of these charities from the Muslim world in the following words: "I know not why the affluent of India of those days did not think of spending a huge amount like this in establishing an agricultural or industrial project, that would have reverted onto the people of the land with its eternal benefit. No doubt, if the Muslims had done this in their eras (of prosperity), then the condition of Makkah would have been different from that of today".[439]

The same historian of Makkah, commenting on the Sulṭān Salīm II's decision to increase the amount of grain sent to the Ḥejāz in charity from Egypt, a decision referred to earlier, again writes: "These are good deeds, by which the forebears of the Ottomans may have sought heavenly reward and beneficence, or purely fame and advertisement, or else. However, we have no doubt that this harmed the people of the Two Noble Cities more than it benefited them. For it made them get used to the notion of the acceptance of charity, the terms of this familiarisation including (the attributes of) indifference and laziness; and if we realise that these charities continued to flow regularly for whole long centuries and would increase along with the growth of the population and that, the fixed stipends from these would cater to the needs of the majority of Makkah's (and al-Madīnah's) families from year to year, then we also realise the training and preparation that this people would have received, and become paralysed in wonder at the upbringing of its



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generations, one after another, (which has been) to lie in wait and fish for gifts and charities and to suffice with these, and because of them, find no need for engaging themselves in the fields of life, as done by the (other) peoples of the world. If those benefactors had thought of spending these amounts, to which no estimation can do justice, on the revivification and cultivation of barren land, the digging of wells, the establishment of the full complement of schools (institutions of education) and houses of industry for crafts and manufactures, then this land would have evolved along lines other than this manner, from the bitterness of which, it suffers till this day".[440]

In truth, the charity displayed by the Muslim world towards the Holy Cities and their citizens, rulers and denizens, was and has been generous indeed throughout the ages and considerable portions of it also did adopt the guise of the excavation of springs ("Uyūn'), the digging of wells ('Ābār'), the establishment of schools ('Kuttāb'), colleges ('Madāris'), hospices ('Arbiṭah'), free kitchens ('Maṭābekh') and hospitals ('Bīmāristān'), with regular allowances for those who tended to them and manned them, as well as for the beneficiaries such as scholars, students, physicians, patients requiring medicine and other needy. Besides, a large number of endowments and other institutions were and would also be established locally from time to time with commercial arrangements that guaranteed the required sums in income for expenditure on the concerned charities.

However, the geographical features of the land and the structure of society and the pattern of demographic distribution did not seriously encourage many greater or bolder steps in that direction, primarily because of their impracticality. In the face of this, it gives me pleasure to recall a stray project of the type preferred by our above historian friend and initially based in al-Madīnah, but with definite plans for establishment in Makkah also, that did take shape, though somewhat later, in the early 1350s Hijrī (1930s), just over a couple of years before the declaration of the formation of the present Kingdom of Sa'ūdī Arabia.

Despite its structural viability based on sound principles and realistic projections for a regular ever-increasing demand for "Iḥrām", "thobe" and coffin cloth, the "Dār al-Ṣānā'ah" or "House of Industry" as it was called, was ultimately destined for oblivion, primarily because of the discovery of oil, though the then ruler, King 'Abdal-'Azīz Āl Sa'ūd was much pleased, when presented in Makkah

in 1352H (1932) with a first ever locally made set of the two piece 'Iḥrām' (cloth). The pioneer of this philanthropic project was this Author's grandfather, the Sulṭān Ṣāleḥ bin Ghālib al-Qu'āiṭī of Ḥaḍramaut (d.1375H/1956), but that's another story of which, some more later. Suffice it does to add here that, the philanthropic institution, named after 'al-Madīnah', has continued to survive and may even be said to be thriving presently in the cause of a large range of activities, primarily the semination and promotion of learning and education at all levels and this, based at Ḥaidarābād in India, where the endowments were first made for its support by the said Sulṭān from his family's assets there.[441]

Since the Indian sub-continent's riches, prior to the dawn of the industrial age had almost been legendary due to a number of factors and the majority of the Muslim 'Ummah' happened to reside there, hence it is only logical that it should have proved a major source for such charity towards Islāmic causes as was almost regularly lavished on the Two Holy Cities.

One of the earliest rulers of India to build a 'Ribāṭ' in Makkah was the first Bahmanī Sulṭān of the Dakkan, 'Alā'al-dīn Ḥasan Bahman Shāh (r. 748H/1347 till 759H/1358). This was during 755H(1354)[442] When his wife (d.763H/1362) arrived for the Ḥajj six years later accompanied by a retinue of eight hundred ladies beside several relatives, male and female, along with the offer to bear the expenses of each and every Pilgrim seeking her assistance, one of her numerous acts of charity in the Holy Land had been to arrange for the marriage of four thousand poor girls with her own funds in al-Madīnah alone, where she was to stay for a year. According to the great Persian historian of India, Firishteh (pronounced "Farishtah" in Urdu—b.960H/1552), a hundred "Maund" of gold, seven hundred 'Maund' of silver and much more beside were laid out by her son, Muḥammad Shāh (d.776H/1375) for charitable disposal by the Sulṭānah on this Pilgrimage. A 'Maund' (pronounced 'Mann') is an Indian weight of eighty-six pounds. This was in keeping with his late father's wishes.[443] Most Bahmanī Sulṭāns had also maintained an agent in Makkah to manage the above 'Ribāṭ' and handle the disbursement of the charities dispatched annually to them then during each Ḥajj season.

The Bahmanīs had been followed in their footsteps by the Sulṭāns of Bengāl, from amongst whom, the already referred to Ghayāthal-dīn A'ẓam Shāh (d. 814H/1411) had built his famous 'Madrasah'

and made generous endowments for its maintenance, while also dispatching huge sums for the repair of the Spring at 'Arafāt around the year 811H(1409) according to al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī and al-Fāsī. On that occasion, however, the then Sharīf Ḥasan ibn Ijlān, who was to reign thrice between 798H(1396) till 829H(1426), had gone on to appropriate these funds to spend them on some other project of his own choosing. Ghayāthal-dīn's Wazīr, Khān Jahān had also sent funds for a 'Madrasah' and a 'Ribaṭ', as well as for distribution amongst the needy and the scholars of al-Madīnah, in addition to a present for its Amīr, Jammāz al-Ḥusaynī; but on this occassion, as the vessel bearing these was wrecked near Jiddah during 811H (1408/09), the Sharīf Ḥasan had appropriated a quarter of the salvaged goods for himself as per custom governing shipwrecked goods. This was along with the gift for Jammāz also.[444] In addition, al-Fāsī also reports of the arrival during 809H (1406/07) of rich gifts, funds for disbursement amongst the needy and robes of honour for the distinguished citizens of the Holy Land from this Sulṭān and his Wazīr. What is of peculiar interest however is the gift from the ruler of Cambay that year—large awnings for erection over the area of the 'Maṭāf' and elsewhere in order to provide shade to the people, particularly at times of congregation. The concept however had not survived for long at the time because of the impediment to smooth movement that their kegs and ropes were constituting.[445] It was nevertheless destined to be revived during the present era amidst the improvements under King Fahd ibn 'Abdal-'Azīz with great success in the courtyard of the Prophet's Mosque in al-Madīnah, after the problem of these impediments had been overcome by the use of permanent pole or pillar-like edifices as props for shading in the guise of large umbrellas, thanks to the endeavors of a German Muslim architect.

Another Sulṭān of Bengāl to build a 'Madrasah' in Makkah according to 'AbdAllāh Muḥammad al-Ulugh Khānī, often simply referred to as Ulugh Khān, or the author of the Arabic history of Gujarāt, "Ẓafar al-Wālih bi Muẓaffar wa Ālihi" (also known after the Author's surname as "al-Tārīkh al-Ulugh Khānī") was Jalāladdīn (r. 817H/1414 till 836H/1433). Al-Nahrawānī (more appropriately al-Nahrawālī on the basis of the place of his origin) in his "al-I'lām" certainly refers to a 'Ribāṭ' by the 'Sūq al-Layl' in Makkah, which bore his name, while another by the 'Bāb al-'Umrah' bore that of the Sulṭān Maḥmūd. (d.916H/1511). Historians, al-Ulugh

Khánī for one, mention that, apart from being a generous donor to the causes of the Two Holy Cities and to the Sharīf, he had also used the latter to acquire a diploma of investiture for himself from the 'Abbāsid Caliph, then residing in Egypt, just as the Bahmanī Sulṭān mentioned earlier, Muḥammad Shāh had done. It is also interesting to note that, the mediaeval historian Firishteh praises this ruler's charity in the highest terms.[446]

As far as some of the main charitable activities of the Sulṭāns of maritime Gujarāt during this period are concerned, apart from the 'Ribāṭ', the 'Madrasah', the 'Sabīl' (place provided with water for drinking and distribution) and other institutions of public weal established by the Sulṭān Muẓaffar II (r. 917H/1511 till 932H/1525), al-Ulugh Khānī for example reports that, these Sulṭāns would annually send in addition, some seventy thousand "Mithqāl" of gold for the residents of the Two Holy Cities, of which the Sharīf would retain twenty-five thousand 'Mithqāl' for himself. A 'Mithqāl' is the equivalent of 24 Carats or 4.68 grams. From time to time, a shipload of expensive cloth would also be sent for distribution. For example, 'Abdal-Qādir al-'Aydarūs (d.1038H/1629) in his 'al-Nūr al-Sāfir' ('Revealing Light') reports that, Muẓaffar II's son Bahādur Shāh (r. 932H/1526 till 943H/1537), had sent during 942H(1536) his family accompanied by his Wazīr 'Abd'al-'Azīz (alias Āṣaf) Khān (d. 960H/1553) and seven hundred chests of his treasure also, to the Holy Land, which undoubtedly would have been due to his wariness of Mughal ambitions against his realm. This in turn was lavished on the citizens of the Two Holy Cities for over a decade in such a manner that, the "residents.... their women and servants were dressed in gold ornaments to the like of which they were not accustomed". It is said that, when this Āṣaf Khān eventually returned home and died, the Muftī of Makkah 'Abd'al-'Azīz ibn Muḥammad al-Zamzamī had composed a lengthy "Marthīyah" (elegy) of eighty-seven verses to lament the event. This has also been preserved for posterity by al-'Aydarūs in his above history. On another note, the same Chronicler also mentions that Muẓaffar Shāh was an accomplished calligrapher too, who had actually presented one of the many fine Qur'āns he had copied, to the Prophet's Mosque in al- Madīnah. Firishteh too praises his piety, bravery and good deeds, and reports that, he excelled in the calligraphic styles of "Thulth", "Naskh" and "Riq'ah", adding that, such was his passion for this art and so intense the level of his devotion that, no

sooner had he finished copying a Qur'ān than he would forward it to the 'Two Holy Sanctuaries' and begin another one. Firishteh also comments that, this Sulṭān's patronage of men of piety and learning had drawn many great men to his court from distances as far away as "Īrān, Turān (Central Asia), Rūm (Turkey) and Arabia".[447]

Bahādur Shāh's next noteworthy successor, Maḥmūd III (r. 944H/1537 till 961H/1553), when he came into his own, is recorded to have outdone all the predecessors of his dynasty in benevolence towards the Holy Cities. He had reserved the revenues of several villages near Cambay for distribution there. Elaborating on this theme, Sikandar ibn Muḥammad, the author of a contemporary work in Persian, the 'Mir'āt-é-Sikandarī', also known by the title of 'Sikandar Nāmeh' (pronounced "Nāmah" in India) says that, so much land in Gujarāt was held on religious tenures, that "there is neither district nor village, in which there is no land endowed for religious institutions, or (in grant) as pensions to religious men...." rendering its conquest futile for its neighbours. He also adds that, the beneficiaries from these charities constituted a veritable "army without horses and riders, that, like the stars, is ever awake", keeping a spiritual eye over its safety, through prayer.[448] Firishteh, while describing this Sulṭān as a great lover of the pleasures of the Harem and something of an eccentric on occasions, nevertheless emphasises that, he strictly made sure that society in his realm was clear of all immoralities. Then, with reference to Maḥmūd III's good nature and humility, he elaborates that, the Sulṭān was "a man of extremely fine qualities and habits, most of whose time was spent in the company of scholars and men of piety". On occasions of religious significance, while feeding the poor, he would stand in person with an ewer and a basin and wash their hands. Also that, he would always attempt to dress several of the poor and the needy with any cloth he had bought for his own use, before himself.[449]

Al-Ulugh Khānī also reports that, Maḥmūd III had established two 'Ribāṭs' in Makkah and that, during his reign, the citizens of the Two Holy Cities were "free from debt" because of his generosity, for while the Ottoman "Mīrah" and "Ṣurrah" catered to their needs during the months of the Ḥajj season, Maḥmūd III's philanthropy covered their requirements for the remaining period of the year. During 960H(1553), he had also financed the excavation of

wells along the route to al-Madīnah by sending a thousand sacks of indigo for sale.[450]

Nevertheless, Gujarāt was ultimately conquered in 980H(1572) by the Mughals under their third emperor, Jalālal-dīn Muḥammad Akbar (d.1014H/1605), during the reign of Muẓaffar Shāh III (r.969H/1561–980H/1572). Portuguese depredations and interference with the Ḥajj and commercial traffic and the inability of the Sulṭāns of Gujarāt to ease the situation, must also have had something to do with this, in addition to Gujarāt's famed commercial links and revenue and the traditional Pathān (Indo-Afghān) and Mughal rivalry. However, much credit is due to this Pathān dynasty, which had ruled since 799H(1396), for playing such a major role in attempting at great personl sacrifice and cost, to co-ordinate naval activities with the Mamlūks and the Ottomans, in order to oppose Portuguese depredations and naval expansion. For example, even the tenth ruler of this dynasty, the referred to Bahādur Shāh, who had initially granted them concessions at the port of Diu, had not been spared by them, but treacherously seized and killed after being invited to visit their fleet in 943H(1537). In fact, from as early as 907H(1502), the Portuguese, then under Vasco da Gama, had been insisting that, in order for local shipping in the Indian Ocean to avoid meeting with harsh measures at the hands of their vessels, it ought to carry papers of authorisaton or 'Cartazes' (a derivative from the Arabic 'Qurṭāṣ' or paper), signed by the appropriate Portuguese authority. Bahādur Shāh also, when ceding Bassein to the Portuguese Governor Nuno da Cunha following a treaty in Jamād al-Awwal 941H (December, 1534) and then offering the concessions referred to above at Diu ten months later (Rabī' al-Awwal 942H/October 1535), had been duly hoping that, by these measures and the acceptance of the system of 'Cartazes', he would henceforth be able to ensure the safety of indigenous shipping between the ports of Gujarāt and those on the other side of the Indian Ocean, as much of their prosperity depended on this, as did the ability of the Indian and Central Asian Pilgrims to perform the Ḥajj. The Mughal Emperor Akbar, upon his conquest of this maritime region, was to inherit this system with all its problems.[451]

When the founder of the Mughal Empire in India, Ẓahīral-dīn Muḥammad Bābar's (d.932H/1526) daughter, Gulbadan Bānö Beygam (usually written as "Begum"), arrived for the Pilgrimage in 984H(1576) and stayed on to perform the Ḥajj as many as four

times, her nephew and the former's grandson, the then Emperor, Jalālal-dīn Muḥammad Akbar had provided her with the necessary "Cartazes" or permits with which the Portuguese, realising his strength on land, were only too keen to oblige and this along with expenses and provisions on such a lavish scale, that, hearing of her presence in Makkah, indigents, not merely from the Ḥejāz and its neighbourhood, but from places as far as Syria and Asia Minor were found to be swarming towards Makkah in droves to receive their fated share of the charity being distributed.[452]

The influx of these numbers, not unexpectedly, had begun however to create pressures on the administration, as well as the situation of the supplies of provisions available, driving up prices and thus irritating the local populace also, at least allegedly. On this Pilgrimage, Gulbadan Bānö was also accompanied by one of Akbar's wives Salīmah Khātūn, also known as Salīmah Sulṭān Beygam, and the munificence of their charity and the length of their stay had both succeeded in embarrassing the Ottoman Custodian of the Holy Cities, Murād III and his counsellors very greatly. Much though they desired to put an end to the stay of these ladies in the Holy Land and their ever flowing generosity and deeds of charity on justifiable grounds, they could find no such means for taking any action. Ultimately, they had to restrict themselves to issuing a re-script for public awareness in 988H(1580), warning against the undesirability of the ostentatious display of charity in the light of the 'Sharī'ah', while putting pressure on the ladies, who had wanted to stay on for longer, to depart for home. It was said that, permission for these steps had been sought from the Sulṭān himself, who, upon receiving the portrait of the scenario painted by the administration in their representations to him, had promptly agreed to the course of action recommended by them.[453] The Sharīf in Makkah during this episode was Abū Numai II (r. 930H/1524 till 992H/1584).

From a perusal of some of the records of the various Mughal rulers, their interest in the welfare of the Two Holy Cities had started with Bābar, who had sent funds for distribution along with a Qur'ān copied in his own hand in thanks-giving following his conquest of (northern) India. A wife of his eldest son and successor, Naṣīral-dīn Muḥammad Humāyūn (d.963H/1556), Ḥājī Beygam, who had performed the Ḥajj during 968H(1561), is known to have returned to India three years later in 972H(1564) with some three hundred denizens of the Holy Land, many of them Saiyyids from

Ḥaḍramaut. They had been brought over for the specific purposes of reciting the Qur'ān for the soul of her late husband and odes in honour of the Prophet on the latter's birthday—a ceremony known as a "Maulid" and had been put up near his tomb. The locality is still recognised as "'Arab Kī Sarāi".[454] The real name of Ḥājī Beygam according to the Memoirs of Gulbadan Bānö was "Begā Beygam". She was a cousin of Humāyūn and a daughter of Yādgār Beg and had arrived in India during 935H(December 1529) after Bābar's death. She had given birth to a son called al-Amān during 934H(1528) and a daughter called 'Afifah in 937H(1531). Both had died in infancy. Ḥājī Beygam herself, to whom her stepson the Emperor Akbar was much attached according to chroniclers like Abū'l Faḍl (pronounced "Fazl" in India), had passed away during 989H(1581).[455]

Akbar's annexation of maritime Gujarāt in 981H(1573), had also drawn him increasingly into the mainstream of international politics and moreso the commercial and naval affairs of the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean, particularly due to the annual Ḥajj and of course regular commerce. Hence, Mughal interest and a sense of responsibility for the security of the maritime lanes, particularly the Ḥajj routes, had justly increased greatly. The propaganda opportunities residual in having to send a caravan of Pilgrims for the Ḥajj each year, could also hardly have escaped the attention of the able Mughal rulers and their advisers. Proud of their Taimūrid origins and the famous victory of this ancestor of theirs over Bāyazīd I, followed by his subsequent generosity in bestowing sovereignty back on the House of 'Uthmān, they were hence not unnaturally pained to acknowledge the superiority in any manner of the Sulṭān in Istānbul, or for that matter anyone else's. Yet, one factor they could not match or argue against and had to concede most grudgingly to the Ottomans was their custodianship of all the Holy Sanctuaries of the Sunnī and the Shī'ah and particularly of Makkah and al-Madīnah.

Going by a letter however, that Akbar's father, Naṣīral-dīn Muḥammad Humāyūn had addressed a year before his death to his Ottoman contemporary, the Sulṭān Sulaymān I, it would appear that, the former had come to admire the latter greatly due to the tales of his deeds that he had heard, particularly from the Ottoman Admiral, Sīdī 'Alī Ra'īs in Delhī.[456] Several generations later, one of Humāyūn's successors, Muḥammad Shāh (r.1131H/1719 till

1161H/1748), who exchanged embassies with the Ottoman Sulṭāns of his era, Aḥmad III and Maḥmūd I, had also displayed some deference towards them and even used the title of 'Khalīfah' in his correspondence in reference to them alongside his own self, just as his forebear Humāyūn had done.[457] Otherwise rightly or wrongly, Bābar and his descendants generally tended to consider themselves superior to the Ottoman Sulṭāns, primarily because of their ancestor Taimūr's victory over Bāyazīd and his generosity towards the latter's dynasty.

Akbar, for example, before he became distracted by other issues, had at one stage very seriously entertained desires of subjugating his ancestral Central Asian region and West Asia and of having the 'Khuṭbah' read in his name in Makkah, al-Madīnah and the Shī'ite Holy City of Mashhad. His plan was to emulate his great ancestor Taimūr once he had overwhelmed the Ottomans, by displaying generosity towards that dynasty and restoring its former authority to it in an act of benevolence, but after taking away from the Sulṭān the title associated with the 'Khilāfah' for himself. He had sought the assistance of the Uzbek 'Amīr' 'AbdAllāh Khān in the venture by proposing a tripartite alliance with the Ṣafavids. However, as the Uzbeks felt themselves to be under constant threat from the Ṣafavids and also the Mughals, 'AbdAllāh Khān was keen to maintain good relations with the Ottomans. Hence, without giving direct offense to Akbar as such, he was to display a sufficient lack of enthusiasm for the scheme, to lull the former's designs, at least temporarily, via his route. Akbar had then even tried to ally himself with the Spanish and also the Portuguese in order to attain his goal against the Ottomans during 990H(1582), but failed in this purpose.[458]

Nevertheless, apart from assuming caliphal titles, Akbar had engaged the jurists of his empire to prepare a "Maḥḍar" (literally a "Memorandum") laying out the qualifications for his entitlement to the title. The document addressed him as "Imām-e-'Ādil" ("the Just Imām"), "Amīr al-Mu'minīn" and even as "Imām al-Islām w'al-Muslimīn" ("Imām of Islām and the Muslims")—styles which even the Ottoman Sulṭāns had not adopted. According to contemporary chronicles like the 'Akbar Nāmeh', the 'Ā'īn-e-Akbarī', the 'Tārīkh-e-Akbarī' and the 'Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh', Akbar certainly was addressed in the official documents of his realm as "the Khalīfah of God", "the Khalīfah of the Age" and "the Exalted

Khalīfah" ("al-Khalīfah al-Muta'ālī"), while his Capital was referred to as the "Dār al-Khilīfah".[459] Not unnaturally, these legends had found expression on coins and public monuments as well, apart from official documents.

Akbar had also tried his hand at delivering the Friday 'Khuṭbah' as per the established practice of spiritual leaders of the 'Ummah', but feeling nervous in the middle of his first sermon, had stepped down from the 'Minbar' (Pulpit).[460] It is nevertheless true that, because of the turbulent situation in which he was born and brought up, deposited as he was with his inimical uncle Kāmrān in Kābul shortly after his birth by his father, who was then fleeing towards the Ṣafavid court of Shāh Ṭahmāsp to seek refuge and help, Akbar had never been provided with an adequate opportunity to be taught to read and write by his above uncle. He was reputed though to possess great stamina, endurance, physical strength and proficiency in the use of arms. He had become ruler when a bare thirteen and had fought for his throne at that very age like his grandfather Bābar. However, since he had a keen and inquisitive mind, he was known to have enjoyed the company of scholars and apart from having books read out to him, had obviously also taught himself the rudimentary elements of reading and writing, as may be discerned from his attempts to read the Friday sermon. However, Akbar was certainly not "dyslexic" as some Western scholars have started to maintain.

His son Nūral-dīn Muḥammad Jahāngīr in his 'Tuzuk' (Memoirs) actually recounts the reasons for the Mughals' assumed airs of superiority over the Ottomans by recalling his ancestor Taimūr's munificence in restoring to the Ottomans their realm after vanquishing Bāyazīd the 'Thunderbolt'.[461] The next Mughal ruler, Shihābal-dīn Muḥammad Shāh Jahān (r.1036H/1627 till 1068H/1658), although enjoying good relations with the Sulṭāns Murād IV and Muḥammad IV, had nevertheless maintained the same attitude of his predecessors, as did his Grand Wazīrs, Islām Khān and Sa'dAllāh (Sa'dullāh) Khān in their correspondence with their Ottoman counterparts like Muṣṭafā Pāshā. Some of this was also in Arabic, particularly when it was forwarded via the Ḥejāz or al-'Irāq. For example, Sa'dAllāh Khān was highly proficient in composition in Arabic along with Persian.[462]

Shāh Jahān's son 'Ālamgīr I (Abū'l Muẓaffar Muḥial-dīn Muḥammad Aurangzayb—r.1069H/1659 till 1118H/1707), well

known for his Orthodox piety and knowledge, is described as the only Mughal Sovereign to be independently referred to as "Amīr al-Mu'minīn" ("Commander of the Believers") and as their spiritual leader or "Imām" beyond the borders of his own empire, even though he did not always enjoy sound relations with the Sharīfs of Makkah. For example, the famous Ottoman jurist, Shaykh Muḥammad al-Murādī (b.1173H/1759–d.1206H/1791), the Ḥanafī Muftī of Damascus during the reign of the Sulṭān 'Abdal-Ḥamīd I, apart from using that title in reference to 'Ālamgīr I, mentions in his biographical dictionary 'Silk al-Durar Fī A'yān al-Qarn al-Thānī 'Ashr', that: "he has no equal among the Kings of Islām in his age in uprightness of conduct, fear of God, zeal in performance of religious duty" and in holding "the cause of God uppermost". He refers to 'Ālamgīr I as the "Amīr" and the "Imām" of "the Believers", the "Stay and Support of the Muslims and their Order" and the "Warrior in the path of Allāh".[463]

The successors of 'Ālamgīr I, despite growing weaker by the day, had nevertheless also continued to maintain their ancestral attitude towards the Ottomans with the mild exception, as mentioned earlier, of Muḥammad Shāh, who, like his ancestor Humāyūn before him, seems to have felt that, while the Ottoman Sulṭān was entitled to the Caliphal titles within his own expansive dominions that included Islām's "Three Most Holy Shrines", he too was justified in proclaiming a similar status and titles for himself in his own vast empire. It is important to note here what Fārūqī has brought to attention in his brilliant work on Mughal-Ottoman relations, that: "In a 'Fatwā' issued in 1726 (1138/39H), the chief Muftī of the Ottoman empire had declared that, two Imāms could reign simultaneously, provided their territories were supported by some natural line of demarcation, in this case the Indian Ocean for one. Since the Indian Ocean did separate the Mughal and Ottoman territories from each other, as did a number of intervening lands, the 'Fatwā' was presumed to have acknowledged the existence of an independent 'Khilāfat' in India".[464]

A little later on, the continuing fragmentation of authority in the Mughal Empire, despite the attitude of the nominal Mughal sovereigns in their Capital, was not to prevent their vassals from looking up to the Ottoman Sulṭāns as their Caliphs. For example, the ancestor of the Niẓāms of Ḥaidarābād, Mīr Qamaral-dīn (d.1161H/1748), a Turānian from the Amīrate of Samarqand and

Bukhārā, who held the titles of "Niẓāmal-Mulk", "Āṣaf Jāh" and "Fateḥ Jang" ("Regulator of the Realm", the "Equal of Solomon's legendary Minister, Āṣaf" and the Equivalent (or) Guarantee of "Victory in War") from the Mughal court, was certainly one of these, as was his second son and successor to the Viceroyalty of the Dakkan (Southern India), Mīr Aḥmad Panāh, who had received the titles of "Niẓāmal-Daulah", "Nāṣir Jang" ("Regulator of the State" and "Helper" and "Bestower of Victory in War").[465] The former is often wrongly assumed of having been too friendly with the Īrānian Conqueror, Nādir Shāh Āfshār and also of inviting him to invade India, when he had actually advised his Sovereign Muḥammad Shāh to remember the good relations enjoyed by the Mughals with the rulers of Īrān and to send a force under any suitable nobleman of his court to assist in quelling the disturbances there, while offering to undertake this mission himself if he was deemed suitable for the purpose by the Emperor. To this, the chronicler contemporary to these events, Khāfi Khān adds that, despite the many irritations and opposition inspired by jealousy that he had to contend with from the Emperor and the nobles of the Court, Niẓāmal-Mulk had "always remained loyal to the Monarch and never did any out of place act emanate from him. In fact, the truth is that, the declining Taimūrid Sulṭānate was only re-established because of him". He was "undoubtedly a high spirited and mentally alert noble and it may be said without hesitation that, he was the only person, who had been supporting the falling wall of the Mughal Sulṭānate".[466] Nādir Shāh's, invasion of India was to keep him preoccupied for almost some four years from 1151H(1738).

Later on, Niẓāmal-Mulk was also to advise the Ottoman Sulṭān Maḥmūd I upon receiving a message from him, to take advantage of the death of Nādir Shāh and the turmoil in Īrān and to exploit it by leading a force to subjugate that region and to rid it of Shī'ism and re-establish Orthodox Islām, which he felt was possible without great difficulty under the circumstances. He also promised to remain loyal to Muḥammad Shāh as the Sulṭān had advised.[467] It is a not too well known fact that Nādir Shāh, prior to his departure from India had offered him the throne of Hindustān "as the only person fit for it". Niẓāmal-Mulk on the other hand had refused this offer, saying: "I, as a servant, will merit the notoriety of not being true to my salt". Upon hearing this reply, Nādir Shāh is reported to have been "greatly pleased" and to have "honoured" him "with his

praise". In his final Will and Testament dictated on his death bed, he had directed his heirs that, "at no moment" should they ever allow "any diminution" in "service" and "obedience" to the "Shadow of the Praised One" (the Mughal ruler). Otherwise, not only will they be answerable before God, but also deemed deserving targets of condemnation, disgrace and calumny in the sight of the world for ever.[468] With reference to the three decades that the Mughal Emperor Muḥammad Shāh ruled, Khāfī Khān adds that: ".... His whole reign was entirely reliant upon the planning and bravery of Niẓāmal-Mulk Āsaf Jāh and his sons. If they had not been there, then Muḥammad Shāh's condition and fate would have come to be the same as that of the unjustly tyrannised Farrukh Siyar".

Niẓāmal-Mulk's above second son, Mīr Aḥmad (Niẓāmal-Daulah, Nāṣir Jang— d.1164H/December1750), who had succeeded his father to the Viceroyalty of the Dakkan, had also exchanged communications with the Ottoman Sulṭān, exhorting him once to wage war against infidelity and tyranny, while seeking his help for the same purpose.[469] It is interesting to observe that, over two centuries later, a descendant of Niẓāmal-Mulk, Mīr Ḥimāyat 'Alī Khān, Ā'ẓam Jāh was to be tied in a matrimonial alliance with Princess Durreshahvār, the daughter of the last Ottoman Caliph 'Abdal-Majīd II.

On the subject of Nādir Shāh (r. 1148H/1736 till 1160H/1747), who had seized power after the collapse of the Ṣafavid dynasty, it may be argued that he was as famous for his military genius which had earned him from historians the title of the "Asian Napoleon", as for his great cruelty. During 1148H (1735), he had pressurised the Ottomans, then pre-occupied with news of an impending Russian invasion of their territories, to sign a peace treaty on his terms.[470] However, what is of relevance here and deserves particular mention is that, shortly after his accession, Nādir Shāh had addressed his Ottoman contemporary Maḥmūd I an official letter requesting him as "the Caliph"—an act which clearly bore implied recognition of the Sulṭān's religio-political status in Islām as such—to recognise (in lieu) the 'Fiqh' (Jurisprudence) of the Shī'ah Imām, Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, as the fifth 'Madh'hab' (School of Jurisprudence) alongside the four officially recognised Sunnī Schools founded by the Imāms Ibn Ḥanbal, Mālik, Abū Ḥanīfah and al-Shāfi'ī. Other requests were that, he be allowed to appoint an 'Amīr al-Ḥajj' for the Persian Ḥajj Caravan each year, along with some other concessions for these Pilgrims from his dominions. He had also asked in addition, for permission to erect a column ("Rukn") in the name of the above Imām Ja'far inside the Ka'bah. These requests were not unexpectedly rejected by the suspicious Ottomans on the grounds that they constituted "bid'ah" or innovations.[471]

Not to be put off and following his victorious departure from India laden with booty undreamt of, Nādir Shāh had decided this time to send an embassy to Maḥmūd I with rich presents during late 1155H(1742). Addressing him on this occasion with the titles of Caliph of Islām and the "Shadow of God on His earth", he had again placed before him the same early requests alongside a most interesting additional proposal, that, he be allowed an equal say in the administration and maintenance of the Two Holy Cities. This mission also was to meet the same fate as the previous approach and was even to lead to the declaration of war between the two powerful neighbours.[472]

At this stage in time, it is hard to determine what was at the back of Nādir Shāh's mind. He was an ambitious and often treacherous and cruel adventurer, not necessarily recognised for his adherence to his word, or for his sense of religion and strength of faith. It has been suggested that these approaches were merely a ploy by him to attempt to gain time and derive some strategic advantage in his rivalry with the Ottomans, with whom he was to cross swords on a number of occasions during his eleven year reign. Indeed, his advances towards Sunnī Islām and his posturing as a Sunnī, or at least a sympathizer, would definitely have won him acceptance, if not popularity, amongst the Sunnīs in the Ottoman dominions and the world of Islām at large. This certainly happened in the case of his predecessor, the Afghan ruler of Īrān between 1137H(1725) and 1142H(1729), Shāh Ashraf, a Sunnī. It has also been maintained by some that, he did actually want to unite the Muslim world and had his eyes on the office of Caliph for himself.[473]

However, if it is assumed that he was sincere in intent in his approaches, then, due to Maḥmūd I's refusals, the Muslim world on those occasions had lost two unique opportunities for rapprochement between Islām's two major sects, as this division had originally come about primarily as a result of political disagreement. Furthermore, had this materialised, then the colonial advance and

exploitation of several Muslim lands by Western Powers that was shortly to follow, could well have been averted, or at least delayed as Ḥikmat has argued in his 'Essai'.[474]

To get back to the story of Mughal philanthropy and the 'Ḥaramayn', as no better arena to display their magnificence and glory before the Muslim World could ever have been expected to be found by them than the Two Holy Cities during the Ḥajj, hence, after the Mughal conquest of Gujarāt, Akbar had taken to officially appointing a suitable senior member of his court as the "Mīr" (Leader—the term being derived from "Amīr") of the Caravan of Pilgrims leaving from the Indian ports, which then also served as an outlet for Pilgrims from Central Asia and even Khorāsān, as well as from the Mughal territories in their vicinity, such as Afghānistān. The flow of Central Asian and Khorāsānī Pilgrims through Mughal ports was inevitably due to the disturbances in their regions and the mutually antagonistic policies of the two main religio-political players there, the Sunnī Ottomans and the Shī'ah Ṣafavids against each other. In addition to acting as leader, representative and spokesman, the role of the 'Mīr' was to oversee the presentation of the gifts and the disbursement of the charities in accordance with the wishes of the donors—"gold and goods and rich presents"—with the objective of removing "the custom of need from the poor of that honoured Place". "It is our sincere wish that the august inhabitants of the 'Best of Cities', especially those attached to the Holy Place where men and angels tread.... should also have a share of our munificence and largesse" is how Akbar had once written to the Sharīf Abū Numai II.[475] At one stage, he himself had been very keen to perform the Ḥajj, but was dissuaded from setting off on the Pilgrimage by his advisers, who felt his presence in the land to be essential for the peace and tranquility of his realm.[476]

Apart from financing the Ḥajj of the Pilgrims and furnishing vessels for their travel, the splendour of Mughal support and charity in this direction was more or less maintained, though not always, with annual regularity. It was also often increased upon the occurence or celebration of auspicious events in keeping with the person of the ruler and his family and the prosperity and expansion of that empire, at least for some generations and even after the era of 'Ālamgīr I (d.1119H/1707), who however was to change the method of disbursement, as he had found it inadequate for the strict purposes of charity as perceived by him as an Islāmic jurist, as will be seen.

Such contemporary records of the reigns of Akbar and his successors as have come down, clearly reveal that, apart from charity and gifts from individual members of the royal household, "the nobles and servants of the imperial threshold" and merchants, as well as other Indian rulers, the Mughal Emperors often sent and more or less annually, handsome purses for distribution amongst the poor and needy and the scholars, as well as in gift to the Sharīf, his family and satellite clans, along with robes of honour for the dignitaries—(more as gifts in this case rather than with any direct diplomatic goal or purpose)—and dresses by the thousands for the poor as well, for which, court chroniclers, out of regard for their Master's status and prestige, still insist upon using the same term, "Khil'at", meaning "dress" or "robe of honour". As per Islāmic diplomatic practice, vassals of an independent sovereign would often unhesitatingly accept these and other gifts from another independent sovereign friendly to their master, viewing this as an act, inclined to promote mutual relations. For example, according to Abū'l Faḍl, Akbar in 984H(1576) had sent 12,000 "Khil'at", in addition to 600,000 Rupees for distribution along with other gifts, as well as additional funds for the construction of a "Khānqāh" ("Ribāṭ") in Makkah with the Ḥajj Caravan leaving Āgrā.[477]

While it is true that the acceptance of robes of honour, according to the diplomatic traditions and practice of the time would normally have implied the acknowledgement of some form of superiority in political status of the donor by the recipient in comparison to his own, this precept did not strictly apply in the same sense in Makkah and al-Madīnah. In this case, the Sharīfs as their "care-takers" and "servants" and hence, associated in that capacity with this highly significant religious duty of the Ḥajj, obligatory on all those Muslims in a position to undertake it, being in addition the descendants of the Prophet as well through his cousin 'Alī and daughter Fāṭimah, enjoyed due to these two factors, a special and privileged status with Islām's followers of all standing. It may also be recalled here that, while the acceptance of 'Zakāt' by them for personal use as the Prophet's household and of his lineage is viewed as taboo by the 'Sharī'ah', gifts are not. Besides, as physical proximity to the two Ḥarams and the opportunity of their service were and are held by all Muslims as amongst the greatest of boons in this life and worthy of merit and reward in the hereafter, hence, this was another factor that tended to add to the elevation of the spiritual

and therefore the social status of the denizens of the Holy Cities, regardless of lack of material wealth and power, and this of course applied to the Sharīfs as well.

It is indeed true that, Islām calls upon all faithful to "Obey Allāh, His Prophet and those of you who are in authority"—(Qur'ān, Ch4,V59)—by consensus and in the cause of Allāh and in obedience and adherence to the ways revealed by Him through His Prophet. It is equally important nevertheless to realise that, Islām accords none the status of "priests" or "intermediaries" between man and his Lord and decrees all to be equal in the sight of Allāh, granting superiority to no fellow being over another, save through "Taqwā"—(piety and Godliness)—in the pursuit of which, Islāmic teachings exhort believers to make all possible haste. That having been said, the Sharīfs, as the servants of the Two 'Ḥarams', also seldom felt or displayed regret in accepting charity in all its forms and guises, provided it was "Ḥalāl" or "lawful". In their capacity as people in authority, responsible not merely for their own well-being, but that of their subjects as well, they also had a number of practical, worldly considerations to bear in mind constantly, like the otherwise barren and impoverished nature of their land, themselves and their people.

All the great chronicles of the reigns of the various Mughal emperors, official or otherwise, bear testimony to Sharīfian embassies received at the Mughal and other Indian courts over given spells of time and almost annually. For example, the great chronicler of Akbar's reign and one of the "Nine Gems" of his court, who has already been alluded to and quoted, Abū'l Faḍl (pronounced "Fazl" in India) and another great scholar, Badāonī, both refer to Akbar's great enthusiasm in ensuring that, he was playing his new Ḥajj related role inherited from the maritime Sulṭāns of Gujarāt to the hilt. Both also report that, he had made available a fleet of suitable vessels for this purpose, as many as a hundred according to some, which were collectively and appropriately labeled the 'Jahāzān-e-Ilāhī' or the "Ships of God" and would bear the expenses of all Pilgrims embarking on the Ḥajj in an attempt to facilitate their ordeal. It may again be borne in mind here as indicated earlier, that, Muslims are required to perform the Ḥajj as a religious obligation, but only after fulfilling all their important worldly responsibilities, settling their debts and lastly, if monetarily and physically in a position to undertake it.

For example, following the event of the Ḥajj Caravan for the year 984H(1576CE) that has already been referred to, Akbar during 985H(1577) again personally sent a purse of Rupees 100,000 for the Sharīf Abū Numai, his family and other related clans and Rupees 500,000 to 600,000 for distribution amongst the scholars and the needy, along with robes of honour in gift for the ruling family, as well as for the scholars and other dignitaries and in addition, some 10,000 to 12,000 dresses for distribution amongst the poor.[478] The 'Mīr-e-Ḥajj' had already been ordered by Akbar during the earlier year to prepare a comprehensive list of all the poor in the Holy Land and those deemed in need, or worthy of imperial support, and to present to him upon his return. However, the fact that Akbar's lavish support for the needy citizens of the Two Holy Cities was being largely misappropriated by the authorities there could not be kept from his ear for long. Hence thereafter, he was to decide to appoint a suitable permanent representative based there in order to ensure that, the disbursement of the funds and gifts he would send was in accordance with his designs.[479]

Later on, his great-grandson 'Ālamgīr I was to follow him in adopting like measures for these same reasons as hinted earlier. However, towards the latter part of his reign, Akbar's deviation from the Orthodox religion and his quarrel with the Ottomans was to reflect on his interest in the Ḥajj and his benevolence towards the Holy Land.

At one stage, shortly after his conquest of Gujarāt, Akbar had even very seriously considered investing and seizing the Portuguese possessions, particularly Daman and Diu and should have, as he could have done so merely by starving their garrisons out. However, as the Portuguese, realising this, were compliant with him, he had decided against stirring a hornet's nest for himself on the high seas, in case his policy went astray. Some of his correspondence, as with the Uzbek 'Amīr', 'AbdAllāh Khān, bears testimony to this. Later on, Akbar was even found keen, because of his quarrel with the Ottomans, to seek their alliance against the latter, as mentioned earlier.[480]

Meanwhile, 'Abdal-Raḥīm, the son of Bayram Khān, (Akbar's "Atālīq" or Guardian) and a pious and generous patron of art and a man of letters who enjoyed the lofty title of "Khān-e-Khānān" ("Lord of Lords") at his Sovereign's court, had himself set aside three large vessels, the "Raḥīmī", the "Sālārī" and the "Karīmī",

each weighing in the vicinity of 1,500 tons and with a singular capacity to bear as many Pilgrims for the purposes of transportation to Jiddah and then back to Sūrat.[481] This, while an English source stipulates that, Akbar's great-grandson 'Ālamgīr I, also had four great ships assigned for the same objective. The 'Ādāb-é-'Ālamgīrī' (a collection of official correspondence associated with that Emperor and assembled by his Secretary, Abū'l Fateḥ Qābil Khān), even has references to a ship owned by him, while still a Prince.[482]

Jahāngīr, who claimed in his 'Tuzuk' (Memoirs) that, in his observation, he found his father's person the most ideal and worthy of emulation, almost lethargically stuck to the policies of Akbar, as did his court, unless some dire circumstance or capricious whim led him to diverge in course. For example, the 'Iqbāl Nāmeh-é-Jahāngīrī' of Mirzā Muḥammad (better known by his title of Mu'tamad Khān 'Bakhshī' or the 'Paymaster'), an epistle on the fortune and prosperity of that Emperor's reign lasting from 1014H(1605) till 1037H(1627) and referring to a whole range and variety of subjects and events, also mentions the arrival of a Sharīfian embassy during the fourth regnal year of that Monarch and also that, it was sent back with eight thousand Rupees in cash for the envoy's person and a hundred thousand Rupees worth of diverse gifts for the Sharīf, who then happened to be Idrīs ibn Ḥasan (r. 1009H/1601 till 1033H/1624). There is another notice of Jahāngīr ordering during 1031H(1622) the investment of two hundred thousand (200,000) Rupees in the Red Sea trade through Cambay (in Arabic: "Kambāyah") and for the proceeds to be distributed amongst the needy of the Holy Land.[483]

However, it is generally believed that, as his father Akbar had become disinterested in the affairs of the annual Ḥajj Caravan from India towards the latter period of his reign following his differences with the Ottomans over the disbursement of his charity there, Jahāngīr also did not take any major or inordinate steps on his part, that would reveal great enthusiasm or interest in equipping the annual Ḥajj Caravan.

These differences between the two dynasties had actually started with the occasion when female members of his (Akbar's) family had performed the Ḥajj. The initial and prime causes of this rupture then allegedly were the overstay of the royal ladies and the Indian Pilgrims in general after the Ḥajj season, this being more or less a regular complaint against the latter, year after year. Much was also

made of the ladies' involvement on this occasion in some practices deemed "untenable" in the light of the 'Sharī'ah'. The distribution of charity in the 'Ḥaram' by them, an act by which they had hoped to acquire greater merit as opposed to doing the same outside its precincts, was also presented as a major issue. Both of these above matters, already referred to in some detail, had been raised during Akbar's reign. However, despite this ruling, it has been observed that, during the reigns of some Ottoman Sulṭāns like Muṣṭafā II (r.1106H/1695 till 1115H/1703) and his successors, the precincts of the 'Ḥaram' were used by the authorities for the distribution of sweets and dresses and the bestowal of robes of honour and particularly on seventeenth Ramaḍān.

After Jahāngīr, his son Shāh Jahān, grandson 'Ālamgīr I and their other descendants were however to revive official interest in the annual Ḥajj caravan from India in an impressive manner.

Shihābal-dīn Muḥammad Shāh Jahān Pādishāh-é-Ghāzī, who had succeeded his father during 1037H(1628) and is remembered in Mughal history for the great munificence of his reign, was also the most generous and imaginative of donors of gifts to the two Holy Sanctuaries of Makkah and al-Madīnah. For example, upon his accession, he had vowed to send half a million Rupees that year for the needy of the Holy Land, which he did via Mīrzā Ibrāhīm Ṣafdar Khānī. A fifth of this gift was in the guise of goods, saleable in the local market at double their original price. There are many other subsequent notices in the contemporary chronicles of benevolent donations throughout his reign.[484] One of these chroniclers, the Mullā Ṣāleḥ Kanbūh, actually mentions that, from the date of his accession till the end of 1061H(1651) and in addition to other gifts, Shāh Jahān had sent to the Holy Cities goods worth a million rupees. These were sold at double and at times treble the price and the proceeds distributed.[485]

A regular visitor to the Mughal court during this period was the ambassador of Shāh Jahān's Sharīfian contemporary, Zayd ibn Muḥsin (r.1041H/1631 till 1077H/1666). He was none other than the already met with Ḥaḍramī, 'Abdal-Ṣamad al-'Amūdī, who had first presented himself there during 1052H(1643).[486]

For example, during his eighteenth regnal year—1054H(1645)—and in addition to the usual financial gifts, Shāh Jahān, according to the same Chronicle, had dispatched for the Prophet's Mosque a candelabra of gold studded with precious stones

worth two hundred thousand Rupees. The 'Shāh Jahān Nāmeh' (alias "Amal-e-Ṣāleḥ') also reports amidst the events two years later of the return of an Imperial emissary to court, after having distributed three hundred thousand Rupees. Another of his most beautiful gifts during 1058H(1648) for that Sanctuary was a gem-studded gold lamp weighing over seven kilograms, ornately worked with delicate foliate designs in enamel, that had cost 350,000 Rupees to make and in it had been set a most rare Golkundah diamond weighing over a hundred "Ratī" or Carats—(the "Ratī" being an Indian unit of weight of almost a carat, with 106 "Ratī" equaling 100 Carats). Valued by itself at two hundred and fifty thousand Rupees, the gem was said to compare in its lustre with "the glow" and "radiance" of "the sun" and "the moon" and was aptly named "Gul-é-Muḥammadī" ("the Flower of Muḥammad") by that aesthetically sensitive Monarch. This lamp could not be presented during the same year 1058H(1648) as intended but a little later, as the ship bearing it was to meet with a mishap, which was luckily close to the Indian coast. It may be added that, the builder of edifices like the Tāj Maḥal and the Bādshāhī Mosque and the conceptualiser of such unique works of art and beauty like the "Takht-e-Ṭā'ūs" ("the Peacock Throne"), could always be relied upon to think of something rare and unique to present to the Two Holy Sanctuaries in a display of his great perpetual esteem. Hence, it is again hardly surprising, when amongst the events of 1064H(1654), Kanbūh reports of the dispatch from the Mughal court of a rare carpet "on which there was a depiction of the Prophet's Mosque and niches and had been manufactured in the (Imperial) Workshop in Multān". This special offering was of course alongside the regular financial gifts and goods for sale whose proceeds were ear-marked for distribution that year. A third on this occasion had been intended for the Sharīf and the remainder for equal division between the poor of Makkah and al-Madīnah. There are later notices of other generous financial gifts also to the Two Holy Cities by this munificent monarch without peer.[487]

It would suffice here to say that, after a majestic reign lasting from 1037H(1628) till 1068H(1658), he was placed under house arrest due to political intrigue by his third son and ultimate successor, Muḥīal-dīn Muḥammad 'Ālamgīr I (Aurangzayb). The latter, a keen, religiously inclined 'Sunnī', was anxious to acquire for his regime the status of legitimacy and approval from this important

international religious quarter as well, not that he could not function without it or needed it, being a strong and highly capable ruler. Hence, according to the chronicles of his reign, he was on this occasion to send, for example, diverse handsome gifts and valuable goods, along with a purse of 630,000 Rupees for distribution during the Ḥajj season of 1070H(1660). However, the Sharīf and the learned denizens of the Holy Cities, recalling the great generosity of Shāh Jahān, had decided initially to display their loyalty to the father, by refusing to acknowledge the son, or to accept his gifts as coming from a "usurper".[488] Nevertheless, they were soon enough to realise the error of their ways and when 'Ālamgīr I sent gifts worth some 660,000 Rupees during his fourth regnal year (1072H/1662), they gladly accepted and an embassy with presents was sent forthwith to thank him for his generosity.[489] After the death of the Sharīf Zayd in 1077H(1666), 'Ālamgīr I's relations continued to be cordial with his son Sa'd ibn Zayd, who reigned till 1082H(1671) and then the latter's successor Barakāt ibn Muḥammad (r.1082H/1671 till 1093H/1682) and Sharīfian envoys continued to arrive at the Mughal court at regular intervals.[490]

By about 1105H(1694) however, 'Ālamgīr I, renowned in Indian history for his adherence to strict Sunnī orthodoxy, as well as for his tenacity and vigilance, found his warmth towards the Sharīfian court cooling, especially after his spies, sent to report on how his charity and gifts were being utilised, kept on expressing their dissatisfaction with what they regarded as misappropriations on the part of the Sharīf and his entourage. For example, when the Sharīf Aḥmad ibn Zayd's emissary 'Alī Āghā al-Turkmānī returned from India during 1101H(1690) accompanied by two ships laden with gifts, as Aḥmad had passed away by this time, his son 'Abdal-Muḥsin decided to lay claim to them, even though he was not then the ruler. His justification for this was that, these had arrived in response to gifts sent by his father; while the latter's above emissary was to add to the confusion by maintaining that, these had been sent for the "Ruler of Makkah", whoever it may happen to be. This dispute was to exacerbate the feuding amongst the Sharīfs for several months to come and Ālamgīr I, as expected, was undoubtedly to hear of it. Thenceforth, it was to become his policy to receive the Sharīfian embassies with great diplomatic courtesy, though by no means always promptly, but then to circumvent the Sharīf in the distribution of his charity in the Holy Land by relying on his own agents,

secretly sent with smaller sums to avoid detection. This was of course in order to ensure that, the assistance did reach the scholars, the mendicants and the poor, in brief, all those for whom it was intended.[491] The author of the 'Ma'āthir-é-'Ālamgīrī' (literally 'Vestiges of 'Ālamgīr'), Sāqī Musta'id Khān mentions in his work that: "he used to send large amounts of money, for some years annually and at other times once in every two or three years to the pious men living in retreat in those Holy Cities, and a large number of them.... were permanently engaged by him on daily stipends to perform the 'Ṭawāf' on his behalf, offer his salutations to the Prophet (in al-Madīnah) and read from the Qur'āns copied and gifted by him....". He had also appointed a special officer to take care of the endowments for the Two Holy Sanctuaries as mentioned earlier. Musta'id Khān also states with reference to the grandeur of 'Ālamgīr I's charities, endowments and support for the scholars and the needy that, "not even a tenth of a tenth of it (such generosity) had been witnessed during any previous government, ever".[492]

Charity and gifts for distribution were also sent by the Mughal royalty and nobility for distribution in the Holy Cities on occasions of joy or in fulfilment of vows, such as upon recovery from an ailment, or the realisation of a cherished dream. For example, when 'Ālamgīr I's third son Muḥammad A'ẓam found cure from a dangerous disease, his grateful father is reported to have sent 1,20,000 Rupees for distribution. 'Ālamgīr I's father had done the same during the year 1054H (1645) upon the recovery of his beloved daughter, Jahān Ārā, sending a gem studded gold lantern for the Prophet's tomb, along with a gift of goods worth fifty thousand Rupees for the Sharīf, Zayd ibn Muḥsin (d.1077H/1666). These goods would often be of a variety that doubled or tripled in value upon arrival and sale there, particularly during the Ḥajj season, when Makkah would be transferred into a great international mart. An additional 100,000 Rupees were also sent on that occasion to be distributed equally amongst the poor of Makkah and al-Madīnah.[493]

These noble traditions were followed by the later Mughals as well, despite the rapid decrease and erosion of their power and means. 'Ālamgīr I's second son and ultimate successor Muḥammad Mu'aẓẓam, alias "Shāh 'Ālam I, Bahādur Shāh" (r.1119H/1707 till 1124H/1712) had proved as generous a donor as the best inclined of his ancestors, sending during 1121H(1709) a handsome purse of 500,000 Rupees, while sanctioning an annuity of 100,000 Rupees

for the Sharīf's person, the ruler in Makkah then being 'Abdal-Karīm ibn Muḥammad.[494] Like his erudite and accomplished father, Bahādur Shāh was also a "Ḥāfiz", an expert in "Tajwīd" (the science of correct Qur'ānic recitation), "Tafsīr" (Qur'ānic Exegesis), as well as in the knowledge of "Ḥadīth" (the Prophet's Orations), "Fiqh" (Jurisprudence) and "Sulūk" (Ethics). He was also recognised in his day as a unique master of several styles of calligraphy and equal to the best of native scholars in proficiency in Arabic, Persian and Turkish.[495] Khāfi Khān narrates that, according to some computations, he had inherited upon his accession around a hundred and thirty million Rupees. These he managed to spend in gifts, grants, pensions and other expenses during the first four years of his short reign, until the Court was reduced to borrowing in order to maintain the inordinately high level of expenditure; for despite his many gifts, Shāh 'Ālam I was a poor and careless administrator and could or would never refuse a request.[496]

Nevertheless, his immediate successors, Farrukh Siyar (d.1131H/1719) and Muḥammad Shāh (d.1161H/1748), had continued to pay the person of the ruling Sharīf the annuity fixed by him. In fact, Farrukh Siyar, shortly after his accession, had also sent during 1129H(1717) in emulation of a number of his benevolent predecessors, a purse of 500,000 Rupees for distribution amongst the needy of the Two Holy Cities.[497]

In Makkah, the Sharīf 'AbdAllāh ibn Sa'īd who had ruled for a brief while between 1128H(1716) and 1129H(1717) after succeeding his father Sa'īd ibn Sa'd, had been followed by Yaḥyā ibn Barakāt for a couple of years, only for 'AbdAllāh ibn Sa'īd to be reinstated again. On this occasion, the latter was to rule for another seven years till 1142H(1730). Meanwhile, Yaḥyā also was to make another brief reappearance for a year as Sharīf during 1133H(1721). It may be recalled that, Sa'īd ibn Sa'd is noted for holding the office of Grand Sharīf on no less than five occasions.

As during former times, Muslim royal ladies were also to continue to play a major part in all philanthropic activities associated with the Holy Cities during the period under consideration here also. Apart from Gulbadan Bānö, there were others like Nūr Jahān (the consort of Jahāngīr), Mumtāz Maḥal (Shāh Jahān's Consort and Queen) and their daughters Jahān Ārā and Raushan Ārā, and 'Ālamgīr I's wives and daughters, particularly the eldest, Zayb-al-Nisā' (often written and pronounced correctly as Zaybunnissā—

b.1048H/1639 and d.1113H/1701), to whose generous patronage is owed the rare illustrated account in Persian of the Indian experience of the Pilgrimage, under the title of "Anīs al-Ḥajj" or "Anīs al-Ḥujjāj" by Ṣafial-dīn Qazwīnī.

These royal ladies were often personages of great refinement, culture and literary merit. Gulbadan Bānö, for example, was to leave behind a set of voluminous memoirs, known after her brother's memory as the 'Humāyūn Nāmeh', which has already been referred to, while amidst Zaybunnissā's literary heritage under her the 'nôm de plume' of "Makhfī" ("Hidden") is a 'Dīwān' or collection of beautiful and moving verses in Persian, many of them spiritual. A couplet of hers that I can readily recall, translates approximately as:

"I am hidden in my poems like perfume in a rose,
Whoever wants to see me, may catch a glimpse
through my verses".

According to the 'Ma'āthir-e-'Ālamgīrī' of Musta'id Khān, her father had gifted her 30,000 (gold) Ashrafis when she had finished memorising the Qur'ān and not only was she well acquainted with Persian and Arabic literature and religious sciences, but had also acquired "proficiency to the level of perfection".... "in all the (calligraphic) styles", particularly "Naskh", "Nasta'līq" and "Shikasteh". She also was a great collector of books and had a fine library and was remembered in her day as a generous patron and sponsor of scholars, individuals of piety and merit and calligraphers.[498]

Amongst the other royal ladies of that era to have been involved in a major way in philanthropic activity in the Holy Cities, were the Queen Mothers of the Sulṭānates of Bījāpūr and Golkundah in the Dakkan. The mother of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh (r.1070H/1660 till 1083H/1672), the "Barī Ṣāḥibah" (literally "Senior Lady") and that of 'AbdAllāh Quṭub Shāh (r.1020H/ 1611 till 1083H/1672), Ḥayāt Bakshī Beygam (often written "Begum"– b.1003H/1595–d.1080H/1669), were both highly-spirited, wise and enterprising ladies.[499]

For example, according to my late tutor, Professor R.B. Serjeant, the former had performed the Ḥajj four times, after travelling to the Red Sea during 1072H(1661) in a small Dutch vessel for reasons of safety. She also happened to own at the time at least one large vessel capable of carrying fifteen hundred Pilgrims. Besides, so ample was her generosity, that the goods she would send as gifts and for sale, in order that the proceeds of the transactions may be

distributed as charity, once even needed to be carried into town by a detour, as the packages or bales could not pass through the (Jiddah) harbour's entrance due to their size.[500]

Meanwhile, the boon of popularising rice in the Ḥejāz is owed in no mean measure to Ḥayāt Bakshī Beygam and some of her son's (the Sulṭān 'AbdAllāh's) predecessors, like her father and her husband, both also Sulṭāns of Golkundah. She would annually send at least one large vessel loaded with no less than 500 tons of rice, a staple produce and diet of her dominions, for distribution in charity in the two Holy Cities, along with other valuable gifts and this continuously for several years, nay decades, as European and Indian (Persian) records bear out.[501]

There was also a strong undercurrent of political rivalry amongst the various great Muslim dynasties of the era, with the Ḥajj as the major season, the Holy Cities as the arena and charity, the weapon for political and philanthropic competition. As may be imagined, the Ḥajj as a regular and highly important annual event on the Islāmic calendar, with the congregation of Muslims from all over the world in Makkah and al-Madīnah during the Pilgrimage season and for much longer, seldom failed to provide a most effective opportunity and means for the propagation of any message to be conveyed to the near and the distant regions of the Globe.

Of the three contenders for the supreme position in the world of Islām and its affairs, the Ottoman, the Ṣafavid and the Mughal empires, it is usually the norm to acknowledge the Ṣafavids as rivals to the Ottomans because of the 'Shī'ah' versus 'Sunnī' sectarian factor and to overlook the Mughals despite their splendour and affluence. One of the reasons for this was their empire's distance from the major holy cities of these two major sects of Islām. Another factor was the custodianship of their faith's holy cities by their great 'Sunnī' rivals, the Ottomans, with whom they shared their sect. However, the Mughals, because of their great wealth and the size of their domains, saw both their neighbours at best as equals and certainly in no way their superiors. Painfully lengthy official correspondence between the Ottoman and Mughal Chanceries exists regarding this issue, at least from the reign of Akbar onwards and particularly during the reign of Shāh Jahān, with the Mughals grudgingly conceding advantage to the Ottomans, if any, only on the point of the location of the three holiest cities of Islām (Makkah, al-Madīnah and Jerusalem) in their domains.[502] To these, the Shī'ite

shrines of Najaf, Karbalā and Mash'had were also to be added later on a permanent basis by that last named Mughal Emperor's Ottoman contemporary, Murād IV, in 1049H(1639), as shall be seen. Hence, after all due comparisons covering wealth, population and the areas of their realms and the vassal kings and princes under their control and suzerainty are taken into consideration, the Mughals, even if statistically superior to their rivals in some of the above aspects, however could not, as Muslim rulers, match this one Ottoman claim, that is the custodianship of all of Islām's holy cities.

In this regard, the most interesting exchanges were between the Mughal Wazīr Islām Khān and his Ottoman counterpart Muṣṭafā Pāshā, and then Sa'dAllāh Khān (Shāh Jahānī) and his counterpart in Istānbul. Abū'l Su'ūd Effendī, the Grand Muftī of the Empire had eloquently formulated a dynastic ideology for the Ottomans, while Luṭfī Pāshā, a former slave of Albanian origin of Sulṭān Salim I and a Grand Wazīr during Sulaymān I's reign, had also composed a treatise on Ottoman claims to the office of 'Caliph' and 'Imām' by emphasising that, the terms required for such a claim, were met within the Ottoman Sulṭān's person and role, who was without a peer in the maintenance of the 'Sharī'ah' and the defence of Islām, treating dismissively the requirement insisted upon by some, that, he also ought to be of the line of the Prophet to be labelled the 'Imām', as sought by the 'Shī'ah'. The well known modern Turkish historian Professor Inalcik in his work, 'The Ottoman Empire', also maintains that, the Ottoman Sulṭān's supremacy in the world of Islām sought its inspiration from and was emphasised by the title of "Khādim al-Ḥaramayn al-Sharīfayn" ("Servitor and Protector or Custodian of the Two Holy Sanctuaries") rather than by that of Caliph.[503]

In matters of charity, the Ottoman princesses and their Ṣafavid counterparts were hardly behind their Mughal sisters, if at all and there was even a competitive element involved, in this from time to time. Whether intentionally or otherwise, these royal ladies also played a significant diplomatic role in promoting the interests and the reputation of the dynasty they represented, as observed in the case of the Mughal Emperor Akbar's Aunt, Wife and other relations during their Ḥajj, primarily because as women, they were not expected to. In this, they enjoyed the advantage of some freedom of action, as it was deemed against Islāmic religious and cultural ethics and etiquette to interfere in any manner with women officially entrusted to one's care and protection, as these Mughal ladies were to the Ottoman authorities in the Ḥejāz.

Hence, despite the obvious irritation they were causing to the Ottoman authorities by the length of their stay and the favourable propaganda for the grandeur and munificence of the Mughals that their generosity was spreading, the former found themselves extremely hard put to take any open action against these women folk entrusted to their protection, especially as their deeds, along with any reaction to them, or official measures adopted against them, were being scrutinised by a large international (Muslim) audience. In the end, it was to take religious edicts against the bawdy display of wealth and charity and its disbursal in the vicinity of the Holy Sanctuary in Makkah and several directives from the Sulṭān to his authorities in the Ḥejāz, the Sharīf and even the Governor of Egypt, before the Mughal royal entourage could be encouraged to return home earlier than they had planned, which they did during 988H(1580).[504]

However, to accept all this without question would be to ignore the importance Islām accords to women and likewise the significant roles played by them in the various walks of life and in supporting and influencing statecraft, right from the Prophet's era. Besides, since Arabian and say, Turkish societies were pastoral or semi-nomadic, where women were expected in the social, economic and even the political or diplomatic life of the community to make a contribution and since this tradition was passed on from generation to generation, albeit in a continuously evolving form, it should not be deemed out of order to discover Arab, Mughal or Ottoman princesses, playing important political, diplomatic or philanthropic roles, either openly or from behind the scenes in accordance with the circumstances.

In Islāmic political theory and practice, the legitimacy of the policies and political claims of a ruler are buttressed or strengthened by that individual's efforts, deeds and successes in the service and well-being of the faith and the 'Ummah'. Hence, the Ottoman Sulṭāns sought at all times to add to their claim of being the most qualified to lead the Muslim 'Ummah', by ensuring that, all their policies and actions were presented and the motives underlying them interpreted in a manner, readable in the best of Islāmic light. It also goes without saying that, all contributions towards this goal by the various members of the family, male and female, were usually highly

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welcomed, and the question of political rivalry was not normally allowed to interfere too seriously in such instances. It was seen earlier how the Mamlūk rulers—(the term literally means "owned" or "slave")—had legitimised their claims to sovereignty and the Ottomans were no novices in this regard.

Amongst the great benefactresses of the early Ottoman era as already referred to were Khurram (Hurrem) Sulṭān (d.966H/1558), the favourite "Khāṣkī" of the great Sulṭān Sulaymān I, his sister, Fāṭimah Khānum (Hanum) Sulṭān and his daughter Mihrimāh Sulṭān ("Mehr-o-māh" means "Sun and Moon"—d.986H/1578). For example, the two soup kitchens founded by Sulaymān I in the Two Holy Cities and mentioned earlier, were in memory of Khurram Sulṭān, and the term "Khāṣkī al-Sulṭān" used in their regard, was actually in reference to her. It may be observed that, out of respect, the names of the women-folk are not commonly taken in Islāmic society in order to avoid any display of familiarity.

From the ranks of the Ṣafavids, the visit to the Ḥejāz during this era of Sulṭānom, (d.1002H/ 1594)—a wife of Shāh Ṭāhmāsp I (r.930H/1524 till 984H/1576) and the mother of the future Ismā'īl II (d.985H/1578), is memorable for her charitable deeds, though the authorities politely fought her efforts to establish soup kitchens and other charitable endowments in either of the Two Holy Cities.[505] This was because relations between the two States were almost hostile, even though the Peace of Amasya had been signed in 962H(1555) and Ṭāhmāsp I had gone in 962H(1555) to the extent of betraying his faith and trust by executing the four rebel sons of Sulaymān I after initially welcoming them. This of course was in order to please the latter and his successor, another son, the future Salīm II, and to derive some political, territorial and monetary advantages as already alluded to.

In short, the princes and princesses of the Ottoman and other royal houses continued to present valuable moveable gifts also of a variety of sorts to the Two Holy Mosques and Cities such as rare illuminated and decorated Qur'āns and other relevant manuscripts and books, candelabras, caskets, incense burners, perfume (rose water) sprinklers, carpets, canopies, palls and large pendants, all of the choicest manufacture and the most precious metals, cloth and gems. This was for the purposes of both, utility and adornment, in addition to being acts of expression of faith.

For example, what the Sulṭān Sulaymān I's above daughter Mehromāh Sulṭān did to bring sufficient quantities of water to Makkah via a project that involved over ten years of hard labour and the well nigh impossible task of cutting the water's course almost entirely through hard granite and other rock, inch by inch, and which, even before its completion in 979H(1572), had cost over 500,000 gold pieces, stands favourable comparison with a like project referred to earlier and implemented by the good Queen Zubaydah, the cousin and consort of the 'Abbāsid Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd. According to the oft quoted chronicler, Quṭubal-dīn al-Nahrawānī, the Project constantly required a hundred camel loads of wood to be burnt, just in order to make the stone malleable to the extent of a mere "two carats out of twenty-four carats of a cubit", for iron implements to be effective, until the Project was completed.[506]

It has already been mentioned that, a number of historians, particularly Western ones specialising on the Ottoman Empire, tend for some peculiar reason, to date what they term as the "Beginnings of the Sultanate of Women" from as early as the latter years of the reign of Sulaymān I, whom they also reularly label as "the Magnificent". They nevertheless then proceed to date this trend from the strangulation upon his orders of the Grand Wazīr Ibrāhīm Pāshā during Ramaḍān 942H(March 1536), which of course had taken place after the death of his protector and support, Sulaymān I's mother, Ḥafṣah Khātūn (Hatun) Sulṭān, two years earlier. Others more accurately determine the beginning of this trend of increase in the involvement and influence of the Seraglio in the affairs of state from the reign of his son and successor, Salīm II (r.974H/1566 till 982H/1574).[507]

Accepting this contention and date as a sort of landmark for no more than the purposes of citing some names of ladies of influence at the Ottoman court who had a bearing on state affairs, including internal administration and foreign policy, which definitely had a direct or indirect bearing on the Ḥajj, its routes overland and across the high seas, as well as the State's finances, it is possible to mention here in this regard many other names of similar calibre as of those already cited, such as, or starting with Khadījah (Hatice) Sulṭān, the sister of Sulaymān I and the wife of the Grand Wazīr Ibrāhīm Pāshā, who has already been met with.

Amongst Sulaymān I's wives, in addition to the formerly mentioned Khurram Sulṭān, there was Gulbahār Sulṭān and Salīm II's wife Nūr Bānö Sulṭān (the mother of Murād III), his sister Eṣma Hān Sulṭān (the wife of the Grand Wazīr Sokullu Muḥammad) and another wife, the pro-Venetian Ṣafiyyah (Ṣafiye) Sulṭān. Some of these have been referred to earlier.

Then, there was Hindān, the mother of the pious Sulṭān Aḥmad I, whom he had lost early in his reign, while still in his teens. Amongst his wives were Māhfīrūz Sulṭān (the mother of 'Uthmān or Osman II), and her rival, the somewhat scheming Kosem (the mother of the Sulṭāns Murād IV and Ibrāhīm, whose charitable works nevertheless included such activities as the provision of water 'en route' to Pilgrims making their way to the Holy Cities. It is said that for this purpose, she regularly utilised some thirty camels, with a dozen drivers and carriers. Shirts, woollen cloaks, shoes and turban material also were distributed amongst the needy in Makkah and al-Madīnah by her and others. In addition, the lunar months of Rajab, Sha'bān and Ramaḍān were also selected in particular by these ladies for many other acts of charity, like paying dowries for orphaned girls, buying the release of those in prison due to debt etc, but with the exception of murderers, and providing stipends to needy scholars and holy men, in her specific case, some two hundred Saiyyids.[508]

Kosem's daughter-in-law Turkan Sulṭān, a favourite of Ibrāhīm, had also gone on like her, to employ around sixty-five camels for water distribution. Besides, she was also to engage a hundred and thirty reciters of the Qur'ān in each of the two 'Ḥarams' in order to recite the Holy Book and to teach others. This was undoubtedly on the basis of one of the Prophet's 'Traditions' that, amongst the best of his 'Ummah' (Community) are those who learn and recite the Qur'ān and teach it others. Peçevi in his 'Tārīkh' also refers to the two "rich" complexes he saw, serving the poor in the Holy Cities daily with "food and drink".[509]

Sulṭān Aḥmad I, though he passed away young in 1026H(1617), was well tutored and carefully brought up. A religious ruler and a good scholar and poet, who used the 'nôm de plume' "Bakhtī" ("Bahti"—meaning "Fortunate"), he devoted most of his wealth and time in surrounding himself with men of piety, scholarship and knowledge and in supporting them alongside institutions of learning and public welfare. A great number of schools, colleges, hospitals and mosques within the Capital and throughout his empire owe their origins and support to him and his endowments and he could hardly be said to have ignored the Two Holy Cities. It is to him that the Islāmic world owes that architectural marvel—the great Sulṭān Aḥmad Mosque and that complex of schools, colleges, libraries, hospices and hospitals, that once stood in all their utilitarian glory in its vicinity.[510]

Throughout his reign, he strove to ensure the strict enforcement of the 'Sharī'ah', including the attendance in mosques for the Obligatory Prayers, the payment of the 'Zakāt' and its correct distribution as prescribed and the Islāmic prohibition concerning intoxicants. This was done with the aid of bureaus or inspectorates established for this purpose. It may also be recalled that, it was he who had attempted to put a final end to that barbarian and zealously observed Ottoman tradition of rulers almost ritually killing their brothers and other rivals upon accession to the throne.[511] Despite his wife Kosem Sulṭān's scheming nature, Aḥmad I also effectively reduced the influence of women in affairs of state very considerably, setting a positive example in every regard for his successors to emulate and build upon.[512]

The pious ruler and keen builder that he was, Sulṭān Aḥmad I had also very seriously considered rebuilding the Ka'bah in the grandest conceivable manner, as referred to briefly earlier, utilising, according to the great historian and biographer al-Muḥibbī, stone alternatively embellished with gold and silver for the purpose; for by then, its structure was in a very poor and dilapidated condition as a result of the passage of time and the work of the elements, including the flash-floods that had affected it over the course of the years. With this objective in mind and as was common practice with the Ottoman Sulṭāns prior to undertaking any major decision, he consulted the "Ulamā", headed at this time by the Muftī, Muḥammad Sa'dal-dīn, before finally embarking on the implementation of his resolve. However, their opinion, on this occasion, was ultimately to stand in favour of leaving the original structure alone until it came down of its own accord as a Divine act. Sulṭān Aḥmad I, like his predecessors before him, held this body in too great an esteem to go against their advice. Nevertheless, since they were not averse to the structure being supported or strengthened, hence, amidst the repairs undertaken in the Makkan 'Ḥaram' during his era, while leaving the Ka'bah's walls untouched, he had the edifice

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encircled by a strong girdle of copper, (silver according to some sources), covered with pure gold, to contain the Structure's pressure and hold it together. The value of the gold used on this occasion was in the region of 80,000 gold pieces. Several other improvements and embellishments inside the 'Ḥaram' and elsewhere in the City and beyond, such as at Minā, were also carried out during his reign.[513]

To the Prophet's Mosque in al-Madīnah, Aḥmad I during 1024H(1615) was to present, amongst a variety of gifts, two large diamonds worth some eighty thousand Dīnārs. These were placed on a displayable silver holder chased with gold and installed on a red marble piece on the wall of the Enclosure surrounding the Prophet's 'Ḥujrah' (Room) and on the side of the façade which the visitors face when offering their 'Salām' (salutation). Other gifts to this Enclosure included silver windows worked on with gold and also a little later, a large silver panel dated 1026H(1617), with nine lines of Qur'ānic Verses and invocations in beautiful calligraphy, that was appended onto the Southern side, or the 'Qiblah' facing portion of the Enclosure. The Dome of the Rock in al-Quds (Jerusalem) was also a beneficiary of his gifts. This included silver embellished with gold to cover the imprint of the Prophet's foot on the rock there.[514]

Upon his demise, Sulṭān Aḥmad I was succeeded by his brother Muṣṭafā I with the backing of Kosem Sulṭān, but had to be deposed after three months to make way for Aḥmad I's son from Māhfirūz Sulṭān, 'Uthmān II (Osman), who then went on to rule for four years, till 1031H(1622). 'Uthmān II was erudite and well versed in Latin, Greek and Italian also in addition to Turkish, Arabic and Persian. He is often described as a conscientious and determined reformer and al-Muḥibbī for example, has high words of praise for several of his qualities and gifts. In actual fact however, he had failed to realise the serious nature of the goals he had set for himself in view of the level of opposition he was inevitably to face from deep-rooted vested interests such as the Janissaries, who desired to see no changes whatsoever in the system of government and particularly those that affected their priveleged status in any negative manner. Consequently, he lost his throne and his life in the process for the best of intentions and in a most humiliating manner, which was also to set a dangerous precedent.[515]

This incident was to pave the way for the restoration of Muṣṭafā I, but for a year only, while real power rested with Kosem Sulṭān. In her defence, it is said that, at least in part, she was playing these dubious roles in order to protect her sons from execution by rivals, for 'Uthmān II had revived the gorey tradition of fratricide by having his brother Muḥammad (Mehmet) cold-bloodedly executed in his own presence by suffocation during Ṣafar 1030H(January 1621).[516]

Nevertheless, it was left to her son, Murād IV, to rejuvenate the empire of his great forebears and create order out of political, administrative and financial chaos and anarchy, while operating in the shadow of his mother's interests and her interference in affairs of state. She had aimed to influence these by having a Wazīr of her choice appointed during 1033H(1624) in the person of her former slave, Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmad Pāshā (d.1041H/1632) and had also got him married to a step-daughter of hers, the Princess 'Ā'ishāh (Ayāe) Sulṭān. Al-Muḥibbī states that, he was well acquainted with Arabic and Persian, as well as literary sciences and prosody. It was this Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmad Pāshā who had subdued the famous Ibāẓah Muḥammad Pāshā by defeating him at Kayseri and then laying siege to Erzerum. After his appointment, he had also besieged Baghdād that year in an attempt to wrest it back from the Ṣafavids, but unsuccessfully, which was to lead to his dismissal, the year being 1034H (1624). Earlier on during 1018H(1609/10), he had also been appointed over Damascus and served ably there.[517]

Murād IV's reign was to witness a number of major crises, in which, after some early embarrassment, he had managed, because of his mettle, to emerge with his head raised aloft. Many of these crises were to affect the Arab part of his domains and hence ought not to be passed without some reference.

While the bickering was going on at court in Istānbul between Kosem's party and her son the Sulṭān's, as well as his Wazīr's and more importantly, the "Yeni Çeri" (Janissaries—"al-Inkishārīyyah" in Arabic) and the "Āghās" of the "Sipāhīs", the Ṣafavid, Shāh 'Abbās I (r.985H/1578 till 1038H/1629), sensing opportunity, had decided to take advantage of this mayhem. The accession of a minor to the throne and more importantly, the great Jalālī (Çelali) revolt in Anatolia that had disrupted the Ottoman lines of communication with their eastern possessions for some time, were to encourage him further to act as he did on this occasion and a contest between local factions over claims to authority in Baghdād, was also to add

to the attraction of the chances for him to act in the interests of his ambitions. He was to do so during Rabī‘ al-Awwal 1033H(January 1624) by pretending to support one of them. This was soon followed up by the occupation of the rest of al-‘Irāq, save al-Moṣul and al-Baṣrah.[518]

In a typical gesture of the savagery of the times, Shāh ‘Abbās I had put to the sword in Baghdād all the ‘Sunnī’ inhabitants his soldiers could find, and had even boiled in oil the adherents of the very party of ‘Yeni Çeri’, whose invitation he had used as a ‘causus belli’ for this interference. His excuse for this treatment was that, if they could betray their own Master, they could just as easily betray him. He had also desecrated the tombs of the Imām Abū Ḥanīfah (d.150H/767), the founder of the Ḥanafī Orthodox (‘Sunnī’) School of Jurisprudence, and the great Saint of Baghdād, al-Shaykh ‘Abdal-Qādir al-Jīlānī (d.562H/1166) and gone on to use the ‘Takīyyah’ (‘Ribāṭ’ or Hospice) of the latter as a stable for horses and camels.[519]

After restoring some semblance of order in Anatolia under the new Grand Wazīr, Muḥammad (Cerkes Mehmet) Pāshā, the Ottomans made an effort to regain Baghdād the following year, defeating a Ṣafavid army and laying siege to that City. However, Shāh ‘Abbās I, at the head of a relief force, was to succeed in compelling them in Jamād al-Thānī 1035H(March 1626) to raise it and retire.[520] A second attempt by the Grand Wazīr Khusrö (Husrev) Pāshā, launched with the aid of some Kurdish princes during the reign of the new Ṣafavid ruler, Shāh Ṣafī I (r.1038H/1629 till 1052H/1642), also met with failure due to shortages of supplies and the siege had to be raised after some five weeks, during Rabī‘ al-Thānī 1040H(November 1630).[521]

The repeated revolts against Ottoman authority in Anatolia, led by their own Governor of Erzerum, the able and already referred to Ibāẓah Muḥammad (Mehmet) Pāshā, as well as and the upsurge of Ṣafavid military activity and its successes against Ottoman arms, were to serve to encourage further anti-State movements elsewhere in the Ottoman domains. In Egypt, the ‘Mamlūks’ of the officialdom had managed to usurp much of their masters’ authority and had come to control and misappropriate revenues, not even sparing those that were supposed to be remitted to the Holy Cities, as well as to the Central Exchequer in Istānbul. In the region of Mount Lebanon, the Ma‘nid Fakhral-dīn II had succeeded not merely in expanding his writ locally, but into the Ḥawrān and

the ‘Ajalon regions of Syria and thus come to control the land routes to the Ḥejāz.[522]

The Druze Amīr Fakhral-dīn II had first rebelled against Ottoman authority during the reign of Sulṭān Aḥmad I, incited in this step by Janblāṭ, who also had raised the standard of disobedience in northern Syria. The outcome of these pressures on this occasion was to lead the Sulṭān to agree to the Hungarian demand to annul the levy of the ‘Jizyah’ at the Treaty of Sitva Torok in 1015H(1606). Fakhral-dīn II, by then had taken to conspiring with the Pope (Paul V, r. 1014H/1605 till 1030H/1621), the Spaniards and the Duke of Tuscany, Ferdinand, over the conquest of Palestine and surging forth to Ba‘albek during 1019H(1610), had begun to threaten Damascus itself, compelling the Ottomans into sending a fleet in (1022H/1613) to force him into exile, to Florence. He had then returned to carry on the struggle in his son ‘Alī ibn Fakhral-dīn’s name and begun to conspire with the Ṣafavids, forcing Murād IV to send a two pronged land-sea expedition against him. This was successful in defeating and killing the son, while the father was carried off and executed in Istānbul during 1045H(1635).[523]

Meanwhile, in the Yaman the Zaydī tribesmen had also been up in arms again and by 1041H(1631), had succeeded in taking Ṣana‘ā and limiting Ottoman authority to Zabīd and its confines. In an undated letter of this period addressed to the Grand Wazīr, Kösem was to express her concern for the situation thus: “Letters have come from Egypt. Something absolutely must be done about the Yaman—it is the gateway to Makkah. You must do whatever you can. You will talk to my son (Murād IV) about this. I tell you, my mind is completely distraught over this …. It is going to cause you great difficulty, but you will earn God’s mercy through (your) service to the community of Muḥammad. … At least try to do something about the Yaman. May God help us with the situation we are in ….”[524] It may be added here that, through effective opposition, the great Zaydī Imām al-Qāsim (d.1029H/1620) had just managed to lay the foundations of the dynasty known by his name. After him, his son Muḥammad, better known by his title of “al-Mu’ayyad” (d.1054H/1644), had succeeded in continuing resistance in vigorous style, completing the discomfiture of the Ottoman forces in his land shortly after the battle of al-Ṣāfiyah during 1045H(1636). This is remembered in Yamanī history as “the second expulsion” of the Ottoman forces.[525]

There were troubles alike in the Crimea and on the Polish frontier, as well as at home, where Khuṣrö (Husrev) Pāshā, after his dismissal from the Wazīrate in 1038H(1629) due to the failure of the Baghdād expedition, was encouraging uprisings by the 'Yeni Çeri' and the 'Sipāhī' units.[526]

Encouraged constantly by his Albanian adviser, Koçi Bey in the beliefs presented to him in a 'Risālah' (Turkish 'Risaleh')—an analytical paper—during 1041H(1631), which maintained that ancient Ottoman institutions answered best the needs of his empire and subjects alike, Murād IV set about reviving and making them work, ruthlessly eliminating (by the thousands) any who dared stand in the way of his policies to end corruption, insecurity and slackness of any sort in the administration and in this he was largely successful.[527]

When a major fire destroyed over a quarter of Istānbul, publicising his belief that this was due to Divine wrath with the ways and morals of his countrymen, he began the strict enforcement of Islāmic religious norms and ethical values and morals in the public way of life and the codes of behaviour of his Muslim subjects, ordering those of other religious nominations alongside, to adhere to their own laws, traditions and the instructions of their leaders. To ensure that the spirit of his orders had permeated to all rungs of society, Murād IV would wander around in disguise at night like the 'Abbāsid Caliph Harūn al-Rashīd of old, summoning and punishing wrong-doers and violators the next day. He had also organised an adequate network of spies to report to him promptly of all cases of indiscipline or irregularity of any type.[528]

The edicts and regulations he issued in order to protect the public against abuses by officialdom, were compiled together into a 'Book of Justice' ("Adālat-Nāmeh'), which served as a code of rights, an ombudsman of sorts and a general guideline as well on the subject. Murād IV was also responsible for the public ban on the consumption of coffee and tobacco. The former, as already mentioned, had been introduced in Istānbul in 962H(1555) and the latter in 1014H(1605). Both had acquired great popularity within a short spell. Murād IV was also known to respect and value men of letters and scholars and did encourage and stimulate cultural activity, though ruthless at times against critics of his policies.[529]

Thus rejuvenating the Ottoman State, Murād IV was to agree to the restoration of peace on the Polish frontier upon the overtures in 1043H/44H(1634) of their new King, Vladislav IV, which he had received just as he was preparing to lead a campaign against him.[530] Freed from the threat on this front, Murād IV now decided to switch his attention and devote his efforts towards facing the Ṣafavid challenge, which he felt was one of the main direct and indirect causes of his internal and external concerns, as, if nothing else, Ṣafavid successes against his arms, or for that matter anywhere, not to mention their constant impending threat directed at his territories, tended to foment and encourage rebellion in his domains. Furthermore, the loss of Baghdād to the Shī'ite Shāh and Ottoman failure so far to retake it, had been working against him and his Grand Wazīrs alike. Needless to add, the possession of this great City was held in great popular esteem, as it happened to be the resting place of the Imām Abū Ḥanīfah, whose School of Jurisprudence most Turks followed and also of the great Saint and founder of the Ṣūfī Order of 'al-Qādirīyyah', 'Abdal-Qādir al-Jīlānī, whose memory the Sunnīs greatly respect.

In typical Ottoman fashion of old and prior to responding to this challenge, Murād IV decided first to execute the sons of Sulṭān Aḥmad I in order to be fully rid of any spectre of rebellion in his Capital during his absence from there while campaigning. He then systematically marched east to crush the Jalālī movement in Anatolia and succeeded in his mission by capturing their leader, Ibāẓah Muḥammad Pāshā, who was executed a little later. In the meantime, advancing into Armenia, he also managed to seize the great fortress of Erivān and this was followed in some five weeks by the seizure of Tabrīz (in early Jamād al-Thānī 1044H/September 1634). However, when Murād IV rather negligently decided to withdraw to Istānbul for the winter, Shāh Ṣafī's forces were swift to avail of the opportunity to move back in once again, thus nullifying his gains which had been achieved at a considerable cost.[531]

Problems in the north, in the Crimea and in Transylvania were now to keep him away from the east till about the beginning of 1048H(1638). Nevertheless, during the months of Rajab and Sha'bān (November and December) of the same year, he managed in the face of stiff resistance, to wrest back Baghdād and this was followed by the whole of al-'Irāq.[532]

According to the contemporary Mughal historian Muḥammad Ṣaleḥ Kanbūh, the author of the 'Shāh Jahān Nāmeh'—an important Chronicle on the reign of the fifth Taimūrid Emperor of India,

which has already been met with, it was on the eve of setting off on his quest to conquer Baghdād that Murād IV had received the Mughal emissary Fidā'ī Khan, the 'Mir Dharīf' and regarded one of the presents, a jewelled sword-belt sent for him by Shāh Jahān, as an auspicious omen foreboding victory. Upon Murād IV enquiring about Indian weapons and accoutrements and their efficacy, Fidā'ī Khān had also presented the Sulṭān on his own account with a suit of Indian armour that he had brought with him as a gift and was supposed to be arrow and bulletproof. Amazed by the assertion, Murād IV called for his spear and decided to put its metal to the test. Now it was the turn of the Mughal emissary to be amazed, for the Sulṭān managed to pierce the armour clean at one blow! Fidā'ī Khān was given final leave to depart at al-Moṣul, after Murād IV's return from the conquest of Baghdād and he arrived, bringing back with him a gift of nine rare Arab steeds for Shāh Jahān from the Amīr of al-Iḥsā' as well.[533] It ought to be emphasised here that, Fidā'ī Khān's critical observations on this campaign, as submitted to his Sovereign in a report and referred to in the above Chronicle, make most interesting reading.[534]

After this victory, Murād IV had decided to winter in al-Moṣul in order to strengthen his grip on the conquered land and then come the summer, to continue the campaign into Āẓerbaijān. The Shāh Ṣafī I, realising the seriousness of the situation, decided to seek peace and its final terms were agreed to and ratified near Qaṣr-é-Shīrīn during Muḥarram 1049H(May 1639). According to its terms, the Shāh was allowed to remain unmolested in his possessions in the Caucasus and Aẓerbaijān (including Erivān) and to stop henceforth the official sponsorship of the Shī'ite 'Da'wah' (missionary activity), as well as to end the public abuse of the first three Orthodox Caliphs of Islām, Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān as "Usurpers" of their successor, the fourth Orthodox Caliph 'Alī's "rights", and this was to apply with reference to other revered 'Sunnī' personalities and beliefs as well. In return, the Ottomans were offered the undisputed possession of al-'Irāq, which was once again to restore to their custody the eastern Ḥajj route via the Gulf. A number of forts along the two frontiers, the 'Irāqī and the Anatolian, hitherto held by the Ṣafavids, were also handed over to Murād IV as a guarantee of future security, as well as a sign of the Shāh's sincerity and intent to adhere henceforth to the terms of this Peace.[535] This not only ended over fifteen decades of rivalry and war between the

two Empires, but amazingly enough lasted till their fall, some three centuries later. It would be wrong to proceed further without adding that, Murād IV had been served ably throughout this campaign by his Wazīr Kamankeş Kara Muṣṭafā Pāshā, who was actually to negotiate the finer details of this Peace, as Murād IV had left earlier for his Capital.[536]

Murād IV passed away some nine months later during the holy month of Ramaḍān of 1049H(February 1640), having rejuvenated the Empire by the strength and vigour of his personality and his stern policies. This sad event proved to be a signal for the re-introduction of the influence and power of Kosem Sulṭān into Ottoman politics, aided and abetted in its excercise by the seven members of the deceased Sulṭān's 'Harem', his sisters, the Āghās or Commanders of the military corps and the new Sulṭān, her son Ibrāhīm's tutor, Ḥusayn Effendī, better known as "Cinci Hoca" ("Khöjā"). The Sulṭān Ibrāhīm I, known as "Deli" (Mad) in some quarters, ruled for eight years and nine months, during which, he even appointed women to governorships, like over Damascus and the 'Sanjaqs' of Nicopolis and Hami. Spending a part of his last year as ruler in confinement after having made way for his six year old son from Turkan Khadījah (Hatice) Sulṭān, Muḥammad (Mehmet) IV, he was ultimately to be executed by strangulation in keeping with a 'Fatwā' (Edict) of the "Ulamā".[537] Yet, it is worth adding here that, the famous compiler of the biographical dictionary for the eleventh century Hijrī (17th c CE), al-Muḥibbī reserved the following words for him: "He was a great king, good looking and liberal handed and his era was one of the most flourishing of epochs and his reign one of the best …. He was the possessor of an auspicious rising (sign); he never dispatched an army in a direction without emerging victorious".[538]

Muḥammad IV too was ultimately destined to be deposed by the "Ulamā" for failing to fulfil his duties as a ruler, but after a long and eventful reign that ended in 1099H(1687). His accession also was to serve as a signal for the inauguration of a new era of rivalry between Kosem Sulṭān and the new Sulṭān's mother, Turkan Khadījah (Hatice) Sulṭān. Nevertheless, until his execution by Ibrāhīm in Dhū'l-Qa'dah 1053H (January 1644CE), Kemankeş Kara Muṣṭafā Pāshā had continued to serve the State well, persisting with the policies of Murād IV despite interference from the Harem, though Kosem Sulṭān did win the day in the end with his execu-

tion, in which she had a hand.[539] It is assumed that, if it had not been for Central Europe's pre-occupation then with the serious strife between Catholicism and Protestantism that goes by the label of the 'Thirty Years War' (1027H/1618–1058H/1648), and the preference at the time in most of the eastern European possessions for the Ottomans and their style of rule based on the principle of non-involvement in the daily lives of their subject peoples, especially when compared with the methods and policies employed by, say the Hapsburgs, then they would certainly have attempted to exploit the internal turmoil in the former's Dominions at every opportunity, such as was done in Hungary.[540]

Likewise, even though Muḥammad IV was lucky to be served at least by a number of able Wazīrs, who did strive hard to save the situation for the Empire, yet, in the end, it proved to be not quite enough. One of these Wazīrs was the former Governor of Egypt, Tarhonçu Aḥmad Pāshā, though he lasted for only nine months. He is the first Grand Wazīr to be credited with having prepared a proper budget for the Empire in advance of the financial year, attempting to eliminate deficit by relating proposed expenditure to revenue. However, as this would naturally have affected the vested interests of all those segments of Ottoman society and administration benefiting from the prevailing conditions, he too had to go, which was during 1063H(1653).[541]

Another great but somewhat ruthless minister was Muḥammad (Mehmet) Koprulu, an Albanian, who held the office of Grand Wazīr from 1067H(1656) till his death in 1072H(1662). Upon his appointment, he had sought and received a 'carte blanche' from the Sulṭān over the exercise of authority during 1066H(1656), as did his son and successor, Fāḍil Aḥmad Pāshā, the Governor of Damascus, who was to serve as Wazīr for about fifteen years. Though more erudite and refined than his father, it is said that, most of his ambitions and efforts for the State were destined to remain unfulfilled due to the constant need during his tenure of office for involvement in military campaigns against Powers like Austria, Poland and Russia. However, both, father and son did succeed in consolidating Ottoman power to a great extent through the ruthless pursuit, suppression and elimination of all opposition.[542]

When the latter passed away in 1087H(1676), he was succeeded by his foster brother, Kara Muṣṭafā Pāshā, who was executed at the

end of 1094H(1683) for his failure to conquer Vienna after a siege lasting almost three months, from Rajab 1094H(July 1683).[543]

Following this episode, it is possible to chart and determine how the European states, which had once stood in such awe of Ottoman military might, were now able to take advantage of its stagnation and decline and to mount a counter-offensive by encouraging a series of rebellions and wars throughout the Ottoman dominions and on fronts in the West, that were to last till the Ottoman State, eventually to be dubbed "the Sick Man of Europe", was no more. In spite of several genuine efforts at the reform and modernisation of its various institutions, particularly the vital ones, once the initial advantage it held over its rivals and its dynamism were sapped and lost through lethargy, though the characters kept changing throughout the course of its history, the plot continued to remain the same till the coming of the end.

Monsieur de la Montraye, an eighteenth century (12th cH) Huguenot exile escaping religious persecution in Europe, while lauding the religious freedom in Islāmic dominions such as the Ottoman and the Mughal empires, was to say of Turkey: "There is no country on earth where the exercise of all religions is more free or less subject to being troubled than in Turkey".

My own Oxford contemporary Philip Mansel, in his book 'Constantinople—City of the World's Dreams 1453-1924' mentions that, towards the end of the first quarter of the twentieth century (CE), as the last Ottoman Caliph 'Abdal-Majīd II, generally described as a well respected figure—a "simple, honest, good-looking, quiet gentleman, fifty years of age, who had studied painting and loved his books and his garden…..", concerning whom "even dirty-tongued Stanbul had not one unclean story" according to H.C. Armstrong, and of whose popularity Ataturk was resentful and afraid, was leaving for exile after the abolition of the Caliphate in 1342H (1924) and was waiting at the station of Catalca to board the Orient Express, its Jewish Station Master was to address to him the following words, as recorded by Ṣāleḥ Karāmat (the son of the poetess Nigār Hānim and then Secretary to the Caliph): "The Ottoman dynasty is the saviour of the Turkish Jews. When our ancestors were driven out of Spain, and looked for a country to take them in, it was the Ottomans who agreed to give us shelter and saved us from extinction. Through the generosity of their government, once again they received freedom of religion and language,

protection for their women, their possessions and their lives. Therefore our conscience obliges us to serve you as much as we can in your darkest hour".[544] How little did this poor Station Master know about the role played by his people in the downfall of this dynasty!

Incidently, this account sadly reminds me of a friend of mine at Oxford, Michael Wittgenstein, a Sephardi, whom I wish I could have got to know better earlier, for alas, he is no more. Such an exuberant joy and a zest for living and kind inclinations towards all fellow beings did he display at every encounter and without the least inhibition, that I could hardly be expected to have known then or to have had any inclination whatsoever that, due to some incurable disease, this prince of a human being had only a short while to grace our midst with his presence. Bearing a remarkable resemblance to the famous Egyptian actor, 'Omar Sharīf, but in fact with more glamorous looks, Michael was unquestionably one of the finest dressed people to be seen in that City, standing out all the more, when it is recalled that, students at that time took a particular interest and even pride in dressing shabbily. His receptions too were amongst the best and once he had met me, he made it a point of inviting me to them and with such genuine warmth and feelings of welcome, that you would feel them from the moment of arrival at his doorstep. On these occasions, particularly moving for me would be the extent to which he would go every time in order to make me feel comfortable amidst the obviously piqued feelings—the startled stares and the gaping mouths—of members of his family or friends, who would happen to be gracing the event from beyond the City, or from across the Channel (British of course), or even the Atlantic and who, perhaps not unnaturally or unexpectedly, would be perplexed to find an Arab, who, bloody-mindedly, did not make any concessions (on such occasions) in terms of dress and would arrive proudly sporting a 'Ghuṭrah' or 'Kafiyyeh' and yet, would be amongst those receiving the greatest individual attention, but never insensitively or unfairly at the expense of others!

It may be emphasised here that, Ataturk's fear of 'Abdal-Majīd II's rapidly increasing popularity as 'Khalīfah' in Constantinople and amongst several other urban centres and most of the rural elements of the population was more than justified. For example, not only was the new Caliph drawing greater and greater cheering crowds as he rode with an escort on a white charger across the Golden Horn to the Aya Sophia, or sailed across the Bosphorus in the Imperial

'Kayik' (Barge) to the main Mosque of Skutari to offer his Friday Prayer, but he was also, despite his lack of ambition for political power, beginning to attract fast towards himself all the discontented elements in the land—politicians, army officers, civil servants and the "Ulamā". Hence, it was the fear for survival that had also been one of the major motives driving Ataturk to this extreme measure.

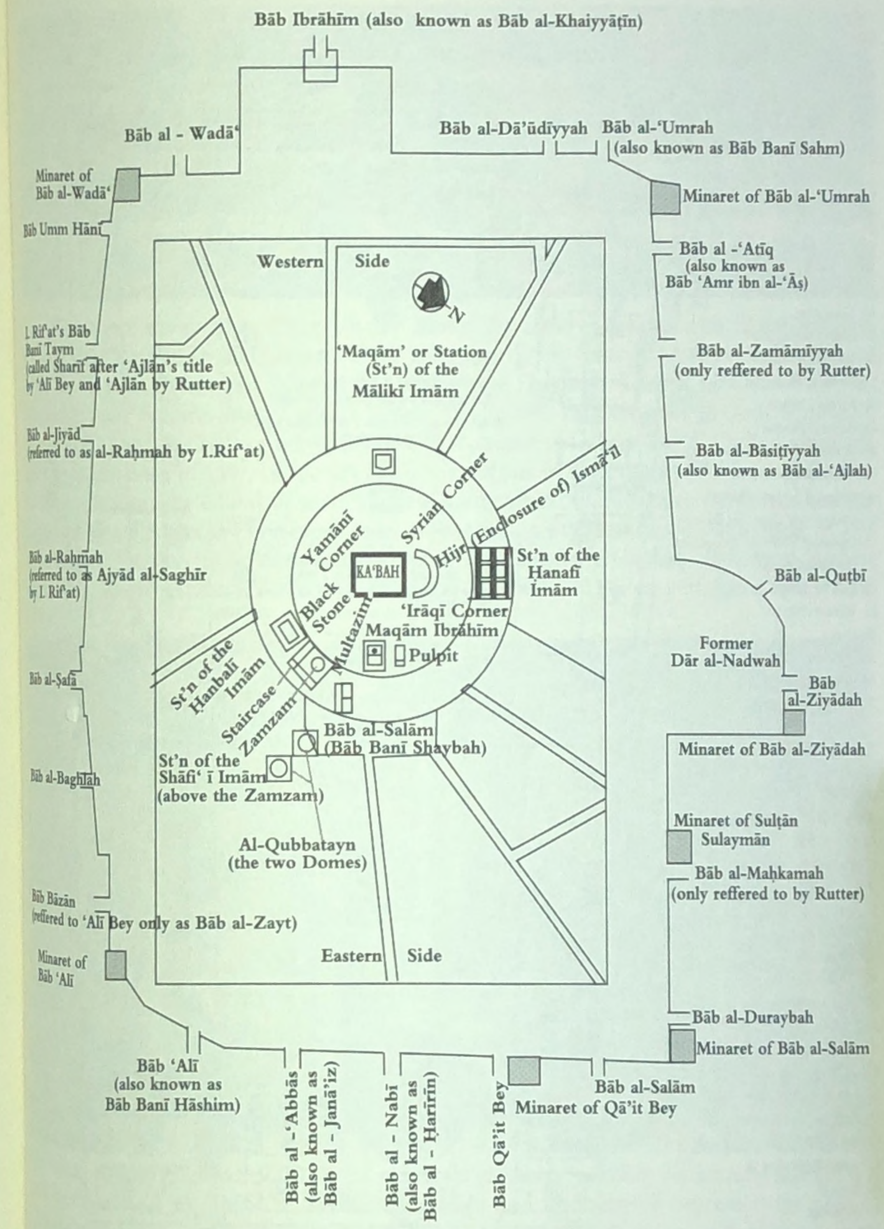
He was finally to achieve his goal by utilising, or rather exploiting an appeal on behalf of the 'Islāmic Association of England', made during Rabī' al-Awwal 1342H(November 1923) by the Āghā Khān and the retired judge and historian, Saiyyid Amīr 'Alī (also a Shī'ah), as the prime excuse for his action. In this appeal, these two Indian officers of the above Association had attempted to remind Ataturk of the support of Indian Muslims to all Turkish causes in the past and had pleaded with the Turkish Government to place the institution of the Caliphate "on a basis which would command the confidence and esteem of Muslim nations, and thus impart to the Turkish state unique strength and dignity". In order to add pressure to the appeal, copies of their letter had also been forwarded to a number of Turkish newspapers likely to prove sympathetic to their cause. Instead of making Ataturk and his colleagues see reason as intended, this appeal and particularly the latter step by the Āghā Khān and Amīr 'Alī had succeeded in arousing their suspicions and ire. Labelling the two as "heretics" and agents of the British, who were seeking to overthrow the "Republic" and to restore the Ottoman dynasty, Ataturk summoned the National Assembly on 1st March 1924 (end of Ramaḍān 1342H).

Just prior to it, in order to intimidate his opponents, a "hostile" and "over-voluble" Deputy in the Assembly was murdered on his way home from a meeting, while a "Commissaire for Religion", who had made a speech in the interests of maintaining the Caliphal office, was threatened personally with hanging if he ever spoke again (on the subject). Others were muzzled then and later with strict new laws of "treason" (against the Republic). Moreover, the Deputies then summoned and assembled could for example have hardly forgotten that, when they had been asked earlier on to debate the issue of separating the Sultanate from the Caliphate, Ataturk, outwardly bored with the proceedings, had boldly interrupted them, saying: "You may agree or you may not, nonetheless, it will hap-

pen; only some of your heads will fall in the process". Furthermore, sensing that the feelings of the Chamber would be against his proposition in this regard, he had, on that occasion, quite openly gathered his followers around him and indulged in unison with them in threateningly shifting revolvers in their cases onto one side, and refusing to allow a vote by name on the issue declaring meanwhile that, he was sure "the House will be unanimous in accepting" the proposed motion. He had then also proceeded to bully the Chamber's President, despite the regardlessly poor show of hands in favour of the proposition, into exclaiming that, the motion had been "carried unanimously". Then, in order to avoid any further debate on the issue, he was to go on a step beyond by declaring the National Assembly indefinitely "closed", before storming out of the premises with his followers. Meanwhile, his henchman 'Rif'at (Refet) was directed to take control of Constantinople by a coup d'etat, which he did a few days later, and to declare the Sulṭān's government "abolished".

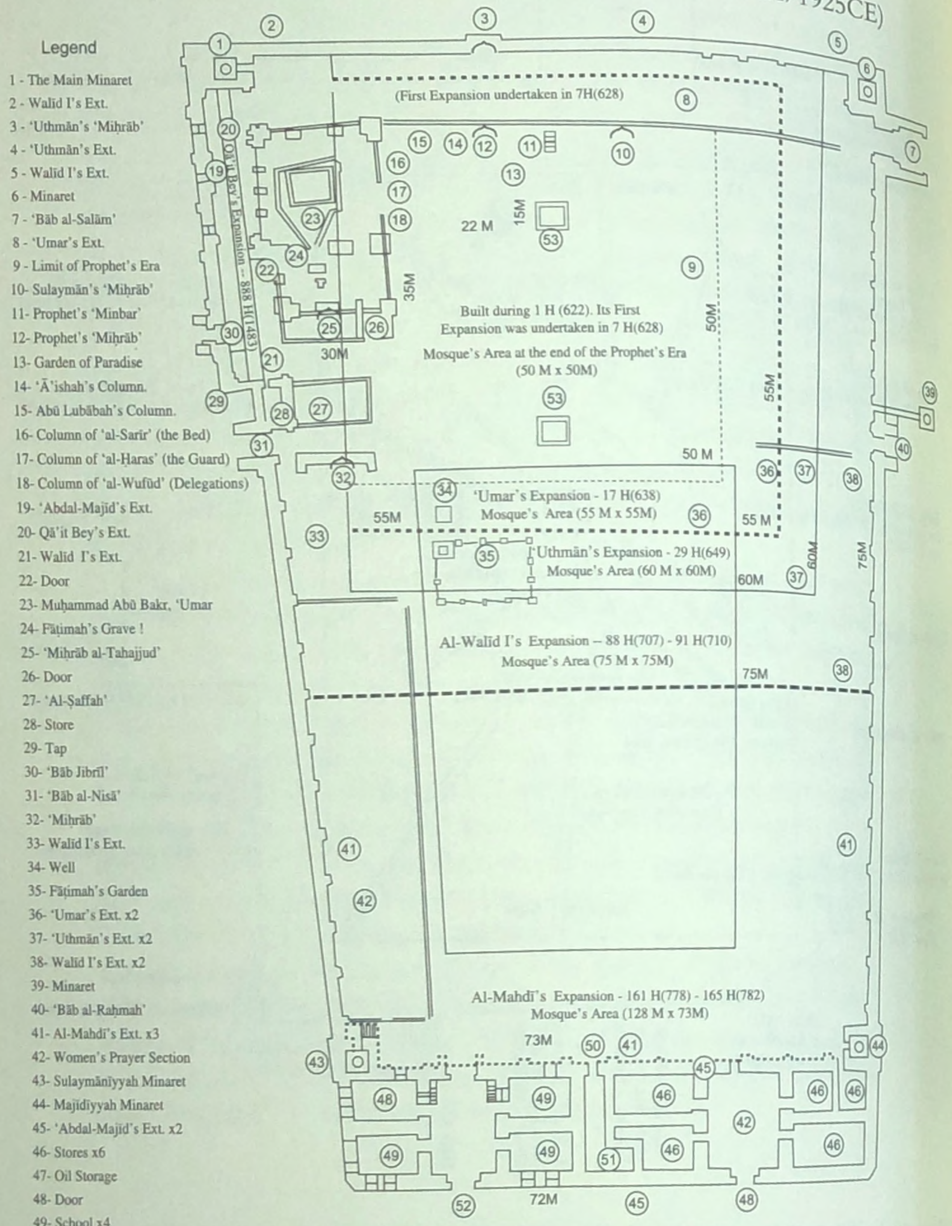
Once again, it was amidst such an atmosphere of fear and uncertainty that Ataturk was to emphasise to the assembled and muzzled Deputies the nation's alleged need to "cleanse and elevate the Islāmic Faith by rescuing it from the position of a political instrument". This, according to him, was to be done by abolishing the Caliphate and by expelling the members of the Ottoman dynasty from all Turkish soil! The mesmerised and frightened Assembly members, as on the earlier occasion, had little choice in the end, but to bow before his will.[545] Thus was the death-knell that was to signal the final end of the long and many times glorious era of the House of 'Uthmān and the Caliphate sounded.

'Abdal-Majīd II was to die in Paris during 1364H (1944), a pensioner of the Niẓām VII of Ḥaidarābād, Mīr 'Uthmān 'Alī Khān, whose eldest son Mīr Ḥimāyat 'Alī Khān (better known by his title of "A'ẓam Jāh" and "the Prince of Berār") had married the Caliph's only daughter, Durreshahvār, as mentioned earlier.



Plan of the Holy Mosque in Makkah with an approximate area of 196.24 x 142.7 or 28,003 Sq. metres. Originally drawn by 'Alī Bey following his visit during 1225/6H (1805/6), it was improved upon by the Egyptian 'Amīr al-Ḥajj' Ibrāhīm Rif'at Pāshā about a century later and then updated by the English Pilgrim Eldon Rutter after his Ḥajj in 1343H (1925).

Al-Masjid al-Nabawī and Extensions (1H/622CE till 1344H/1925CE)



'Abdal-Majīd's Expansion – 1265 H (1849) – 1277 H (1861)

Mosque's Area (180 x 72M) (The Green Dome was installed by Maḥmūd during 1233 H/1866-7). Principally after 'Alī Bey and Ibrāhīm Rifʿat Pāshā.

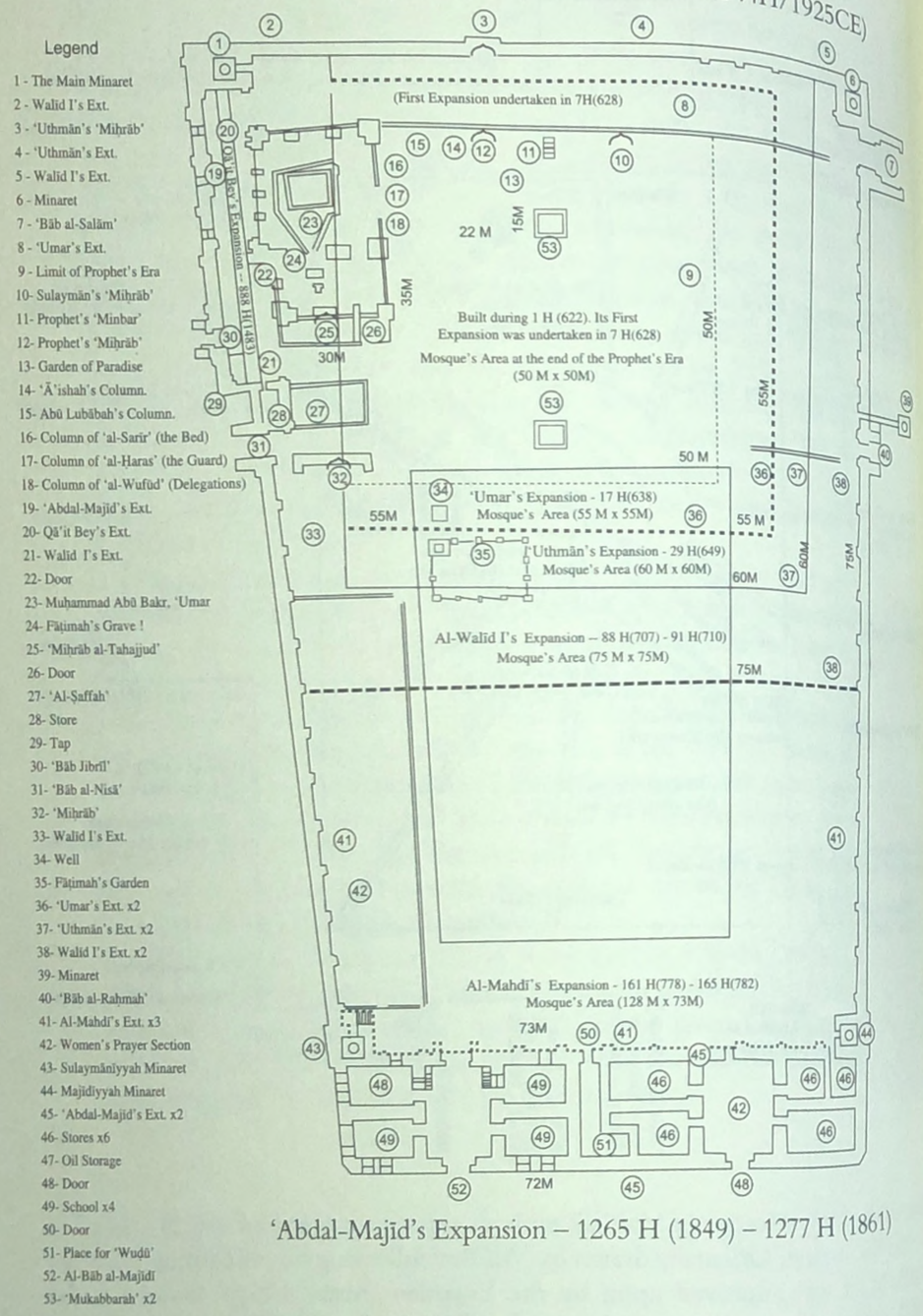


The Pilgrimage Caravan from Cairo on the move: A) Sutlers provided with all the apparatus needed for the kitchen, B) 20 Hunters, C) 20 Falconers, D) 50 Liveried Grooms carrying 50 iron trunks, E) 12 small Drums and 'Naqqārahs', F) 12 large Drums on Camels, G) Other Troopers, H) Gunners and Soldiers from various Lands, I) Captains of Janissaries, J) Great number of Janissaries, K) Āghā (general) of the Janissaries, L) Captains of Galleys, M) 20 Qaḍis (Judges) and other important Men of Law, N) Amirs and Descendants of the Prophet Muḥammad, O) The Muftī, the Pāshā and the Grand Wazīr, P) Wrestlers/Acrobats, Q) Holy men, R) Several Grooms leading the Grand Seigneur's horses adorned with jewels, a shield and a scimitar in hand, S) The General of the Cavalry, T) Soldiers dressed in furs and feathers, U) 'Sollāqs' (Footment, Archers and Guides), V) 360 'Sollāqs,' W) Youths from the Seraglio, X) Dancers performing ahead of the horses.



The Sulṭān Aḥmad Mosque, with its six minarets elegantly piercing the Istanbul skyline, was built between 1017 H (1609) and 1025 H (1616) and undoubtedly represents the peak of Ottoman architecture, with its traditions as honed by the Miʿmār Sinān, at their mature best, although he had already died. Alongside this architectural marvel with the complex of schools, libraries and hospitals in its vicinity, a great number of similar institutions in the Capital and throughout his empire owed their origins and support to this young Sulṭān and his endowments. This Mosque, the only one in Turkey with six minarets, was built by the architect Sedefhar Mehmet Āghā and popularly called 'the Blue Mosque' because of the colouring of most of its tiling, which tends to respond beautifully to the light flooding in from its 260 windows. Its magnificent calligraphic decorations are owed to the great Saiyyid Qāsim Ghubārī.

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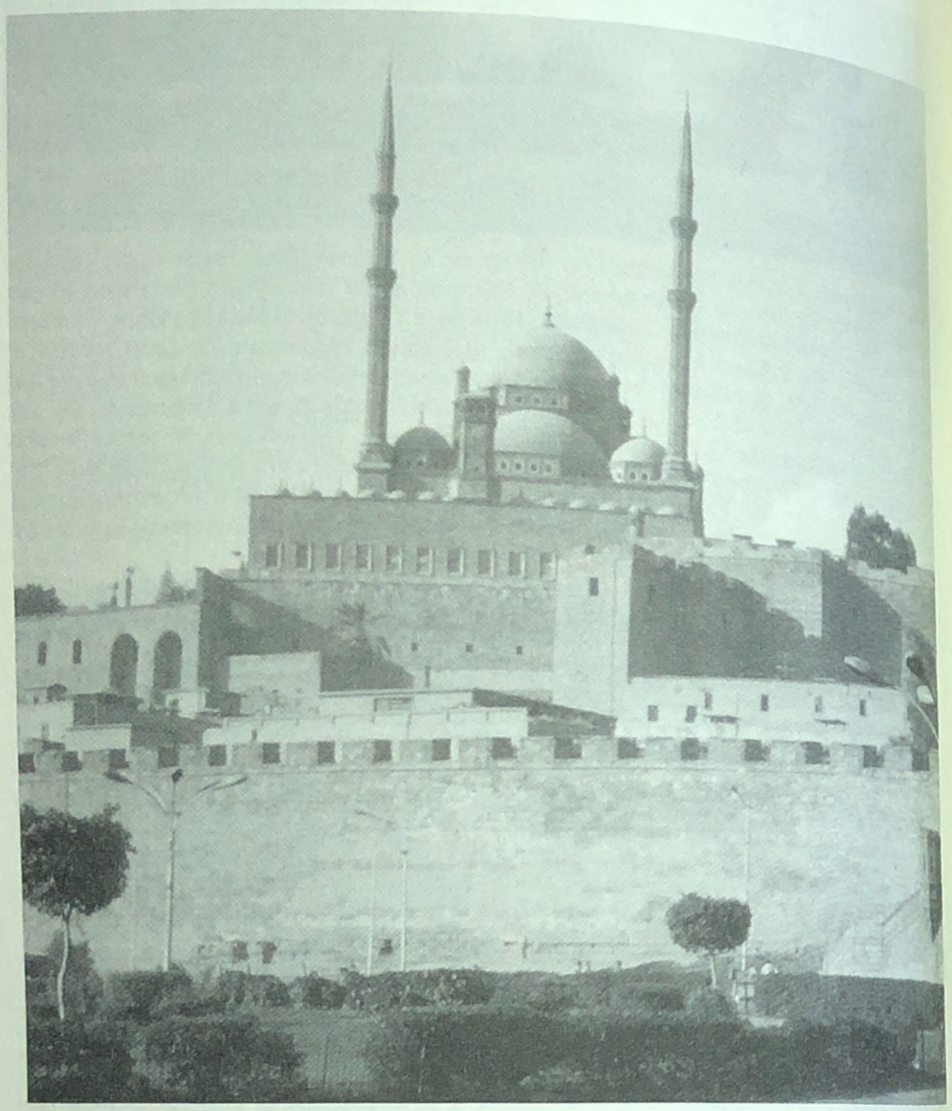
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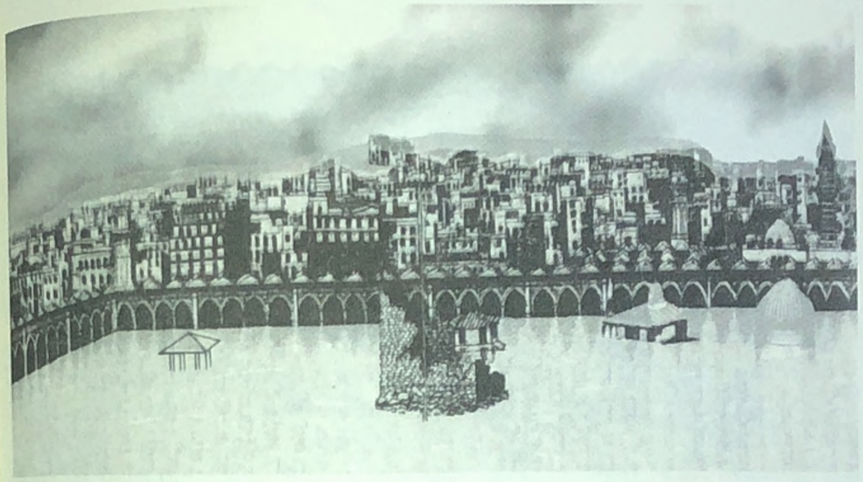
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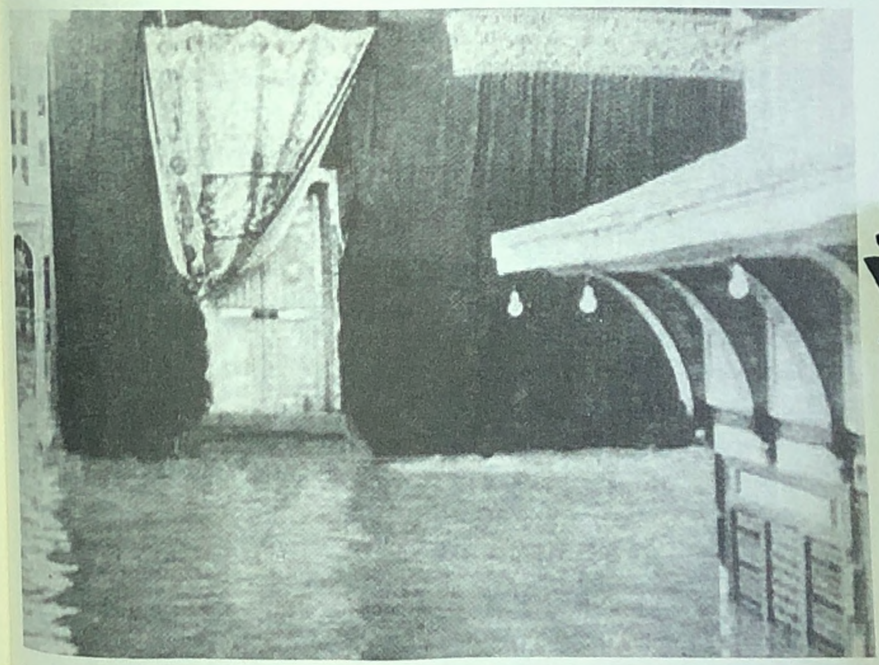
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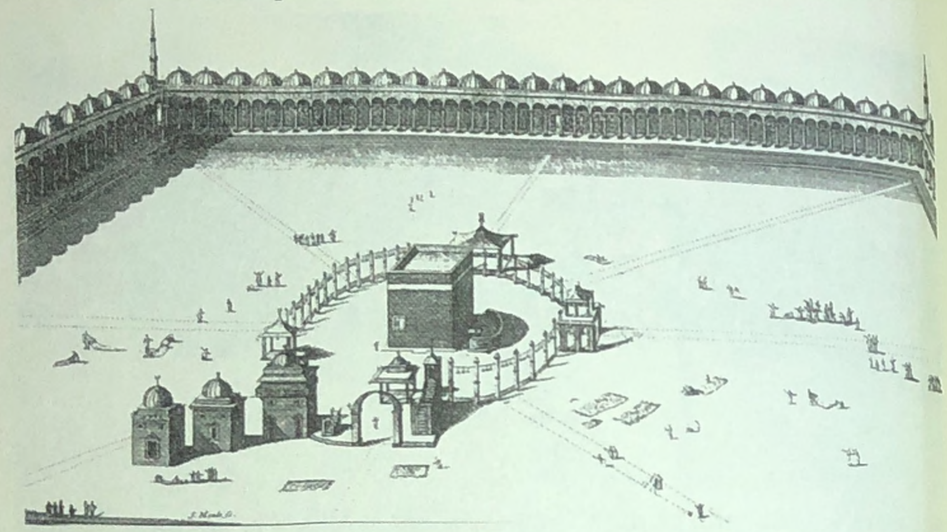
Cairo's most visible Mosque built by Muḥammad ʿAlī between 1244 H (1828) and 1264 H (1848) to rival Istanbul's Sulṭān Aḥmad Mosque in grandeur, it is renowned in particular for the majesty of its silhouette, with its slender lofty Ottoman style minarets, unrivalled in height by any elsewhere, piercing the skyline. Upon reflection, it may be found to speak volumes for its great builder, with ambitions to match. A soldier, arguably as great as Napoleon, it is to him, an Albanian (and his sons), that Arab Nationalism owes its early expression.



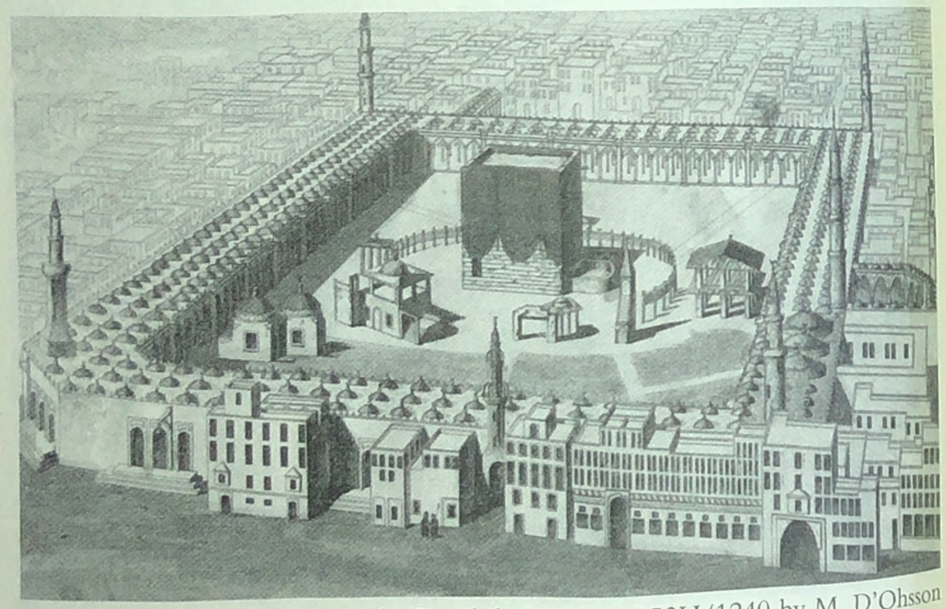
The above is a rare print of the flood of 1039 H (1630). The Makkan historian Muhammad Ṭāhir al-Kurdī in his 'Makkah Wa Bayt Allāh al-Karīm' provides a table list of 81 flash-floods, great and small, that entered the 'Ḥaram' between 1 H (622) and 1344 H (1925), with an additional three during the 'Jāhilīyyah'. These are based on al-Azraqī's and Ibrāhīm Rif'at's accounts.



This photograph of the Mosque flooded is of an occasion not covered by the list.



A 12th cH (18th century CE) drawing of the inner courtyard of the 'Ḥaram' in Makkah published in George Sale's (1146-7H/1734). English translation of the Holy Qur'ān in the (Author's possession).



A view of the Makkan 'Ḥaram', (Possibily around 1153H/1240 by M. D'Ohsson – A print in the Author's possession)

CHAPTER X

The Era of the Latter Ottoman Sulṭāns

A: Makkah

On 19th Sha'bān 1039H(April 1630), torrential rains throughout the day and a part of the night in Makkah and the hills surrounding it, caused heavy floods to course down the Wādī Ibrāhīm and so rapidly, that, the waters not only flooded the Grand Mosque, but rose high enough to submerge the door of the Ka'bah and entering it, filled the edifice with water, thus affecting many of the treasures stored in it as well. The lanterns hanging around the area of the 'Maṭāf' too were covered by the water. According to chroniclers, the Ka'bah's walls, particularly the northern, eastern and western ones were severely damaged, with portions collapsing. The staircase to its roof had also come down. On this occasion, no less than a thousand lives according to Daḥlān and five hundred in keeping with al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī's account, were lost as a result of these rains and the floods, not to mention the great damage to property in general.[546]

Immediately following this heavy rainfall and the great flash-flood, "the like of which had not been witnessed during the more recent epochs", when the walls of the Ka'bah—the 'Syrian' (northern), followed by the eastern and the western—had given way before sundown on 20th Sha'bān, a Thursday, the Sharīf Mas'ūd ibn Idrīs ibn al Ḥasan, attended by a host of dignitaries and scholars, arrived at the site from his residence in Makkah's suburb of Ajyād in great alarm, in order to open the Ka'bah's door officially and transfer the treasures therein to a safer haven.[547]

As the traditional Keeper of the Ka'bah's keys from the clan of Banī Shaybah (al-'Abdarī), Jamāl al-dīn Muḥammad ibn Abū'l Qāsim could not attend due to reasons of health, someone else was deputed to act on his behalf. Amongst others, "twenty candelabras of gold, one of these studded with pearls" and the 'Mīzāb' (the Water Drain-pipe) were all transferred to the safe custody of the 'Sādin' ('the Custodian of the Keys') and his house, one of the 'Waqf' endowments of the Sulṭān Murād for the utilisation of these Keepers, in the vicinity of 'al-Ṣafā'. The room containing these treasures

was then duly locked and sealed by the Sharīf, the 'Qāḍī' and the 'Nā'ib al-Ḥaram' ('the Deputy Keeeper of the Ḥaram'). A regular guard was also mounted at the premises.[548]

The next day, a Friday, the Sharīf launched a general appeal for all to participate in clearing and cleaning up the Ka'bah as best as possible before the congregational Prayer, himself leading the way by carrying some dirt as a personal example in order to encourage others. The gesture was well reciprocated by all present.[549]

After the Prayer led by Fā'iz ibn Ẓahīrah al-Qurashī al-Makhzūmī and held in the area of the 'Maṭāf', clearance work continued unabated. The stones and masonry of the Ka'bah were arranged in neat piles of large and small stones for utilisation in the rebuilding, some by the Station of the Ḥanafī Imām and others by the 'Bāb al-Salām'.[550]

For the first time in that epoch of Islām, the 'Ummah' (the Muslim Community) was faced with a unique dilemma concerning what it regarded as its 'Sanctum Sanctorum', the holiest of its three holy sites, often described as the 'Bayt Allāh' or 'the House of God', the other two of course being the Prophet's Mosque in al-Madīnah and 'al-Aqṣā'—the "Distant" Mosque in al-Quds or Jerusalem. True, the Ka'bah had been repaired and rebuilt once before, during the reign of 'AbdAllāh ibn al-Zubayr due to the damage caused to it, when the Mosque was laid siege to by the Ḥaḍramī General of the Umaiyyads, al-Ḥuṣayn ibn Numayr al-Sakūnī in 64H(683). On that occasion, the damage had been due to man and the date on which the repairs had been finished, the 27th of Rajab 65H (March 685), had been observed as an anniversary for celebration for several centuries until gradually discontinued. This time, the damage had been occasioned by nature. Still, the issue had to be debated, the questions being, whether to pull down the whole structure of the Ka'bah and rebuild it anew, or to repair it as best as possible without involving demolition and secondly, from what safe sources to seek financing for the purpose in hand, as these had to be acceptable in terms of the 'Sharī'ah'.

According to the scholar Aḥmad ibn 'Allān al-Ṣiddīqī, who was an eyewitness to these events, a carpet was spread by the 'Bāb al-Raḥmah' to debate the issue. The sessions until a decision was reached, were attended by all the scholars of Makkah, with the Sharīf Mas'ūd presiding. Aḥmad ibn 'Allān was asked to get his copy of 'al-Manāhil al-'Adhibah Fī Iṣlāḥ Mā Wa Hīyā Min al-Ka'bah'

('Fresh Springs on the Repair of What Pertains to or is of the Ka'bah') by Aḥmad ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī (d.975H/1567) and the 'Qāḍī' Tājal-dīn al-Mālikī then read out to the others the text of the book for some days until they felt themselves able to arrive at a sound decision. This in brief, was to initiate the rebuilding process with funds made available through the liquidation of some of the Ka'bah's treasures and an appeal in the meantime was to be placed before the Sharīf and through him his over-lord, the Sulṭān Murād IV (the son of Aḥmad I) for urgent assistance in completing the whole project.[551]

Accordingly, in keeping with the account of the same Chronicler, the Sharīf Mas'ūd ibn Idrīs then urgently dispatched a small deputation armed with reports, memoranda and the opinions of the "Ulamā" from theological perspectives, as well as of other officials and dignitaries of Makkah regards all that had happened. These covered the meetings, their outcome, the most appropriate course of action proposed and the assistance sought, bearing in view the urgency of the situation due to the proximity of the Ḥajj. It was already the 24th of Sha'bān (the eighth lunar month), when the delegates Aḥmad Chāūsh, (an official associated with the maintenance of the 'Ḥaram') and al-Nūrī 'Alī (the 'Sanjaq' of the Yaman, then in Makkah) set out for Egypt to present these to its Governor, the Albanian Muḥammad Pāshā, who was the Ḥejāz's regular channel for communication with the Sublime Porte.[552] Due to the grave and pressing nature of the situation, it was obviously hoped by all that the 'Wālī' or Governor would immediately initiate remedial measures on a suitable scale, while awaiting the 'Firmān' (Edict) of the Sulṭān in this regard. Meanwhile, on the same day as the departure of the delegates, the Sharīf ordered a full scale operation for clearing and cleaning up the whole of the Mosque's premises and cattle had to be introduced to rake up the hardening soil brought in by the flash-flood, in order for it to be disposed of. They had to be employed thus for two whole weeks, until manpower could take over the function once again.[553]

The Sharīf had then also decided to erect a canopy around the Ka'bah to shield it from any further damage, while enabling the performers of the 'Ṭawāf' to do so without hindrance, just as 'AbdAllāh ibn al-Zubayr had done well over nine and a half (lunar) centuries before him. For this purpose, he had sent for wood from Jiddah to add to what was locally available in Makkah. The Ka'bah was then covered with a curtain of green silk nailed onto the in-

stalled wooden frame. It was also provided with a door of sorts facing east, this whole process taking from the 26th of Ramaḍān till the 23rd of Shawwāl of 1039H(1630), though the Sharīf had prayed within the Ka'bah and dressed it and also circumambulated it on the seventh of the same month. The then resident engineer in Makkah, 'Alī ibn Shamsal-dīn had played a major role in this episode, devising and erecting the scaffolding and putting up the canopy around the Ka'bah as described, with the limited material then made available to him.[554]

Upon receiving the news of the flood and the damage to the Ka'bah and with the Ḥajj almost on top of them, the 'Wālī' Muḥammad Pāshā, after reviewing the situation with the local "Ulamā" and other professionals and men of knowledge and experience at his disposal in Egypt, immediately decided to send an emissary, the architect Riḍwān Āghā, with full powers, to take all the urgent steps he deemed necessary, while awaiting the final decision of the Sulṭān. Riḍwān Āghā arrived in Makkah around mid-Shawwāl (July) bearing a robe of honour and presents for the Sharīf and other dignitaries, each according to his rank, accompanied in this instance by the 'Qāḍī' of al-Madīnah, Muḥammad (Mehmet) Effendī, who was to supervise the Ka'bah's reconstruction from the religious perspective.[555]

In the middle of this crisis, the Sharīf Mas'ūd ibn Idrīs ibn Ḥasan was to pass away on 18th Rabī'al-Thānī 1040H(November 1630) and was succeeded by the Sharīf 'AbdAllāh ibn Ḥasan ibn Abū Numai. Meanwhile, a 'Grab' belonging to Bin Suwaydān had arrived in Jiddah on the twenty-first of the month, laden with materials and tools for the reconstruction. Hence, on the 26th of Rabī'al-Thānī, the carpenters set to work at building a new enclosure around the Ka'bah, some six cubits away from its walls. The objective of this exercise was to in order to provide the workmen involved in the reconstruction, as well as those Pilgrims performing the 'Ṭawāf' with enough space for each group to get on with their pupose without interference from the other. This structure was a 'Qāmah' or Fathom (six feet) high.[556]

Then, when rains on 27th Rabī'al-Thānī 1040H (1630) brought some more stones of the Ka'bah's structure down, it was decided to bring fresh slabs of stone from 'Jabal (Mount) al-Shibaykah', better known now as "Jabal al-Ka'bah". The first one brought then was a cubit and a half in length and a cubit in thickness. These were

placed by the 'Bāb al-'Umrah' to be cut, hewn and polished as required. Meanwhile, a fresh inspection of the Ka'bah by the new Sharīf and the experts and their queries to the "Ulamā" regards pulling down the whole structure now as per technical dictates, if need be, in order to rebuild it better, received a positive response on this occasion from almost all, that is, save the Chronicler Ibn 'Allān, a scholar and jurist in his own right, to whom various episodes of this account are owed. He is on record as actually having gone on to the extent of composing a pamphlet 'Īḍāḥ Talkḥīṣ Badī' al-Ma'ānī Fī Bayān Man' Hadm Jidār al-Ka'bah al-Yamānī' ('Clarification of a Summary Marvelous in Meaning on the Statement Forbidding the Pulling Down of the Ka'bah's Yamānī Wall') in support of his views on why the south facing wall of the Ka'bah may not be pulled down and circulating it amongst all those involved in the process of decision making. Earlier on, when the erection of the barrier around the Ka'bah had been disputed, in order to propitiate views, the Scholar 'Alī ibn 'Abdal-Qādir al-Ṭabarī, another of our major sources for the period, had also composed a pamphlet titled 'Sayf al-Imārah 'Alā Māni' Naṣb al-Sitārah' ('Sword of Authority Over the Objection to the Installation of the Curtain') in support of the move.[557]

According to Ibn 'Allān, work started on pulling down the Ka'bah's structure starting with the roof, followed by the eastern wall, and then the western. The metal girdle holding the masonry together and supporting its structure, had already come down with the falling portions of the walls. Now, the band supporting 'the Black Stone' was also removed, as were the 'Mīzāb' and the Lapis Lazuli Plate bearing the inscription concerning the Girdle's installation. When the southern wall was pulled down, the Stone of the 'Yamānī Corner', upon removal, was for some reason retained inside the wooden enclosure temporarily installed then around the Ka'bah. This could well have been out of regard for those performing the 'Ṭawāf', while its Door was stored in the house of Muḥammad Effendī, the 'Shaykh al-Ḥaram' ('Keeper of the Mosque') of al-Madīnah.

The main engineers involved in this Project were 'Alī ibn Shamsal-dīn al-Makkī (Makkah's Resident Engineer), Muḥammad ibn Zaynal-dīn al-Makkī and his brother 'Abdal-Raḥmān, while Sulaymān al-Ṣaḥrāwī al-Miṣrī was the head of carpenters. Amongst the builders were Fātiḥ 'Abdal-Saiyyid al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī al-Makkī, Sālim

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Then, when rains on 27th Rabī'al-Thānī 1040H (1630) brought some more stones of the Ka'bah's structure down, it was decided to bring fresh slabs of stone from 'Jabal (Mount) al-Shibaykah', better known now as "Jabal al-Ka'bah". The first one brought then was a cubit and a half in length and a cubit in thickness. These were

placed by the 'Bāb al-'Umrah' to be cut, hewn and polished as required. Meanwhile, a fresh inspection of the Ka'bah by the new Sharīf and the experts and their queries to the "Ulamā" regards pulling down the whole structure now as per technical dictates, if need be, in order to rebuild it better, received a positive response on this occasion from almost all, that is, save the Chronicler Ibn 'Allān, a scholar and jurist in his own right, to whom various episodes of this account are owed. He is on record as actually having gone on to the extent of composing a pamphlet 'Īḍāḥ Talkhīṣ Badī' al-Ma'ānī Fī Bayān Man' Hadm Jidār al-Ka'bah al-Yamānī' ('Clarification of a Summary Marvelous in Meaning on the Statement Forbidding the Pulling Down of the Ka'bah's Yamānī Wall') in support of his views on why the south facing wall of the Ka'bah may not be pulled down and circulating it amongst all those involved in the process of decision making. Earlier on, when the erection of the barrier around the Ka'bah had been disputed, in order to propitiate views, the Scholar 'Alī ibn 'Abdal-Qādir al-Ṭabarī, another of our major sources for the period, had also composed a pamphlet titled 'Sayf al-Imārah 'Alā Māni' Naṣb al-Sitārah' ('Sword of Authority Over the Objection to the Installation of the Curtain') in support of the move.[557]

According to Ibn 'Allān, work started on pulling down the Ka'bah's structure starting with the roof, followed by the eastern wall, and then the western. The metal girdle holding the masonry together and supporting its structure, had already come down with the falling portions of the walls. Now, the band supporting 'the Black Stone' was also removed, as were the 'Mīzāb' and the Lapis Lazuli Plate bearing the inscription concerning the Girdle's installation. When the southern wall was pulled down, the Stone of the 'Yamānī Corner', upon removal, was for some reason retained inside the wooden enclosure temporarily installed then around the Ka'bah. This could well have been out of regard for those performing the 'Ṭawāf', while its Door was stored in the house of Muḥammad Effendī, the 'Shaykh al-Ḥaram' ('Keeper of the Mosque') of al-Madīnah.

The main engineers involved in this Project were 'Alī ibn Shamsal-dīn al-Makkī (Makkah's Resident Engineer), Muḥammad ibn Zaynal-dīn al-Makkī and his brother 'Abdal-Raḥmān, while Sulaymān al-Ṣaḥrāwī al-Miṣrī was the head of carpenters. Amongst the builders were Fātiḥ 'Abdal-Saiyyid al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī al-Makkī, Sālim

al-Qurashī, Sulaymān ibn Muḥammad al-Baja', Ibn Ḥātim and Nūral-dīn, these last four being Egyptians.[558]

The reconstruction was heralded by the laying of the foundations of the 'Syrian' (Northern) wall in the presence of the then ruler, the Sharīf 'AbdAllāh ibn al-Ḥasan and other dignitaries and amidst great celebrations. This was on 23rd Jamādal-Thānī 1040H(January 1631) and in the following nine weeks, sufficient work had been completed by the eve of Ramaḍān (mid-April) for the Ka'bah to be dressed with the 'Kiswah', again accompanied by much celebration and rejoicing. Then, come the 2nd of Dhū'l-Ḥijjah (early July), the application of the finishing touches had been completed. The Stone of the Yamānī Corner had been placed 'in situ' earlier at the beginning of the seventh lunar month Rajab (February), after it had been anointed with perfume and this had been followed by the installation of the eastern and the western doors during the same first week of that month.[559]

However, when it had been the turn of 'the Black Stone' to be removed in order to be re-installed anew in the presence of the Sharīf, his sons and various senior officials, scholars, engineers and others, then, just as the Engineer 'Abdal-Raḥmān ibn Zaynal-dīn had started to gently scrape the lime mortar off the silver around the Stone, with the Sharīf's son Muḥammad holding a kerchief below to catch anything falling, much to the bewilderment of all present, 'the Black Stone' splintered into four major pieces, but did not fall. As it was felt that the splintered pieces would separate, making it hard for them to be assembled together again once they had been removed, it was decided to prepare a paste to hold them together. The chronicler Ibn 'Allān mentions that, parts of the Stone that had not been exposed (to the elements and the touch) were found to be as white of hue as the 'Maqām Ibrāhīm'. Others, who had the occasion to see it, described its shade as "oily", or with "a tinge of yellow in colour".[560]

A paste made of laudanum and ambergris was fed into the cracks in the Stone after it had been washed with rose water. This was despite the continuing opposition of the Engineer, 'Alī ibn Shamsal-dīn, who still wanted the Stone to be removed from its socket in order to be re-installed properly, after this Corner too had been submitted to the same restorative treatment as the other portions of the Ka'bah's walls. As expected, all this was done in the presence of the Sharīf and the other officials and dignitaries and with their participation. The band of silver too was then placed back around it as additional support. However, the heat of the Makkan sun managed to melt the paste that very day. Now, a new paste, also containing resin, white lead, sandarac, coal (for its colour) and musk was prepared and applied that same night—the midnight of the tenth of Rajab (February). This adhesive, though lasting somewhat longer, again proved to be no safe long-term solution.[561] Indeed, almost a month later, on the ninth of Shawwāl (March) to be precise, the fragments of 'the Black Stone', as well as the silver band around it became loose. On this occasion, upon removing the band, it was discovered that, apart from the four large pieces, there were several smaller fragments as well, thirteen according to Ibn 'Allān, which could have been picked at by anyone desiring to do so. These pieces were again pasted with a new preparation and then rubbed with oil and coated with sandarac. This treatment was to end on the first day of Dhū'l-Ḥijjah 1040H(July 1631).[562]

The Ka'bah's new walls had been built upon the deep original foundations of the Prophet Ibrāhīm, barring the place supporting 'the Black Stone', which had refused to come down of its own accord. However, this too had been injected with molten lead for additional strength. Twenty rows of stone had been placed atop each other to reach the projected levels of the Ka'bah's inner ceiling, another four rows to raise the walls to the outer roof level and a further row to complete the whole structure as desired. Teak was specially brought over for the re-roofing, and the three columns with their bases, that had traditionally supported the Ka'bah's ceiling, were then reinstalled and covered with gold plating. This was just as the then Door of the Ka'bah, originally presented by the Mamlūk Sulṭān, Baybars and subsequently plated by Sulaymān I in silver and chased with gold, was put in place, supported now by a colonette on either side. The 'Mīzāb' of silver, also chased with gold and bearing the name of the Sulṭān Aḥmad I, was installed along with the stairs to the ceiling and then the whole structure was retiled, painted and made ready to be dressed with the 'Kiswah'. This took place on the eve of Ramaḍān 1040H(April 1631) amidst great official celebration and popular rejoicing and a marble panel, testifying in Arabic to the completion of this work by "the Servitor of the Two Holy Sanctuaries… Sulṭān Murād Khān…" was installed on the western wall inside the Ka'bah. Some of the chroniclers calculate that the duration of this reconstruction lasting till

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Outside the 'Ḥaram', the first to receive attention was the residence of the Lady Khadījah, where the blessed Prophet ﷺ had received the "Waḥī" ('Divine Revelation') on occasions and his daughter Fāṭimah had been born. Khadījah's house as well as her grave had been shaded by a dome during the reign of the Umaiyyad Caliph Sulaymān I, as already mentioned. The "Bayt al-Arqam" (House of al-Arqam), where the Prophet and his 'Ṣaḥābah' ('Companions') used to gather and meet before the 'Hijrah', was the next to be renovated. Both these houses were thoroughly attended to along with the Prophet's own house and the pen or shed where the Prophet used to tie his camel. This 'House of al-Arqam', which did not have a dome like the former, was now provided with one, while a small mosque was built on the spot known as "al-Mabrak" (the Resting Place of the Prophet's camel). The 'Masjid al-Jinn', where a group of Jinn had embraced Islām after hearing the Qur'ān and which had suffered through centuries of neglect until it had become a mere mound, was excavated until its 'Miḥrāb' had been discovered and then rebuilt to its former size. Since this was then below ground level, another mosque was also built above it and provided with a large dome. To a side of the Mosque, a garden was planted and landscaped out of the greenery on the site, which bore such specimens of vegetation as the common 'Nibq' ('Christ's Thorn'), Sweet Basil and some other plants and trees.[568]

When the Ka'bah was again surveyed for repairs from within, which was in late Dhū'l-Ḥijjah 1118H(March 1707), the Sulṭān Aḥmad III had already been on the throne for well over three years. The survey was followed by further repairs to the edifice, alongside whatever else required such attention in the whole of the 'Ḥaram' and the Holy City. These were to include such institutions as "the Sulṭānic Madrasah" (College) also. It is again reported that, a number of repairs and other works in these areas, and specifically the Ka'bah, were undertaken upon the receipt of orders from the above Sulṭān, which was during mid-Dhū'l-Qa'dah 1136H(August 1724). On the occasion of the repairs to the Ka'bah, the Sharīf Bārakāt ibn Yaḥyā, the 'Qāḍī' and other personages of religious importance had all participated in the work in person, deeming it an honour pleasing to both, their spiritual Lord and their worldly master.[569]

Far from Ottoman interest in the affairs of the Two Holy Mosques waning in keeping with the decline of their power and influence in the world as may well be expected, the Sulṭāns continued to be attracted repeatedly to the problems of the Pilgrimage and the welfare of the Pilgrims, as well as the religious and other establishments and institutions in the Holy Cities, as it made up for their loss in international prestige, by adding to their reputation and standing with their co-religionists.

Another son of Aḥmad III, along with Muṣṭafā III was the great Sulṭān 'Abdal-Ḥamīd I (r.1187H/1773 till 1203H/1789), a firm believer in promoting and carrying out reforms in his dominions in a careful and selective manner, ensuring all the while that, they were genuine, durable and effective and just as importantly, also went hand in hand with the aptitude and traditions of his subjects. In this regard, he was seldom found hesitant over the question of introducing foreign advisers in any number into his domains for the objectives in hand, as and when needed and particularly so for military concerns. The famous French-trained Hungarian, Baron Francois de Tott (d.1208H/1793) and the French naval engineers Le Roi and Durest were amongst these imports. In short, 'Abdal-Ḥamīd I could hardly be described as falling into the category of those Ottoman rulers who contributed to this process of political and imperial disintegration of their Sultanate.

During his interesting reign, lasting almost sixteen years, 'Abdal-Ḥamīd I had to contend with many grave issues amidst his attempts to reform his army and navy, in order to enable them to withstand the challenge of their European counterparts successfully. He was attempting to achieve this through the establishment of new institutions, or the revival of former ones wherever applicable, for training. Nevertheless, internal problems always appeared to be threatening his authority throughout several parts of his dominions, like the Balkans, Anatolia, the Arabic-speaking lands of Egypt, Syria, the Lebanon, Palestine, al-'Irāq and even Arabia. Then, there were the aggressive intentions of neighbours like Austria and Russia against his realm, along with the traditional irritations relating to the borders with Īrān, which the Ottoman State then had to face.

In Arabia, the religious reform movement started by the Imām Muḥammad ibn 'Abdal-Wahhāb (b.1115H/1703–d.1206H/1792) and aided and abetted by the Central Arabian clan of the House of Sa'ūd, initially under their Amīr Muḥammad ibn Sa'ūd, and their supporters, who were acting as its sword-arm since around 1158H(1745), was to spread fast within as well as beyond the Arabian Peninsula's borders. For example, during the reigns of the Amīrs

cum Imāms 'Abdal-'Azīz ibn Muḥammad (d.1218H/1803) and particularly his son Sa'ūd (d.1229H/1814), not merely were these adherents of this 'Da'wah' ('Religious Call') found to be raiding beyond the Ḥejāz into Syria in the west, but also al-'Irāq in the east, where they once successfully managed to surprise and sack Karbalā completely during the course of a few hours in 1216H(1802). After this episode, they were to occupy Makkah followed by al-Madīnah after the Ḥajj of 1217H(1803) and to hold them almost till the end of 1228H(1813), demolishing domes and institutions anathema to their interpretation of Unitarian belief and making the then Sharīf, Ghālib ibn Musā'id swear in the 'Ḥaram' upon his reinstatement as their vassal, that, he will ensure strict adherence to their interpretation of the 'Sharī'ah' in their absence.

Since Ottoman claims to the Caliphal office were based at least in part on their expected role as custodians of Islām's Holy Cities, especially Makkah and al-Madīnah, hence, the interference with the 'Maḥamals' and the Ḥajj was subsequently to lead to the invasion of the Ḥejāz by the Ottoman vassal in Egypt, Muḥammad 'Alī, whence Makkah and al-Madīnah were to be retrieved during 1228H(1813) and following which, al-Dir'īyyah, the capital of the Āl Sa'ūd itself was to be destroyed after fierce resistance in 1233H(1818). The ensuing Egyptian occupation of the Ḥejāz was to last till 1257H(1841), weathering many storms.

On the international plane, the 'Call' of Shaykh Muḥammad ibn 'Abdal-Wahhāb, with its simple puritanical teachings, was to breathe life into many a religio-political reform movement wherever Muslims are to be found. It would also not be an exaggeration to say that, every Islāmic religious reformer's thinking till now has been influenced in varying degrees by this 'Call' to the simple interpretation and practice of pristine Islām, and even great modern reformist movements such as the present day 'Ikhwān al-Muslimīn' (the 'Muslim Brethren') owe much in terms of their inspiration to it.

In any narrative on the Sulṭān 'Abdal-Ḥamīd I's reign and his achievements, it also ought to be highlighted that, it was his fortune to be served well by able Grand Wazīrs, particularly Kara Saiyyid Muḥammad Pāshā and Khalīl Ḥamīd Pāshā. This was to add to his success in leaving a lasting imprint on the course of his dynasty's history as a strong and able reformer, who had managed to a fair extent to arrest its slide towards decay and perdition.

Where the Ka'bah was concerned, Makkan chroniclers record that, in the year 1201H(1787), 'Abdal-Ḥamīd I sent fifty "Uqqah" (the equivalent of about 62.5Kg) of silver, with directions that the metal be plated with gold and used in covering the columns inside the Ka'bah. As this was an imperial order, the instructions were promptly carried out with the then Sharīf, Surūr ibn Musā'id, the 'Shaykh al-Ḥaram', the 'Wālī' of Jiddah and other religious dignitaries and senior officials in attendance in person.[570] It is also most probable that, it was during 'Abdal-Ḥamīd I's reign that the Ka'bah and also the colonnades in its vicinity were provided with flooring of carved stone. This work was executed by the 'Mi'mār' ('Builder' or 'Architect'), Muḥammad Effendi.[571]

It is of interest to observe here that, it was during the reign of 'Abdal-Ḥamīd I's successor Salīm III (r.1203H/1789 till 1222H/1807), a son of Muṣṭafā III and another ruler believing in reform, that the French invasion of Egypt under Napoleon Bonaparte was to take place. Many regard this event, as constituting something of a landmark or watershed in the region's history for a number of reasons and particularly its modernising influence. Landing onto the shores of Alexandria in the middle of Muḥarram 1213H(1st July 1798), the expedition was to leave its indelible mark on several political developments also, alongside institutions, even though the French were only to stay there for three years and a most interesting feature of this was the scientists and other experts that they had brought along with them to conduct studies and surveys. During this period, Napoleon as the heir to the traditional strong ties between Egypt and the Ḥejāz, was found to be in close contact with the then Sharīf, Ghālib ibn Musā'id, using him also as a conduit for his correspondence with other rulers in the region and in India, such as the 'Imām' of Masqaṭ and Fateḥ Alī Khān (Tipu Sulṭān) of Mahisur (Mysore), in order to beat the rather effective British naval blockade of Egyptian ports.[572] Perhaps, it would be superfluous to add here that, the Sharīf was of course greatly concerned about the fate of the annual benefits that he and the Ḥejāz had regularly enjoyed till then from that blessed and fertile land. The text of an interesting letter dated 18th Dhū'l-Qa'dah 1213H(April 1799) addressed by this Sharīf to Napoleon and preserved by Shaykh 'AbdAllāh Ghāzī in his 'Ifādat al-Anām Bi Dhikr Akhbār Balad Allāh al-Ḥarām' ('Informing Mankind by Reporting the News of Allāh's Holy City'), a history of Makkah, casts interesting light on

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these relations and their nature and also reveals in tabulation what the Sharīfs were receiving from the Ottoman authorities via Egypt at this time, the handsome amount of 4,835,794 'Qarsh'.[573]

The historian of Makkah and the 'Ḥaram', Ḥusayn Bāsalāmah also reports on the authority of a pamphlet in Turkish on the subject of 'The Services of the Ottoman dynasty to the Two Noble Sanctuaries' by Amīn Effendī, a 'Mudīr' or Director of the Makkan 'Ḥaram' that, the floor of the Ka'bah was repaired and tiled in marble sent from Istānbul by the Sulṭān, 'Abdal-Majīd I in 1253H(1837), though he actually became the Sulṭān in 1255H(1839), following in the wake of another great reformer, his own father, Maḥmūd II and ruled till 1277H(1861). Other repairs to the stone masonry inside the Ka'bah and around 'the Black Stone', were also carried out during his reign and in 1259H(1843) to be precise. On this occasion, the Ka'bah's roof too was re-tiled with slabs of marble.[574]

Then, when two of the columns between the entrances of the 'Bāb al-Ṣafā' and the 'Bāb al-Baghlah' were found to be tilting, the whole structure in that area was pulled down and rebuilt anew, as was another faulty column in the colonnade behind 'the Station of the Ḥanafī Imām'. The whole Mosque was also white-washed the year that this work was carried out, namely 1257H(1841). Nine years after this, in 1266H(1850), the area around the 'Bāb al-Salām' too was tiled with marble.[575] It was also during this year that the Muftī of Makkah al-Saiyyid 'AbdAllāh al-Mirghanī, who had been replaced by Muḥammad al-Kutbī on the orders of the Governor-General Ḥasīb Pāshā for opposing his designs to recover those endowments that had fallen into the ownership of their then occupants through vacancy or legal cession, was reinstated by a 'Firmān', while Ḥasīb Pāshā himself was replaced. What had helped bring this about was a complaint from the notables of Makkah, smuggled out and laid before the Sulṭān by none other than 'AbdAllāh, the brother of the Ḥaḍramī 'Shaykh al-Sādah', Is'ḥāq ibn Yaḥyā ibn 'Aqīl, who was also destined to accompany a naval expedition to Ḥaḍramaut about this time (1266H/1850), in order to reclaim it for the Sulṭān and install the candidate sponsored by the 'Alawites of Ḥaḍramaut, a Kathīrī notable, Ghālib ibn Muḥsin, who had met with great success and fortune in a short period of time while at the court of the Niẓām of Ḥaidarābād, as an Ottoman vassal. It had come to pass earlier on that, the great Kathīrī Chief Badr 'Bū Ṭuweiraq' al-Kathīrī, an ancestor of Ghālib ibn Muḥsin, had initially offered his allegiance to the Ottomans during 944H(1537), when faced with Portuguese threats. The above naval expedition on the other hand had failed due to a combination of unruly seas due the monsoon season, poor planning, and local resistance and in that order.

The reign of the Sulṭān 'Abdal-Majīd I was also to witness the banning of the slave trade in his dominions, including the Ḥejāz. This was actually to lead in 1271H(1855) to armed clashes between those commercially affected by the Edict and the Government soldiery and ultimately to contribute to the downfall of the Sharīf 'Abdal-Muṭṭalib of the Dhawī Zayd (clan) following a rebellion, in which he had participated. He was replaced in office on that occasion by a scion of the clan of Āl 'Aun, the Sharīf Muḥammad ibn 'Aun, who was to die after a short reign of less than two years, to be succeeded in 1274H(1858) by his son 'AbdAllāh (d.1294H/1877), when faced with Portugese threats. The above naval expedition, on the other hand, had failed due to a combination of unruly seas due to the monsoon season, poor planning and local resistance and in that order.[576]

Another significant international event of this period (1274-75H/1857-58) was the bombardment of Jiddah by the British Royal Navy's vessel H.M.S Cyclops, following the murder in mid-June (early Dhū'l-Qa'dah) of the French Consul, the British Vice-Consul (Page) and many Christians by a hostile mob, incited upon learning that, Page had torn down the Ottoman flag off a vessel and stomped upon it. The prime accused named for inciting the mob were 'AbdAllāh al-Muḥtasib, 'Abdal-Qādir Shaykh (Jiddah's Qāḍī), 'Umar Bādīb, Sa'īd Baghlaf, 'AbdAllāh Bāhārūn (the 'Shaykh al-Sādah'), 'Abdal-Ghaffār, Yūsuf Bānājah and Sa'īd al-'Amūdī—all Ḥaḍramīs save the first two. Of these, the first and the last were to be executed, while the others were imprisoned or exiled.[577] 'Abdal-Majīd I was to pass away almost towards the very end of 1277H(around 6th July 1861) after a reign of over 22 years. He was then forty lunar years old. It so happened that prior to his death by a couple of months, al-Madīnah had been visited by Sa'īd Pāshā (r. 1271H/1854 till 1279H/1863), the first actual 'Wālī' of Egypt to do so since Muḥammad 'Alī, though several other scions of this dynasty like Ṭūsūn and Ibrāhīm, both incidentally also sons of the latter, who however did not rise to become governors of Egypt, also enjoyed this distinction.

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'Abdal-Majīd I's successor, his brother 'Abdal-'Azīz (r.1277H/1861 till 1293H/1876), physically reputed to be the strongest man in Turkey of his day, was to order the repair of the whole of the 'Masjid al-Ḥarām' as needed in 1279H (1863). This was following a major flash-flood on 8th Jamād al-Awwal 1278H (November 1861), that had caused much havoc. While earlier on in 1276H(1860), a gold-plated 'Mīzāb' weighing around fifty pounds had also been presented to the Ka'bah by the former Sulṭān. The repair work under the Sharīf's son, 'AbdAllāh ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Aun and the 'Shaykh al-Ḥaram' Aḥmad 'Izzat Pāshā was started on 28th Jamād al-Thānī (December 1863) and completed in the month of the Pilgrimage, Dhū'l-Ḥijjah, the same lunar year (June 1864).[578]

The reign of the Sulṭān 'Abdal-Ḥamīd II lasted from 1293H (1876) till 1327H (1909). A son of 'Abdal-Majīd I, his many genuine concerns as a great pan-Islāmic reformer, also witnessed in 1295H(1878) as far as the Makkan 'Ḥaram' was concerned, the replacement of the marble on the Ka'bah's roof with new slabs, as well as the floor tiles of its interior with fresh ones a couple of years later. This was when the planks of wood used in the roofing and needing repair were tended to as required. According to Bāsalāmah, once again reporting on the authority of Daḥlān, 'Abdal-Ḥamīd II also had further renovations carried out to the Ka'bah's structure during 1299H (1882). On this occasion, its interior was again tiled with new marble. Then, after this, there followed an extensive repair, improvement and cleaning operation inside and outside the Ka'bah in 1314H(1896) under the auspices of Aḥmad Rātib Pāshā, with the whole work taking a year of intensive effort to complete and with highly appealing results too. Yet, a couple of years later in 1316H(1898), it was discovered that the roof again needed to be tended to, because of the appearance of a bad odour as a result of rain-water penetrating the gaps between the marble slabs and the tiles and collecting under them for long durations, and putrefying. On this occasion, the gaps were sealed off with a special paste, primarily prepared with lime, cement and the white of egg. This work, under the orders of the Sharīf 'Aun al-Rafiq and the Ka'bah's 'Sadanah' ('Custodian of its Keys') Muḥammad Ṣāleh, al-Shībī, had taken about a fortnight to complete.[579]

Meanwhile, in order to portray the urgency and intensity of this operation aimed at lifting off the Mosque what Bāsalāmah describes as the appearance of the "gardens of sorrow", which had

fallen on it due to a number of recent flash-floods not followed by timely remedial action, the regular soldiers stationed locally were also inscripted into helping out. Each individual column of marble in this instance was scrubbed with soft sand for a week or even two if necessary, until it had reverted to its original sparkle. Whereas, others of granite and Shumaysī stone along with the walls, were either coated with a resin of crushed shiny marble or painted with colours to match their natural hue. Green, the Prophet's preferred colour, was specifically reserved for the domes, such as the one above the 'Zamzam' Well and the other over the 'Maqām Ibrāhīm', along with the doors and all the other woodwork.[580]

Later on in 1328H(1910), the four wooden sections on the Ka'bah's roof on which the 'Kiswah' was hung, were also changed under the supervision of the same 'Sadanah'. This was during the Sharīfate of Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī. In 1329H(1911), and again during 1332H(1914), support was provided to the three wooden columns inside the Ka'bah that dated back to the era of 'AbdAllāh ibn al-Zubayr, and now had splintered at their lower end. On these occasions also, the 'Sadanah', Muḥammad al-Shībī and the Sharīf Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī had supervised the work in person.[581]

The last significant works of restoration and refurbishment in the 'Ḥaram' during the Ottoman era were destined to take place during the first year of the reign of the Sulṭān Muḥammad Rashād VI (r.1327H/1909 till 1336H/1918). As on several previous occasions, this reconstruction too had been induced by a severe flood, which entered the Holy Sanctuary on 23rd Dhū'l-Ḥijjah 1327H(January 1910), shortly after the Ḥajj that year. Only this time, the water level in the 'Ḥaram' had risen to the height of the lintel under the Ka'bah's door, fully covering 'the Black Stone'. As the then Khedive of Egypt, 'Abbās Ḥilmī (r.1310H/1892–1333H/1914), had performed the Pilgrimage that season, this flood is also popularly remembered in lore as the "Sayl al-Khidaywī" or the "Khedive's Flash-flood".[582]

When the waters had subsided and drained away, Makkans led by the ever tenacious Sharīf, Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī, had worked hard for about a fortnight to clear and clean the Holy Mosque of all debris and dirt. Upon this, they were not entirely astonished to discover that, the flood had caused much damage to various sections of the whole Sanctuary and particularly to the flooring and the columns, though not all of this was instantly apparent.[583]

Under the Sulṭān Muḥammad V (Resat) Rashād's orders addressed to the then 'Wālī' of the Ḥejāz, Ghālib Pāshā, work on the reconstruction, repair and restoration started on the first of the second lunar month of Ṣafar 1334H(December 1915), despite the highly critical conditions prevaling due to the First World War, which was then raging at its peak. At this time, the only feasible route for transport between Turkey and the Ḥejāz was the overland railway line to al-Madīnah. The journey from there to Makkah had to be by camel and the engineers had arrived from Turkey by utilising this route and transport in order to implement all that was required, as best as possible, regardless of the handicaps faced, because of the general situation.[584] To start with, by the specific order of the Sulṭān, a new silver band replaced the former one around 'the Black Stone' and the old one was forwarded to him.[585]

Under the circumstances and these conditions of war, the overall importance of the Ḥejāz railway as an artery of communications can hardly be under-estimated, let alone denied. This most important and vital Project is said to have been thought of first in 1284H(1867), but only fully considered, developed and completed by 'Abdal-Ḥamīd II between 1318H(1900) and 1326H (1908) and that too against most expectations, without foreign loans. This had been primarily thanks to the handsome contributions from a number of individuals and the Muslim public in general the world over, like the Shāh of Īrān (Muẓaffaral-din Qājār), the Sulṭān of Morocco (Moulāy 'Abdal-'Azīz), the Amīr of Bukhārā (al-Saiyyid 'Abdal-Auḥad), the Khedive of Egypt ('Abbās Ḥilmī), who had promised to provide materials, the Sulṭān of al-Shiḥr and al-Mukallā ('Awaḍ ibn 'Umar al-Qu'aiṭī) and the Shaykh of al-Kuwayt (Mubārak al-Ṣabāḥ). From amongst the Muslims of India, the nobles from Ḥaidarābād led generously by their ruler, Mīr Maḥbūb 'Alī Khān and his Prime Minister Faḍlal-dīn Khān (Waqār al-Umarā II), were to feature most prominently, and from South-East Asia, the list was to include several Ḥaḍramīs in its midst such as 'Abdal-Raḥmān al-Kāf, his son Ḥasan, Ṭāhir ibn Yaḥyā, 'Alī ibn Ḥaidar and Ḥasan ibn Bakr alongside some other Arabs domiciled there such as the Damascene Aḥmad 'AṭāAllāh. From Europe, surprisingly enough, there were French and German donors as well. According to the Sulṭān, his secretary Aḥmad 'Izzat Pāshā al-'Ābid was to play a major role in organising the fund-raising and in the designing of the "beautiful medals" that were to be awarded to

donors and these were to play a very important and enticing role in the scheme of things, despite Britain's petty refusal to allow any of its subjects to receive them. It is also related that British allies by treaty like 'Awaḍ ibn 'Umar al-Qu'aiṭī were to find themselves in something of a state of political quandry for this act of benevolence upon discovering later on that, Britain was really against the implimentation of this Project. The manpower for its execution was mostly to be provided by the Ottoman army regulars.[586]

Although the idea of this Railway may first have been mooted by an American of German descent called Dr. Zimpel according to an account, yet, the descendants of the Indian born adviser of the Sulṭān, Saiyyid Faḍl (Pāshā) ibn 'Alawī ibn Sahl of the 'Alawite clan of Mölā al-Dawīlah in Ḥaḍramaut such as the Sharīfs Ja'far and Zayd living in Syria claim that, it was this ancestor of theirs who had been instrumental in encouraging the Sulṭān by repeatedly reminding him of the importance and general benefits of this great scheme. Commonly referred to in the official British records as the "Moplah"—a term for Muslims of Arab blood in Malabār—Saiyyid Faḍl had seen in India the great economic and military advantages to be derived from such a project and the dire need for it and its likes in the Empire, and hence, was particular in emphasising its merits and benefits to his master in the service of the Ḥajj and the Ḥājīs, not to mention the manner in which its implementation would reflect on his own name and reputation as Caliph. These aspects could hardly have been amiss on a clever ruler like 'Abdal-Ḥamīd II. The original concept had been to gradually extend the railway line further southwards, first towards Makkah and Jiddah, and later on, all the way down to al-Ḥudaydah in the Yaman. Sadly however, this plan's execution could not be continued with due to secret resistance from the Sharīf, who saw in this development the reduction of his local authority.[587] The Bedouin cameleers too had espied in this a grave challenge to their means of livelihood and the Sharīf was not found wanting in encouraging the disgruntled tribes, thus affected, to interfere with and disrupt the rail road's building activity and progress along the route.

In a Burton Memorial Lecture before the Royal Asiatic Society in June 1925 (Dhū'l-Qa'dah/al-Ḥijjah 1343H), Philby, not then a Muslim, wrongly gauges the feelings and the aspirations of the Muslim 'Ummah' associated with this Project, when he describes that, the sole purpose for the building of this line was as a "strategic

railway for the control of Western Arabia" and that, the riveting of its first bolt in 1904(1322H) was akin to "the first nail in the coffin" of the happiness of a country, which had enjoyed this for a long period, because it was "without independent historical importance". While these statements of his are obviously provocative to many and open to dispute, what he was to say about the engineering itself can hardly be left to question. Seeing and providing proof of the excellence of this marvelous engineering feat by the great difficulties that T.E. Lawrence had to face in demolishing and rendering it unserviceable, and subsequently "the extraordinary facility with which 'Alī ... King of Ḥejāz was able (later) to restore the most heavily damaged southern portions of the line sufficiently to run trains", he goes on to laud Meissner Pāshā's effort in this Project as "perhaps one of the finest examples of railway engineering in the world". He also emphasises what has just been mentioned, that "the failure of the Ḥejāz Railway to reach Makkah was due to no one as much as the new Grand Sharīf" (Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī), whose appointment in 1910(1328H) he describes as "the second nail.... driven into the coffin of the Ḥejāz". He then goes on to elucidate that, the "Sulṭān 'Abdal-Ḥamīd II had already on a previous occasion flatly refused to appoint Ḥusayn to that post". So, when he heard of the latter's appointment by the 'Young Turk' Government, "he made a remark that was justified by the events within seven or eight years". The deposed Sulṭān had exclaimed on this occasion that, "the Ḥejāz is as good as lost".[588]

For example, even the Qu'aiṭī ruler 'Awaḍ bin 'Umar, realising the future potential of railway schemes, was reported to have offered to invest upto a 'Crore' (ten million) of Rupees in a projected expansion of the railways in the Niẓām of Ḥaiḍarābād's Dominions, the 'Chanda Railway Scheme' as early as the 1870s (1290sH). However, due to British disapproval with this Project's structure, it was not to be implemented. Later on, he, his two sons and grandson were also to be found tinkering with the concept of the introduction of railways in the Yaman, linking Ta'iz with 'Adan, the latter with al-Shiḥr and then, this port with the Wādī Ḥaḍramaut (Tarīm)—a scheme with which the British Eastern Syndicate was one of the parties most probably involved, just as it was in connection with the acquisition of rights for the exploration for oil in Ḥaḍramaut around 1325H(1907), but due to the intervention of the World War and other regional crises, nothing was to emerge.

The famous Ḥaḍramī entrepreneur/philanthropist Saiyyid Abū Bakr al-Kāf, with his wealth based in Singapore, had also evinced in the 1340sH (1920s) a keen interest in linking al-Shiḥr on the Arabian Sea with his native Tarīm in return for certain monopolies. This also was not to be.

Of the Sulṭān 'Abdal-Ḥamīd II, who had ruled for some thirty-four lunar years before he had been forced to abdicate in 1327H(1909) and then had died some nine years later—how I remember my first major surprise upon naively expressing my admiration for his bold and innovative policies and attempts to breathe life into the body politic of his decaying, nay almost moribund empire, when, by my statement, I had unwittingly succeeded in startling and choking an otherwise usually very calm and composed Australian tutor of mine at Oxford through sheer weight of unexpected shock, for unusual to his race, he was a shy man of few select words. Since then, while often placing a lid on my views concerning the revivalistic attempts of this Sulṭān, I have nevertheless been pleasantly surprised from time to time to hear views akin to my own and on occassions from the most unexpected quarters, which have always gone a long way to serve to reassure me on a timely basis about the sanity of these conclusions of mine, at least some of them.

The last time this happened was as recently as while writing this Chapter and the event, a 'Suḥūr' gathering during Ramaḍān in al-Madīnah—'Suḥūr' being the traditional meal taken before the start of a fast. On this occasion, because of the unexpected lineage of the source referring to him as "the greatest of all the Ottoman Sulṭāns" on grounds of the enormity of the challenges he had to face from a position of total weakness and due to how close he actually came to attaining a fair modicum of success in his goals, it now fell to my lot to choke with shock, albeit joyous, at having my own private views confirmed at last and by such an eminent source, whom I would otherwise have assumed to be inimical to the Ottomans at large due to past dynastic rivalry.

If anything, I also feel this small incident spoke volumes for this host of mine on that occasion, who, in keeping with his innately humble and modest nature and his wishes, shall remain unidentified by me in these pages. However, this is not to say that I intend not to mention that, in addition to bearing the name of the Prophet, in whose beloved City we then were, he also happens to be the

very personification of a large number of his humane teachings, coupled with a deep understanding of man's nature. Imbued with a rare pioneering spirit, this father of Islāmic banking has also foreseen and lavished a fortune and just as valuable time on studies connected with solving the long term problem of aridity in the region with bold, innovative solutions, caring little for personal credit. On this occasion, his great integrity and impartiality as a critic in a historical matter, was of course to add greatly to my feelings of doubled pleasure and to my respect for him. Meanwhile, this discovery by me of how honest, open and fair-minded people can still be, seemed to rekindle in me fresh hope for mankind's ethical future in this morally near decrepit age dominated by the uglier aspects of materialism and its unwholesome values.

Though nicknamed "'Abdul the Damned" by his British detractors, the Sulṭān 'Abdal-Ḥamīd II certainly took his inherited titles and position seriously, displaying a keen desire to treat all his subjects justly and at par with each other, often to the great irritation of the Pan-Turanian elements in his empire. It is an undoubted fact that, as the holder of the title of Caliph, he had made great public gestures towards Arabic as the language of the Qur'ān and lionised Arabs, even from lands as distant as Malabār in India, Ḥaḍramaut and Mount Lebanon, to name but three. The case of Saiyyid Faḍl (d.1318H/1900) has already been referred to, while from Ḥaḍramaut, the great poet and scholar of his day, Saiyyid Abū Bakr Bin Shihāb (d.1344H/1925) was also known to have made his way to Istānbul and to attract sufficient attention from the Sulṭān to be rewarded and decorated. From Mount Lebanon, it was Shidyāq Aḥmad Fāris Shidyāq, a Maronite convert to Islām and a master of Arabic language and satire, who was to serve 'Abdal-Ḥamīd II well with his journalistic capabilities for several years till his death in 1305H(1886). 'Abdal-Ḥamīd II had also, for example, retained 'Izzat Pāshā al-'Ābid, an Arab (and as may be expected, with several enemies and critics), as his Grand Wazīr for thirteen years. Though this fact is not commonly realised, there certainly were more Arabs in his empire than Turks and at least a third of his soldiery also were Arabs.[589]

His aspirations for his dominions and the Muslim 'Ummah' apart, this Sulṭān, like the pious Caliphs of old, also led an exemplary abstemious personal life. He would observe voluntary fasts every Monday and Thursday and relax whenever time permitted

by exercising his skills in calligraphy and as a carpenter. In keeping with an old dynastic tradition that every ruler had to have a practical trade at his disposal, 'Abdal-Ḥamīd II had opted to learn carpentry.

During the month of Ramaḍān, apart from observing all the prescribed nocturnal forms of worship to last till the 'Fajr' (early morning) Prayer, the Sulṭān would sit with his court every afternoon at his residence, the Yildiz Palace, to listen to a sermon on a fresh topic and to the recitation of the Qur'ān. This would be every day of this sacred month in which the earliest part of the Qur'ānic Revelation was received by the Prophet, till the moment for the breaking of the fast, audibly heralded by cannon prior to the 'Prayer Call' of the 'Mu'adhddin' (Muezzin) for the 'Maghrib' or 'Dusk Prayer'.

Like the ceremonies on 27th Rajab ('Laylat al-Mi'rāj' / the Night of the Prophet's Nocturnal Journey) in al-Madīnah and 17th Ramaḍān (a possible date for the 'Laylat al-Qadr' / the 'Night of Power') in Makkah, that have been described earlier, the middle of this holy month was also selected in Istānbul for a visit to the sacred relics associated with the memory of the Prophet and the pious Orthodox Caliphs and Imāms, whose custody had been acquired along with that of the Holy Cities and the mantle of the Caliphate by the Ottomans during the reign of Salīm II. These were housed at the ancient Topkapi Serai and included amongst them the Prophet's (Ḥaḍramī) 'Burdah' (cloak), one of his swords, some of the letters he had addressed to the various rulers inviting them to Islām and a copy of the final codex of the Qur'ān that was assembled by his son-in-law and third Caliph, 'Uthmān and all of the other major symbolic reminders to each Ottoman Sulṭān of the role to which he was heir and the obligations expected of him by the Muslim 'Ummah' at large.

On that day, subjects would line the route, as this Muslim viceregent of Allāh's Prophet on earth would drive by, in an open carriage, escorted by his personal guard—Albanians in white fezzes and Zouaves from Libya in green turbans, blue tunics, red baggy trousers and white gaiters—all marching in step to the tune of the Ḥamīdiyyah (Hamidiye) March, accompanied by ministers, religious dignitaries, ambassadors and of course, members, male and female, of the Imperial family, all riding behind in order of rank and participating in this procession. Crossing the Galata Bridge, they

would enter the Serai through the 'Bāb-e-Humāyūn' ('Imperial Entrance') and alight at the 'Bāb-e-Sa'ādat' ('Gateway of Happiness'), from where the Sulṭān would be led to the pavilion housing the relics, even as a dozen burners sweetened the air with pastilles of exotic incense and perfume. There, to the sound of recitation of verses from the Qur'ān, whose first revelation, as mentioned, had come down during this very month, he would bestow scarves embroidered with suitable portions of its text and sanctified by being brought into contact with the holy relics in his custody to the assemblage, till this ceremony was deemed over. Then, withdrawing for a while to another pavilion, the Baghdād Kiosk, built by his great forebear Sulaymān the Magnificent, to wait for the moment 'Iftār' (breaking of the fast), he would continue to bestow gifts and rewards on members of his household. After the fast had been broken and the 'Maghrib' Prayer offered, he would return to his residence in the manner he had ventured out, there to offer the "Ishā" (Evening) and the 'Tarāwīḥ' (superagatory) Prayers in congregation. This was the ruler revered by the Muslims as their Caliph that his detractors in their blind arrogance had chosen to nickname "the Damned" and to refer to as a "paranoid"—a case of clash of civilisations, or merely of interests, or one perhaps of the application of the wrong evaluating criteria and error of judgment! Meanwhile, the Sulṭān himself felt and stated often and openly in his court circles, that, if he were to be left alone by the machinations of those Powers entertaining a Crusaders' spirit against his State (as embodied in what is termed popularly 'the Eastern Question'), as well as by Zionism and also their attempts to subvert numbers of his subjects into co-operating against their own government, the revenues and resources of his dominions would prove sufficient to generate "all necessary reform".[590]

It may well come as a discovery to many as he happens to reveal in his 'Political Memoirs (1891-1908)', that, he had been approached by the leader of the Zionist movement, Herzl and the Hacham, Moshe Levi with the offer on behalf of their scattered community of its willingness to assist in settling the Ottoman Empire's national debt and in providing sufficient funds to take care of all its impending financial requirements, if allowed to establish a national home for the Jews in Palestine. His response to this and other like approaches had always been to snub them, informing them also that, land taken possession of by (the sacrifice of) blood of

his co-religionists cannot be given up save in the same manner. The Ottoman State at the time of Sulṭān 'Abdal-Ḥamīd II's accession was indebted to the tune of two thousand five hundred and twenty eight million, ten thousand eight hundred and eighty-five (2,528,010,885) gold Liras. It is of further interest in this regard that, in a letter to the Shaykh of the Shādhilī Ṣufī Order, Maḥmūd Effendī Abū'l Shāmāt dated 22nd September 1911 (Ramaḍān 1329H), he categorically mentions that, he did not abdicate save under pressure from the 'Committee of Union and Progress' (CUP) for refusing to approve the formation of a national home for the Jews in the Holy Land of Palestine, inspite of the offer of a gift of a hundred and fifty million English gold pounds, which was then verifiably spent, as he adds, on his removal from power.[591]

Ḥusayn Bāsalāmah relates that, despite the lack of proper equipment and material to restore the damage in the 'Ḥaram' fully and by replacement, the Turkish engineers who had been sent from Istānbul, had plied away at their restoration work, which encompassed pillars, arches, vaults, flooring, minarets and doors etc, improvising and making do with the procurable and yet producing excellent results. This had continued unabated until they were to be surprised on 8th Sha'bān 1334H(11th June 1916) by the Sharīf Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī's "declaration of independence", which was to lead to the eventual withdrawal of the Ottoman presence from Arabia for ever. Bāsalāmah then adds that, although he was not in Makkah at the time to witness this, Sharīf Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī as "King" did issue orders in 1338H(1920) for the completion of the work left unattended to by those departing Ottoman engineers.[592]

The 'Mother of Cities', Makkah, during this era, was also to witness several social and urban improvements. For example, the first Municipal Council was established during 1326H (1908) and accorded the additional responsibilities of the 'Muḥtasib's' functions, which governed regulating the affairs of the 'Sūq' and granting building permissions etc., while the Sharīf had been asked the same year to depute two elected members to represent the Province in the Ottoman Parliament in Istānbul. A Government printing press was also established, and a quasi-official newspaper called 'al-Ḥejāz', followed soon by the 'Shamsal- Ḥaqīqah' ('the Sun of the Truth') were both printed there and in Arabic as well as Turkish, with the latter Gazette playing a critical role.[593]

A general Hospital, modern Police Headquarters, a Post Office, a Guest House for Pilgrims, an Administration Centre and many other such modern institutions were also introduced in Makkah, and primarily located in the area of Ajyād. This was mostly during the Governor-Generalship of 'Uthmān (Osman) Nūrī Pāshā and some of these, needless to say, were in an embryonic stage. The major problem of adequate supplies of water, particularly during the Pilgrimage season, was also addressed, mostly through the improvement and expansion of existing sources and network.[594]

Education however had continued to remain in the hands of the traditional 'Madrasahs' such as 'al-Rashīdīyyah', 'al-Ṣaulaṭīyyah' and 'al-Fakhrīyyah', to which was added the 'Burhān al-Dastūr' with a modern curriculum. In addition, there were of course the many 'Kuttāb' (traditional elementary schools) and 'Ḥalaqāt' ('Study Circles' or Groups) associated with the several mosques and hospices ('Arbiṭah'), with the 'Ḥaram' itself providing room for no less than 120 such 'Circles' daily, which catered to various levels of requirement. Some of the 'Kuttāb' such as the one at al-Marwah, and others located in a number of the City's other wards were also for girls. Several of them also specialised in specific subjects, such as Mathematics, Language and Literature, Calligraphy and so on and amongst those who acquired fame for running these latter institutions during this era were Faraj, Tāj and Sulaymān Ghazzāwī, hailing from a noble family dating back to the Mamlūk era.[595] All these developments in Makkah were naturally replicated in al-Madīnah as well, though on a slightly lesser scale in keeping with the size of its population, though after taking into consideration the numbers of visitors through different periods of the year and the effect they excercised on that City's resources and its public services structure.

B: Al-Madīnah

The three rulers of the latter Ottoman era during whose reigns the Prophet's Mosque was to witness major improvements are the Sulṭāns 'Abdal-Ḥamīd I, his son Maḥmūd II and then his grandson 'Abdal-Majīd I, though the latter's immediate successor 'Abdal-'Azīz and then the Sulṭān 'Abdal-Ḥamīd II followed by Muḥammad V (Rashād), were also due to leave behind names associated with sundry improvements to this second holiest of Islām's religious shrines.

During the reign of 'Abdal-Ḥamīd I, which spanned from 1187H(1774) till 1203H(1789), the Mosque was provided anew

with marble flooring from the entrance named 'Bāb al-Salām' in the south-west, right up to the southern façade of the Prophet's tomb. The 'Qiblah' (the southern) wall was also covered with that stone from one end to the other, that is, from the above-mentioned entrance of the western wing, to the entrance opposite it of the eastern wing.[596] It is interesting to recall here that, a colonnade had been added to the 'Qiblah' sector in 1149H(1737) during the reign of Sulṭān Aḥmad III, the son of Muḥammad IV.[597] The first row of columns in the area known as 'al-Rauḍah'—(i.e., a 'Garden' of the Gardens of Paradise), that according to a Tradition of the Prophet is supposed to stretch westwards from his Chamber to his 'Minbar' or pulpit, was also covered with marble, all this during the year 1191H(1777). The two entrances, the 'Bāb al-Raḥmah' and the 'Bāb Jibrīl' in the Mosque's south-eastern sector were renovated in 1201H(1786).[598]

Then in 1228H(1813), during the reign of Maḥmūd II (from 1223H/1808 till 1255H/1839), the dome over the Prophet's tomb, that had been constructed on the orders of the Mamlūk Sulṭān, Qā'it Bey, was demolished due to the appearance of fissures and cracks and replaced by a new construction in brick covered with sheets of lead from the outside, which were painted green, the Prophet's favourite colour.[599] The paint was most probably renewed along with repairs in 1255H(1839).[600] The external walls of the Prophet's tomb were also covered with glazed tiles, alongside repairs and improvements in the Mosque's northern sector, where the floor was laid afresh with new marble.[601] The Swiss traveller, Burckhardt, who visited al-Madīnah in 1230H(1815) while some of the latter work was being completed, has left a succinct, yet sufficiently detailed and impressive portrait of the Mosque as he had beheld it, in his redoubtable work in German 'Reisen in Arabien' or 'Travels in Arabia'.[602]

The improvement and expansion work, which was initiated by the Sulṭān 'Abdal-Majīd I in 1265H(1848), however was to take some twelve years to complete and may be computed to be the seventh and last major expansion of the Prophet's Mosque since its inception till the dawn of the modern Sa'ūdī era under King 'Abdal-'Azīz ibn 'Abdal-Raḥmān ibn Fayṣal Āl Sa'ūd, with its mega-expansions. It may be recalled that, the first expansion had taken place during the era of the Prophet himself in the year 7H(628). This had been followed by the extensions under the Caliph 'Umar ibn al-

Khaṭṭāb (in 17H/637) and then the Caliph 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān (in 29H/650). The fourth major expansion was undertaken by the Umaiyyad, al-Walīd ibn 'Abdal-Malik in 91H(710) and the fifth one by the 'Abbāsid al-Mahdī during 165H(782). The Mamlūk Sulṭān Qā'it Bey's extension of 888H(1483) is regarded as the sixth.

It is related that, this seventh major reconstruction and expansion by 'Abdal-Majīd I, involving a score of years of intense activity, had taken place in response to an appeal addressed to the Sublime Porte by the then erudite and popular 'Shaykh al-Ḥaram' Dā'ūd Pāshā al-Kurjī ('the Georgian'—d.1267H/1851). He had drawn in it the Sulṭān's attention to the actual state of the Mosque's structure and the grave need for repair, refurbishment and expansion, despite the many embellishments and improvements that had been introduced from time to time since the previous major reconstruction and expansion, that of Qā'it Bey, some three hundred and seventy-seven lunar years earlier.[603]

True to his nature, the Sulṭān upon receiving this appeal, had sent Ramzī Effendī and 'Uthmān (Osmān) Effendī, the latter an experienced engineer at the imperial court, to carry out a detailed survey of all that was needed for the purposes of this renovation, reconstruction and the expansion and the scale desirable, in order to enable it to cater to the ever-increasing need of the situation, with an eye on the long-term future and to report back to him. Upon completing their mission and presenting to the Sulṭān a report on their findings and their recommendations, 'Abdal-Ḥalīm Effendī, the Chief Engineer in-charge of the royal palaces was then appointed after the Ottoman fashion as 'Wālī' or Governor to supervise the execution of this project and sent forth to al-Madīnah, armed with the required funds, equipment and materials and accompanied by expert craftsmen, as well as experienced labour He was unfortunately to pass away though within a year at Minā, necessitating a delay and further appointments in replacement. The first of these was the Engineer Muḥammad Rā'if Pāshā. He was followed in Shawwāl 1269H(June 1853) by Bakur (Turkish Bekir) Pāshā. Sadly, he was also to pass away during Jamād al-Awwal 1271H(February1855). This void was then successfully to be filled for a while by the 'Shaykh al-Ḥaram' (Keeper of the Mosque) Dilāwar Pāshā, with the aid of the Engineer Ṣāleḥ Effendī, until the arrival of the new replacement Adham Pāshā in Ṣafar 1272H(December 1855). However, when he too died towards the

end of 1273H(mid-1857), his place was taken by Rāshid Effendī. He was to continue to function in office until a clash with the local citizens engineered his replacement also by As'ad Effendī, who took charge in Jamād al-Awwal 1276H(January 1860). The former had been suspended some six months earlier. It is reported that, the Sulṭān at first was very keen to build a new mosque after the fashion of the grandest mosques of his dynasty's era in his dominions in replacement of the existing one and almost from scratch, but had to be dissuaded from his designs due to the impracticalities in his conception and the well nigh gigantic logistical and other problems that would have had to be overcome during the implementation stage. Nevertheless, it is important to note here what the 'Mir'āt al-Ḥaramayn' of General Ibrāhīm Rif'at Pāshā emphatically states, that: "there is no mosque in the world for which the kings, particularly the Ottoman rulers, and other princes and individuals have cared for more and been concerned over than the Prophet's Mosque…".[604]

After an extensive search for the appropriate stone to use in the reconstruction, it was decided to utilise the harder black stone from the Wādī al-Ḥarrah for rebuilding the walls and the softer stone with the reddish hue from the foothills by the Wādī al-'Aqīq west of the City, for the columns and vaults. Hence, quarries and workshops were set up there for the purpose in hand and stone was cut, hewn, polished and transported on pack animals to the Mosque's site through 'al-Bāb al-Shāmī' (the Syrian Gate) and then through an aperture specifically made in the City's wall upon Rā'if Pāshā's suggestion, in order to provide the animals with a shorter route and easier ingress and egress to the worksite. Named after the Sulṭān, this was to develop into 'al-Bāb al-Majīdī' (the Majīdī Entrance). To keep himself fully in the picture, the Sulṭān then had sent two emissaries, Ḥāfiẓ Effendī and 'Izzat Effendī to inspect and report to him on the progress of the preparations for the work on hand and to bring back to him a wooden model of the proposed reconstruction, along with samples of the types of stone to be used for his satisfaction. Work was started at the furthest (the northern) end of the Mosque and each section, starting with the north-western, was demolished and individually rebuilt, one at a time, in order to minimise interference with 'al-Zuwwār' (the visiting Pilgrims) and the other people at Prayer.[605]

Richard Burton, who visited al-Madīnah (in 1269H/1853) during the early phase of this construction disguised as "Ḥājī

'AbdAllāh", an Afghān Pilgrim, has provided a number of pertinent details concerning the Mosque then in his book 'Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to El-Madinah and Meccah'. However, the most accurate portrait of the Mosque's layout and other features and details after the completion of this construction have been portrayed by the Egyptian General, Ibrāhīm Rif'at Pāshā, who visited Makkah and al-Madīnah the first time in 1318H(1901) as the Commander of the escort of the Egyptian 'Maḥmal' and subsequently in 1320H(1903), 1321H(1904) and 1325H(1908) as the Egyptian 'Amīr al-Ḥajj'.

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In the above book, Ibrāhīm Rif'at mentions with reference to the Prophet's Mosque, that, the 'Qiblah' or south facing facade at the time of his visit was 86.25 metres wide, while the width of the north facing facade was 66.00 metres. The length of the Mosque between the southern and the northern walls from the points he had measured them was 116.25 metres—(the latter figure most probably a misprint for 126.25 metres!). Regarding the inner courtyard of the Mosque, an approximately rectangular structure, he specifies that, it is surrounded by twelve colonnades in the direction of the 'Qiblah' or the south—(these had formerly been ten)—with three on its western side and two each on its eastern and northern sides.[606]

This reconstruction had retained the Mosque's four original 'Abwāb' (doors) of 'al-Salām', 'al-Raḥmah', 'al-Nisā'' and 'Jibrīl', while an additional door, the 'Bāb al-Majīdī' (also known as the 'Bāb al-Tawassul'—the latter term means 'Intercession'), had been added to the northern sector of the Mosque, as was the 'Majīdī Minaret', This had replaced the old wooden one that had stood there since the reconstructions following the terrible fire, thus increasing the number of the Mosque's minarets by one, to a total of five. These 'Minārāt' (minarets) were known as: 'al-Mināra al-Ra'īsīyyah' ('the Principal' Minaret), 'al-Mināra al-Sulaymānīyyah', 'al-Mināra al-Majīdīyyah', the 'Mināra Bāb al-Raḥmah' and the 'Mināra Bāb al-Salām'. The latter two of these had been named after, or come to be known by the entrances in their vicinity. The colonnades to the east of the central courtyard were assigned for the use of women and surrounded by a wooden 'Maqṣūrah' or 'Enclosure'.[607]

As far as the northern sector of the Mosque was concerned, when the project was initiated, this expansion had catered to the inclusion of two large hall like areas, each one opening on to four rooms. These halls had a staircase between them leading onto a place for ablutions on the first floor, while two facilities for this function had also been provided below as well. Of these halls, the western one was reserved for general storage purposes including oil and this, according to descriptions then, was without a roof, unlike the ground floor and the storey above of the other hall, that were assigned for use as a 'Kuttāb' or elementary school for children. The 'Bāb al-Majīdī', also known as 'Bāb al-Tawassul', was located in the middle.[608]

The work on this expansion had started meticulously with the demarcation of the Mosque's original boundaries and other relevant features and subsequent developments since the Prophet's era. Continuing as it did for twelve years, as mentioned, this project was to affect almost all parts of the Mosque directly, with the sole exception of the Prophet's actual Tomb, his 'Minbar' (Pulpit), his 'Miḥrāb' (Prayer niche), the 'Uthmānī (the Caliph 'Uthmān's) 'Miḥrāb' and the one presented by the Ottoman Sulṭān Sulaymān, as well as 'the Principal Minaret' ('al-Mināra al-Ra'īsīyyah') at the Mosque's south-eastern corner. The limits of the Mosque during the Prophet's life-time were now highlighted by this fitting inscription "Ḥadd Masjid al-Nabī 'alayhī al-Salām" or "The boundary of the (original) Mosque of the Prophet, peace on him" on the wall above these columns.[609] The bases of the columns were also encased in polished brass, yellow in hue.

The phases that this reconstruction and repairing went through were started as already alluded to, by knocking down and rebuilding the ceiling by the latter part of the courtyard, in the north-eastern corner of the Mosque, from the Minaret there to its western counter-part. Next to be affected systematically and on the same side, was the area between the Principal Minaret in the Mosque's south-eastern corner and the entrance of 'Bāb Jibrīl' to its north. Here, the Mosque was expanded eastwards by some five cubits and

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the wall rebuilt in stone with a strong, deep and well-laid foundation. After the work on the arches, the vaults and the domes had been completed in this sector, the reconstruction was shifted westwards and the three colonnades at the latter or northern end of the courtyard were pulled down and rebuilt. This was followed by the two colonnades to the courtyard's east. The area between the 'Bāb al-Nisā'' and the 'Bāb Jibrīl' on the same eastern side was to come next.[610]

An area for ablution was also provided outside the Mosque between these two entrances.[611] The courtyard itself then had a well, whose water was mostly utilised for a small garden nearby, often associated with the name of the Prophet's daughter Fāṭimah. It then used to be surrounded by an iron fence as displayed in old representations covering this area of the Mosque.[612] This well was sealed off much later after the dawn of the Sa'ūdī era and the garden's space incorporated into the Prayer area of the Courtyard.

The 'Dikkah' or Dais of the 'Āghāwāt' (the 'Āghās' or attendants of the Mosque) was the next to receive attention and another 'Dikkah', a little lower in height, was also built facing it, as was the 'Miḥrāb' known as "the Niche of 'al-Tahajjud'" (the special voluntary Prayers that fall in the category of the 'Sunnah' and are offered late in the night, but prior to the last night Prayer, the 'Witr'). When the work started in the section of the Prophet's Chamber, all precautions were taken and arrangements made to protect it from the falling debris and dust.[613]

The floor level in the western section of the Mosque, taken from its original limit during the Prophet's era and (the subsequent additions) beyond, was higher than in the other parts and particularly the 'Qiblah' sector. This was leveled, just as the height of the ceiling was also made uniform from within. The floor of the Mosque was then paved with stone, mostly marble, as was the lower section of the 'Qiblah' or southern wall. The marble columns were also polished, as were their brass bases. Those pillars, arches and vaults that happened to be of stone, were painted in a shade of red resembling the colour of the soft local stone from the Wādī al-'Aqīq used in the construction. This red stone had also been used for covering the floor in the area of the entrance of 'al-Bāb al-Majīdī' and beyond it in the direction of the eastern sector, whereas the black 'Ḥarrah' Stone was utilised in the courtyard or 'Ṣaḥn' as 'Ḥiṣwah' (Gravel).[614]

In the 'Riyāḍ al-Jannah' ('the Gardens of Paradise'), also referred to earlier at times as 'al-Rauḍah' in the singular), and an area some twenty-two metres in length and fifteen in width, the columns, apart from being dressed in marble, were also decorated with liquid gold at the top. A supplication, that may voluntarily be recited in 'al-Rauḍah' is:

"O God, this is a garden of the gardens of Paradise!
Thou hast made it bright and excellent,
And illuminated it with the light of Thy Prophet and
Thy Beloved, Muḥammad,
On whom be Peace and Blessings.
Allow us to congregate with those who shall follow him
in throngs;
And let us die, in his love, and following his 'Traditions';
And let us drink from his well, and from his noble hand,
A pleasant drink which will forever quench our thirst.
O God, Thou indeed hast power to do all things!"

(Translation with slight modification from
'The Sacred Journey' by Aḥmad Kamāl).

A brass parapet with entrances was also put up on the southern or 'Qiblah' edge of 'al-Rauḍah', the actual southern limit of the Mosque during the Prophet's era.[615]

While the lower sections of the Mosque's walls were solidly built of stone, square bricks of clay and quick-lime were used for the arches and the domes. These latter were covered with lead from the outside and beautifully decorated from the inside with floral patterns and bands, panels and medallions with appropriate verses from the Qur'ān and references of praise concerning the Prophet, along with his names and attributes, mostly in the calligraphic style recognisable as 'al-Thulth' (basically implying a 'third curved')—a hand often used when bold lettering is required. Almost all of the domes were of uniform size, the three large exceptions being the ones above the Prophet's tomb, the 'Uthmānī 'Miḥrab' and the 'Bāb al-Salām' entrance and in that order. As for the structure of this 'Bāb' itself, Ṣāleḥ Muṣṭafā rightly argues on the strength of an undated inscription against the contention of Ibrāhīm Rif'at, that, it was built during this reconstruction, as the inscription he alludes to, cites the name of the Sulṭān 'Abdal-'Azīz I and not 'Abdal-

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The calligraphic work in the Mosque, as confirmed to me by my American friend, who happens to be most knowledgeable on Ottoman calligraphers, is attributed to the great master exponent of his era, 'AbdAllāh Zuhdī Effendī, whose autograph appears in an invocation composed by him in the third line of calligraphy, to the right of those leaving the Mosque by the 'Bāb' of the 'Main' or the 'South-Eastern Minaret'. He had been specifically sent from Istānbul for this purpose and it took him over three (al-Batnūnī in his 'al-Riḥlah al-Ḥejāzīyyah' says ten) years to complete this work.[617] The 'Qiblah' wall, as may be expected, received most of his attention, apart from the domes and the vicinity of the Prophet's 'Ḥujrah' (Chamber), the facade of which was separated from the visitor offering his 'Salām' (Salutations of peace) by a screen of brass, embellished with calligraphy, the text of which translates as: "There is no God save Allāh, 'the King', 'the Truth' clearly manifested and Muḥammad is the Messenger of God, the truthful and the trustworthy". Muḥammad Zakariyā also drew my attention to the fact that, the panels of calligraphy covering the 'Qiblah' (Southern) wall of the Mosque from end to end, would surely be the largest bands of their kinds in the world, particularly to have been executed by a single calligrapher—a statement one could hardly dispute.

For example, the lower or fourth band on the 'Qiblah' wall that specifically bears reference to the Prophet's names, attributes and descriptions, lists two hundred and one of them. The third band above it contains the 36th Verse of the Qur'ānic Chapter 24, 'al-Nūr' ('the Light') and the complete text of Chapter 48, 'al-Fateḥ' ('Victory'). The second band refers to a number of Qur'ānic Verses starting with Verse 197 of Chapter 2, 'al-Baqarah' ('The Cow'). Meanwhile, the first or the topmost band starts with the latter part of Verse 185 of the same Chapter 2 and also has other Verses from the Qur'ānic Revelation. It is indeed of some importance to add here that, the Sulṭān refused to have contemporary poetry, including chronogramatic verses referring to the date of the construction, included amongst the inscriptions, deeming them as manifestations of lack of sufficient respect and reverence.[618] All such decisions, particularly those involving the question of permissibility, were of course ultimately finalised after due consultation with a panel of the greatest "Ulamā" of the Empire at the Court.[619] However, the two pillars on either side of the façade facing which the Visitor offers his 'Salām', bear two bands or lozenges, each with extremely moving verses in fine 'Thulth', ascribed to an unknown 'A'rābī' (a Bedouin nomad) and Ibrāhīm Rif'at Pāshā records the existence on the variuous sides of the Prophet's 'Ḥujrah' of poetical compositions, several of which his "pen refused to copy down".[620]

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The twelve years that this planned extension and reconstruction involved, taking into its consideration the Muslim world's opinion and feelings at all times, had not all proceeded without mishap. As in 1267H(1850), after some two years had passed since the start of the construction phase, a part of the old dome at the forefront of the Mosque and above where the visitor stands to offer his salutations to the second Caliph of Islām, 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, had fallen down and claimed a casualty. This happened to be the Shaykh Muḥammad al-Iskandarī.[622]

When declared completed during the month of the Ḥajj of 1277H(late June/early July 1861), this Project, a result of the long and tireless effort of more than 350 skilled and experienced builders and craftsmen—(the figure does not include engineers, architects, clerical and administrative staff) —had cost 700,000 (750,000 according to Ibrāhīm Rif'at) 'Majīdīs' (gold). This is without the in-

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clusion of the cost of construction materials, experimentation, transportation and administration, as well as the value of other priceless presents offered to the Mosque as adornments after the completion of this grand effort.[623]

This seventh expansion under the Sulṭān 'Abdal-Majīd I (r.1255H/1839–1277H/1861) was being provided with its finishing touches at the very time he was to pass away of consumption at the age of thirty-nine, but happy in the knowledge that, the pious work he had started, seeking the pleasure of the Lord, the Most High, was almost complete. Regardless of the state of decay affecting his empire, 'Abdal-Majīd I, like all his predecessors before him, also took his role as "the Servitor of the Two Holy Sanctuaries" as a most serious, religious obligation and duty.

Al-Madīnah, its citizens and the Prophet's Mosque along with Makkah and its denizens had been the cynosure of the generosity of the Muslim world at all times and on an almost annual basis. Indeed, it is worth repeating here again what General Ibrāhīm Rif'at Pāshā, mentions in his already referred to praise-worthy work, that, "there verily is no mosque in the world that the monarchs especially the Ottoman rulers—and princes and individuals have cared for more than the Prophet's Mosque". He then proceeds to list the gold and silver chains and lamps, lanterns and candelabra, as well as other gifts of precious metal, many of them encrusted with gems, that had accumulated since 1221H(1806) and were present in the Mosque during his visit. He also adds that, they had been valued at seven million (Egyptian) pounds. These of course include the two candelabra of pure gold and studded with diamonds, each a 'Qāmah' (about six-feet) in height and valued at 300,000 Majīdī Liras (gold), which were only some of the gifts offered to the Mosque by the Sulṭān 'Abdal-Majīd I in 1274H(1858). One of these was placed where the Prophet's head lay and the other by his feet. This Sulṭān had also formerly presented two similar candelabra of pure gold, besides incense burners and several other items of like utility.[624]

As far as the gifts of the Ottoman princesses of this era are concerned, Ibrāhīm Rif'at Pāshā in his book also refers to a handsome plate, some three-quarters of a cubit long and about 12.5 Cms wide, inscribed with the Islāmic formula of faith—there is no God save Allāh and Muḥammad is His messenger—in beautiful letters of gold, lavishly studded with "brilliants". This had been presented by a sister of the Sulṭān 'Abdal-'Azīz during 12941H(1874) or a little

earlier and hung by a gold chain above the two famous diamonds, which had been placed one above the other, with and the lower one the larger. Jointly named "al-Kaukab al-Durrī" ("The Brilliant Star"), they had been presented by the Sulṭān Aḥmad III as mentioned earlier and hung in display in indication of where the Prophet's head rested below. Beneath this piece was another large diamond surrounded by other precious stones. This had been gifted by the Sulṭān Murād IV in 1047H(1637/8). A number of other gems acquired by the Ottomans in one of their later conquests of Belgrade, either in 1102H(1690) or 1152H(1739), were exhibited below this diamond.[625]

Considering the regularity of the arrival of such valuable gifts for the Two Holy Sanctuaries over the ages, one would be extremely hard put to attempt to place a value to them, even if their lists with suitable descriptions had survived. Besides, it only stands to reason and is substantiated by historical evidence, that, the local rulers had often sought recourse to utilising these accumulations, particularly at times of need. For example, amongst those who are on available historical record for having done so in al-Madīnah alone are the Amīrs Jammāz ibn Hibah al-Ḥusaynī in 811H(1408), 'Uzayr ibn Hayāzi' al-Ḥusaynī during 824H(1421), Barghūth ibn Buṭayr al-Ḥusaynī and Dabbūs ibn Sa'd al-Ḥusaynī in 860H(1456) and Ḥasan ibn Zubayr al-Manṣūrī during 901H(1496). The occupation of al-Madīnah in 1221H(1805) by the forces of the Amīr Sa'ūd ibn 'Abdal-'Azīz of al-Dir'īyyah was the last occasion prior to this reconstruction, when the Prophet's Mosque was denuded of the treasures that had mostly accumulated during the last three centuries.[626]

In this last instance however, it would appear that these had been distributed amongst that Prince's followers. Ibrāhīm Rif'at Pāshā mentions amongst these treasures on the authority of the chronicler al-Jabartī, the presence of hoards of rare bejewelled pieces studded with unique and priceless diamonds, rubies, emeralds and pearls. Four of these were candelabra, each one hewn out of a single solid emerald and provided with a large oval diamond for a flame. He also refers to the existence of around a hundred rare swords bearing the stamps of Caliphs and famous rulers from bygone times, the hilts of several of which were of emerald, with others of jade and so on. Their scabbards, as may well be imagined, were also sheathed in gold and encrusted with diamonds, rubies and other precious stones. In his 'Tārīkh Najd', al-Saiyyid Maḥmūd Shukrī

al-Ālūsī (1273H/1857–1343H/1924) records a debate between the 'Irāqī, Shaykh Dā'ūd ibn Sulaymān ibn Jirjīs and the Najdī, Shaykh 'Abdal-Laṭīf ibn 'Abdal-Raḥmān ibn Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abdal-Wahhāb, in which the latter asserts that, the treasures taken from the Prophet's Chamber were removed with the documented approval of Madīnese scholars and dispensed on public weal, as well as amongst the needy citizenry and the Amīr Sa'ūd's followers.[627]

Such of these treasures as had remained in the possession of the Amīr Sa'ūd, were later on to be taken by his son and successor 'AbdAllāh ibn Sa'ūd as a gift for the Ottoman Sulṭān upon his departure for Istānbul via Egypt in 1233H(1818), which was after the fall of the first Sa'ūdī State to the arms of Muḥammad 'Alī Pāshā. This gift had then comprised of three lavishly illuminated Qur'āns, some three hundred large sized pearls and a fine large emerald, all contained in a plated box.[628] However, these were to prove insufficient to save his life and he met his cruel fate bravely, always bearing himself with great personal dignity throughout the ordeal.

Of course, the treasures offered to the Makkan 'Ḥaram' had also shared a like fate on a number of occasions and for more or less very similar reasons and particularly after major disasters in the guise of flash-floods, fires or droughts, in addition to the cupidity of the odd bold and unprincipled local ruler.

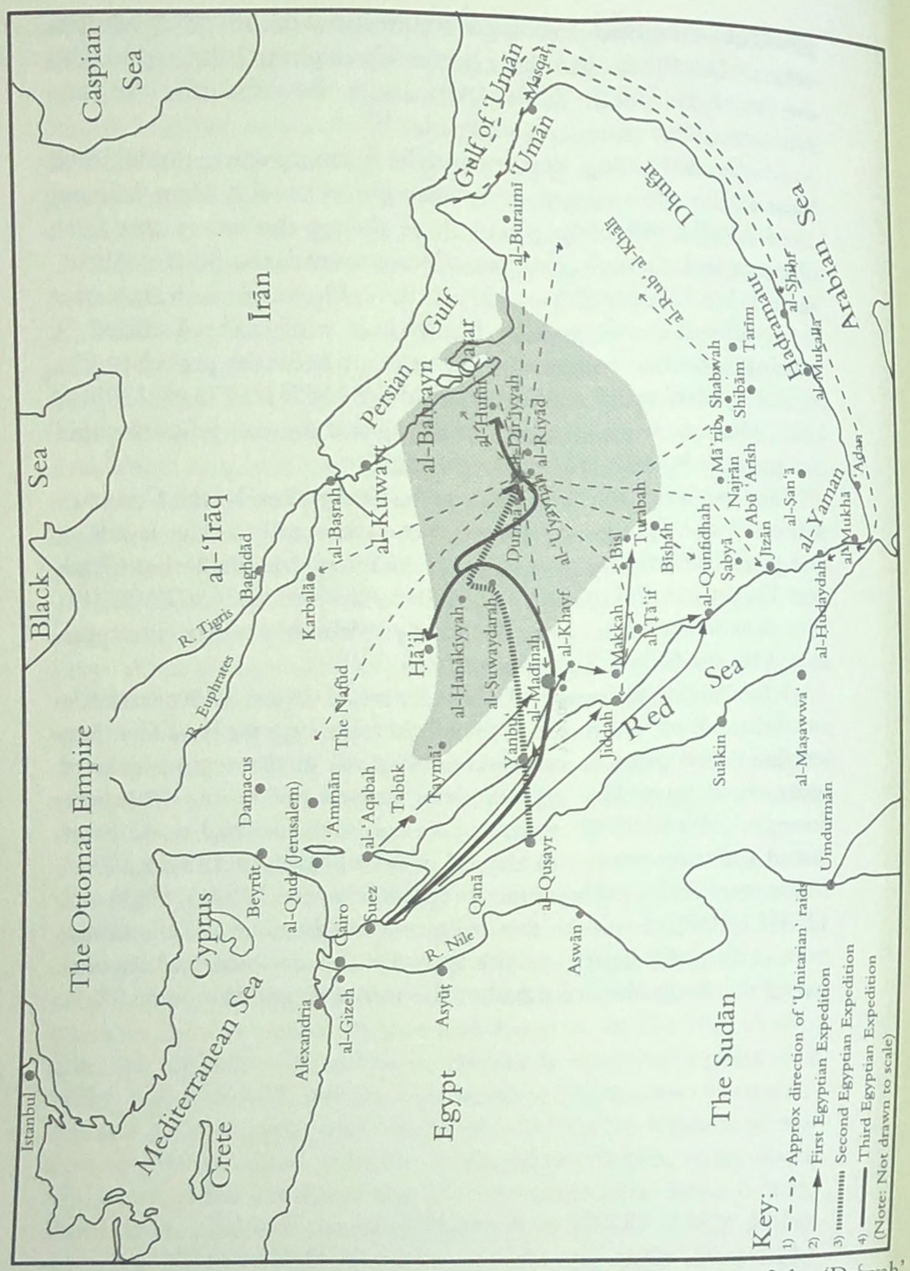
According to Ṣāleḥ Muṣṭafā's study, it was following the completion of this grand Project that, the "entrance hall" met with outside the 'Bāb al-Salām' was added and supposedly during the reign of the Sulṭān 'Abdal-'Azīz, which, as already mentioned, had lasted from 1277H(1861) till 1293H(1876). Both of this hall's inter-facing sides were beautifully decorated with tiles and floral motifs in the well-known Ottoman "Baroque" style. Ṣāleḥ Muṣṭafā also attempts in part to support this thesis of his on the basis of the differences in the decorative themes and features on the tiles used to dress the 'Qiblah' wall and those utilised in embellishing the walls of the 'Bāb al-Salām' and through recourse for reasons of comparison and dating to tiles with similar motifs used in Istānbul in edifices clearly associated with the reigns of the Sulṭāns in question. However, what confuses the picture somewhat here is that, Burckhardt, who had visited al-Madīnah in 1230H (1815) during the reign of Maḥmūd II, and Burton, who was there thirty-eight years later while the actual reconstruction was going on, both report seeing the walls of the 'Bāb al-Salām' decorated with marble,

porcelain and gilded decorative architectural motifs! Ṣāleḥ Muṣṭafā nevertheless argues that, these preferably ought to be traced back to the era of the Sulṭān 'Abdal-'Azīz and to be dated after the construction of the entrance hall by him.[629]

As for the coatings of paint and the finishing works inside, Ṣāleḥ Muṣṭafā, on the strength of an inscription on the Main Minaret dated 1307H(1889/90), places these during the era of that keen advocate and champion of pan-Islāmic revival, the Sulṭān 'Abdal-Ḥamīd II (r.1293H/1876–1327H/1909). However, he feels, under the weight of a comment by Philby in one of his books titled 'A Pilgrim in Arabia' concerning the attribution of the porcelain tiles on the 'Qiblah' wall to 'Abdal-Ḥamīd I (r.1187H/1773 till 1203H/1222), that, some of the minor finishing and decorative work could also possibly be traceable back to him.[630]

The last work of significance to be undertaken by the Ottoman regime in the Prophet's Mosque was rather aptly at the hands of that great lover of 'the Messenger of Allāh', al-Madīnah's last Ottoman Governor, Fakhral-dīn or Fakhrī Pāshā in 1336H(1917/18). This was when he had the Prophet's 'Miḥrāb' and the one presented by the Sulṭān Sulaymān repaired.[631]

After the withdrawal of the Ottomans from Arabia and the establishment of Sa'ūdī rule in the Ḥejāz following the brief Sharīfian interlude, and prior to the discovery of oil in the region in large commercial quantities, repairs were carried out to the Mosque's floor in 1348H(1929). Some of its columns also had to be reinforced and supported with the aid of metal bands in 1350H(1931). These were followed by general repairs between 1354H(1935) and 1357H (1938), thanks to the assistance of advanced Islāmic countries, particularly Egypt and the work on this occasion had encompassed the floor, the colonnades, the minarets and the doors.[632]



The raids in the various approximate directions by the adherents of the 'Daʿwah' during the First and the Second Saʿūdi States and the three Egyptian Expeditions of: i) 1226H/1811 – 1228H/1813, ii) 1231H/1816 – 1233H/1818, and iii) 1254H/1838

CHAPTER XI

The 'Unitarian' Call, Muḥammad 'Alī and Arabia

A. The Shaykh Muḥammad ibn 'Abdal-Wahhāb (b.1115H/1703–d.1206H/1792), his Teachings and Legacy:

In actual fact, the subject of the 'Da'wah' or 'Call' of Shaykh Muḥammad ibn 'Abdal-Wahhāb and the story of its interaction with the Holy Cities and its subsequent long-term influence throughout the lands of the Muslim 'Ummah' deserves much more than a chapter in a book in order for it to be done justice to. This applies moreso now than ever due to the many misapprehensions currently raging regarding it, which need to be corrected. This Author, while attempting to do so in a separate volume to follow in the wake of this effort of his, has nevertheless decided to focus here on some of its more salient aspects in brief. Often erroneously referred to in the West by the title of "Wahhābism", its teachings are indigenously recognised by the label of "Unitarianism", as it is based on the concept of 'Tauḥīd', or the singular, indivisible, indeterminable individuality of God the one and only as alone worthy of worship. Destined to swift international rise and fame once its indigenous followers came into contact with the Holy Cities and with long-lasting repercussions, not merely in the context of the region, but throughout the world of Islām, it is the story of this nexus that this Chapter briefly endeavours to treat.

It is generally held according to a millenial tradition, that, Islām renews itself every thousand years. Though this revivalistic movement was to rise at a convenient time to support this theory, however, with or without subscribing to it, what can hardly be ignored is that, the Islāmic world by this time had reached a state of social, political and intellectual stagnation hard to comprehend. Yet, the very sensing and recognition of this trend of decay, was to bear within it the seed of revivalistic impulses, and two of the greatest crucibles for the regular intermingling, ferment and crystallisation of Islāmic thought that were regularly to attract proponents from all

corners of the globe on an annual basis because of the Ḥajj, were the Pilgrimage centres of Makkah and al-Madīnah.

The father of this revivalistic movement, Shaykh Muḥammad ibn 'Abdal-Wahhāb, hailed from a family of religious scholars and during his childhood was recognised as something of a prodigy, having memorised amongst many indications of his prowess, the Qur'ān before the age of ten. Given permission to act as 'Imām' (leader) in Prayers after his marriage at twelve, some say sixteen, he was himself a product and personification of this ongoing intellectual ferment and movement, having travelled to these Cities of Makkah and al-Madīnah for the Pilgrimage and the accquisition of further knowledge and experience.[633]

He had of course been preceded in this, as well as subsequently followed by innumerable others, several of whom, though not all, were also destined like him for great fame. Amongst them for example around this era were the formidable, earlier reformers from the Indonesian Archipelago like Shaykh Yūsuf, who had led a 'Jehād' against Dutch colonial authority at home and was deported for it to South Africa and then 'Abdal-Ra'ūf of Singkel in Sumatra. From the Indian Subcontinent, there were Shāh WalīAllāh (Walīullāh) Dahlawī (b.1113H/1702–d.1177H/1763) and later on, Saiyyid Aḥmad of Baraylī (b.1200H/1786–martyred 1246H/1831), who had been profoundly influenced by the teachings of the former. Shaykhs Yūsuf, 'Abdal-Raūf and WalīAllāh had all been students of the 'Ḥadīth' (the Prophet's Orations) under Abū'l Ṭāhir Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Kurānī (d.1145H/1733). The latter had also been a tutor of Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥayāt al-Sindī (d.1165H/1752), under whose influence the young Shaykh Muḥammad ibn 'Abdal-Wahhāb was to come during his stay in al-Madīnah as shall be seen.[634]

His first visit to the two Holy Cities was to be while he was only twelve years old, or seventeen according to some, and he was said to have returned from there then after a mere stay of around three months. His next visit was to be during (1136H/1723).[635] During his stay there, he was to come into contact with a number of scholars notably Shaykh 'AbdAllāh ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Yūsuf ibn Sayf al-Najdī (d.1140H/1727) in Makkah and Muḥammad al-Sindī in al-Madīnah, to whom Muḥammad al-Murādī in his bigoraphical dictionary "Silk al-Durar" ("String of Pearls") refers as "the Bearer of the Standard of the "Sunnah" in al-Madīnah".[636] Although no definite proof exists that the twenty odd students of the latter to

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Taqīal-dīn Aḥmad Ibn Taimīyyah and the followers of his school of thought have been known for abhorring the rationalistic tendency of the scholastic theologians to accept the developing synthesis between orthodox belief ('Sunnism') with Ṣūfism ('Taṣawwuf') and Scholastic Theology ("Ilm al-Kalām'), as well as blind subservience to the "Ulamā" ('scholars') and recognised for accepting the application of independent judgement or the fresh interpretation of religious issues by intellectuals qualified in jurisprudence ('Fiqh'), with emphasis on obedience to God rather than on attaining gnosis ('Ma'rifah') of His persona, a stage or state sought after by Ṣūfis. In short, Muḥammad ibn 'Abdal-Wahhāb's 'Call', like Ibn Taimīyyah's was to be a cry for a return to the pristine teachings of the Qur'ān and the Prophet's 'Sunnah', rid of all innovation ('Bid'ah'), with sovereignty resting with the "Ulamā" (scholars) and the 'Umarā" (rulers) working in tandem to preserve the supremacy of the 'Sharī'ah' in the interests of the 'Ummah', with the 'Ḥisbah' (inspectors assisting the effort for the propagation of prescribed virtue and the prevention of all held otherwise or abominable by Islāmic Law. It maintained that all salvation lay in adhering to this course with patience under the unbrella of a restored religious cum political oligharchy, that derived its inspiration from the basic populist democracy, thought and institutions of the 'Well-Guided' Caliphs.[640]

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However, despite Ibn Taimīyyah's high-spirited approach to the concepts of the practice of 'Ijtihād' ('Introspection') and 'Ijmā'' ('Consensus'), the disciples of Shaykh Muḥammad ibn 'Abdal-Wahhāb as followers of "al-Salaf al-Ṣāleḥ" ('the Pious Predecessors') felt themselves more or less satisfied with the outcome of such deliberations up to the era of the death of the 'Imām Ibn Ḥanbal—the founder of Islām's most orthodox School of Jurisprudence, who had passed away in 240H(855).[641]

On the other hand, where 'Jehād' (literally meaning "strife") was concerned, Islām generally recognises two varieties on the basis of an Oration of the Prophet, uttered to his 'Companions' while he was returning from an expedition to Tabūk during 9H(630), which implied that they were now re-entering the state of "al-Jehād al-Akbar" (the greater 'Jehād') from that of "al-Jehād al-Asghar" (the lesser 'Jehād'). The former, often also described as the "Jehād al-Nafs" ('Jehād' against the soul), is directed against one's ego-centered tendencies, while "al-Jehād al-Aṣghar" (the lesser 'Jehād') includes the call for the bearing of arms "fi Sabīlillāh" ("in the way of God") in defence of one's religious and personal rights as ordained by Him. Great compilers of and commentators on the 'Ḥadīth' literature like al-Nassā'ī (d. 303H/905) and al-Baihaqī (d. 408H/1066), bear reference to this 'Oration'.[642] Measures at the individual and the popular level in the case of both these types of 'Jehād' would ultimately and inevitably have called for the application of strenuous effort and sacrifice, whether in the interests of individual self-improvement, passive political disobedience and resistance, or otherwise, in keeping with the teachings and interests of religion. In the instructions of Shaykh Muḥammad ibn 'Abdal-Wahhāb, the focus, in keeping with the requirements of his time, was to be on the willingness to utilise this effort, if necessary, in the interests of establishing and maintaining the unity of the 'Ummah' through obedience to the 'Imām', who would supposedly be acting in conformity with and the support of Divine Laws, a factor which was to be established by the "Ulamā".[643] Some 'Ṣufī' sources even actually describe 'al-Jehād al-Akbar' as firstly against Satan (man's "manifest enemy" as revealed in the Qur'ān) and everything he stands for and incites towards, and then "al-Nafs al-Ammārah" (the 'inciting soul' or the inner lusts).

B: The Birth of the First 'Unitarian' Sa'ūdī State

B: (i) The Pact between the Amīr Muḥammad ibn Sa'ūd (r.1139H/1726–1179H/1765) and the Shaykh Muḥammad ibn 'Abdal-Wahhāb

In the Central Arabia of his day reeling in poverty, ignorance and backwardness, not to mention the presence of vested interests, such teaching would hardly have been understood let alone found followers. Hence, in a life whose many features and events by some strange coincidence were to remind of those associated with the life of the Prophet, the Shaykh was also forced, soon after he had taken to preaching a reversion to the true teachings, to search for a protector. This he was first to find in the Amīr of his native al-'Uyaynah, 'Uthmān ibn Ḥamad Ibn Mu'ammar, whose aunt Jauharah he was to marry.[644] Then, when this Amīr was pressurised into withdrawing support by the powerful ruler of al-Iḥsā', Sulaymān ibn Ghurayr of the House of 'Uray'ar of the Banī Khālid, the gap in support was filled by the Amīr of al-Dir'īyyah, Muḥammad ibn Sa'ūd, thanks to the sagacity of his wife Mūḍī, who had insisted on advising him thus: "Verily, this man has come to you and he is booty which God has driven to you. So, be generous and hospitable and respect and honour him and seize and profit from his aid".[645] Wisely acting on this advice, he was to enter into an emotional pact with the Shaykh, whose terms were no less than "blood for blood and ruin for ruin" and this was to see his 'Da'wah' unshakeably associated with the emergence and fall of two Sa'ūdī States (between 1157H/1749–1233H/1818 and 1238H/1823–1309H/1891) and the rise and destiny of a third born in 1319H(1902), which altogether account for some twenty-five decades till the present.

In this Pact, the Amīr gave to the Shaykh the pledge to defend him, promote his teachings, fight innovation ('Bid'ah') in religious matters in all its guises until it was eradicated and to propagate the teachings of the Qur'ān and the authenticated 'Sunnah' and the 'Ḥadīth' by argument and to back those efforts up with the sword as well. In return, the Shaykh presented to him tidings of future "honour", "power" and possession of "the country and the people", reassuring him further upon query, that, he would never leave him nor desert his side, come what may.[646] Thus was this alliance between prospective temporal and spiritual authority in Najd con-

cluded in 1158H(1749), according to the two great historians of Najd, Ibn Ghannām (d.1225H/1810) and Ibn Bishr (d.1288H/1871).

Once assured of a base and protection, Shaykh Muḥammad ibn 'Abdal-Wahhāb set about bringing the fickle-minded tribes of Central Arabia into order by introducing them to the basic teachings of Islām and encouraging them in the ways of the 'Sharī'ah', while addressing letters to the neighbouring chiefs to introduce them to the nature of his "Call" and inviting them to join its standard.[647] Throughout his career, he was never to find himself short of foes, ever-willing to turn against him upon the first opportunity, even as he overcame them one after the other. In this respect, one of the staunchest foes of this 'Da'wah', who neither believed in extending nor seeking quarter was the Amīr Dahhām ibn Dawwās of al-Riyāḍ. Another was the Banī Khālid dynasty of al-Iḥsā', the Āl 'Uray'ar, under their Amīrs Sulaymān ibn Ghurayr and then 'Uray'ar ibn Dujayn. Lastly, there was also the Ismā'īlī Amīr of Najrān, Ḥasan ibn HibatAllāh al-Makramī, who was to acquire a unique status amongst his peers by overwhelming the forces of the 'Da'wah' in 1178H(1764) at a battle famous in Najdī lore as "Waqa't al-Najārīn" ("the Battle of the Najrānīs") and then moving on to lay seige to al-Dir'īyyah itself, before being bought off with rich presents. In this crisis, the Lady Mūḍī was once again to play an important advisory role according to the historians Ibn Ghannām, Ibn Bishr and Ibn Khaz'al, as did the Shaykh by instructing 'Abdal-'Azīz ibn Sa'ūd, his father's general, to compose matters with al-Makramī.[648]

However, to an Ottoman administration in decline and satisfied as far as Arabia was concerned with the mere policing of international frontiers, the administration of large urban centres and ensuring the successful management of the annual Pilgrimage, these events in the heartland of Arabia barely seemed to matter at the time. Besides, even as the 'Da'wah' and with it the Amīr Muḥammad ibn Sa'ūd's political position was moving forth from strength to strength, he was to be found keen and careful throughout his reign not to stir or ignite the wrath of those unmanageably mightier than himself. "Don't explode the rock" was a saying he was often fond of quoting, for the effects of such an explosion can be unpredictable and far-reaching.[649]

The Amīr Muḥammad ibn Sa'ūd was to pass away in 1179H(1765), to be succeeded by his able and intrepid son 'Abdal-

'Azīz, who had been tutored by the Shaykh Muḥammad ibn 'Abdal-Wahhāb himself in religion and statesmanship.

B: (ii) The Amīr 'Abdal-'Azīz ibn Sa'ūd (r.1179H/1765–1218H/1803)

It has already been referred to 'en passant' that, the more active of the Sharīfs of Makkah were in the habit of leading forays east once in a while during the raiding season and in collecting 'Zakāt'. The 'Zakāt', it may be recalled in brief, is the 2.5% 'Poor Due' payable on capital or assets of a great variety of types held in possession for over a calendar year and exceeding a weight, count, or value fixed for them, which is called the 'Niṣāb'. This was now being denied to them rightly or wrongly by the customary inhabitants of the region under the pretext that al-Dir'īyyah's 'Zakāt' collectors had already visited them, hence, in addition to taking up cause against the 'Da'wah', these Sharīfs had also taken to portraying acivity in its name as a dangerous un-Islāmic precedent requiring urgent attention. Meanwhile, in order to put those clans owing allegiance to al-Dir'īyyah under added pressure, the Sharīfs now began to adopt the measure of preventing them under the pretext that they were "deviant" (in matters of faith) from visiting the Holy Cities in order to perfom the Pilgrimage and to buy and sell, which would have been vital for some of these clans' livelihood, or otherwise levying exorbitant and unfair tithes on them for being allowed to do so.

For example, the Sharīfs Mas'ūd ibn Sa'īd (r.1146H/1734–1165H/1751), his son Musā'id (r.1174H/1760–1184H/1770) and the latter's son Surūr (d.1202H/1788) had all used faith as an excuse for preventing the Najdīs from performing the Ḥajj. The latter however, propitiated by gifts during the season of 1197H(1783) and agreeing to relent on that occasion, had nevertheless gone on to demand that, henceforth, they present him annually with a hundred 'Ajmānī steeds and pay the same dues as the Shī'ah Pilgrims from Īrān in order to be allowed to participate in the Ḥajj.[650]

In order to clear away the misapprehension that the 'Da'wah' was not a deviant movement, but firmly based on the teachings of the Qur'ān and the 'Sunnah' as per the interpretation of the 'Madhhab' ('School of Jurisprudence') of Ibn Ḥanbal, al-Dir'īyyah agreed upon the invitation of the Sharīf Aḥmad ibn Sa'īd (d.1194H/1780), to depute a scholar to Makkah to debate matters over with those there. Armed with presents and a letter from the Shaykh him-

self, humble in tone, full of religious advice and signed off as "Your Servant", Shaykh 'Abdal-'Azīz al-Ḥuseiyyīn was to set off for Makkah but without achieving his goal there.[651] He was destined to repeat this mission once more during 1204H(1789) upon the invitation of the Sharīf Ghālib ibn Musā'id, but again with similar results.[652] In fact, according to the historian Ibn Khaz'al, an earlier Sharīf of Makkah, Mas'ūd ibn Sa'īd (r.1146H/1734–1165H/1751) had actually proceeded to imprison a delegation of thirty Najdī Pilgrims and scholars sent to Makkah for the same purpose, many of whom had died in incarceration.[653]

The great latter day historian of Makkah, Daḥlān reports altogether of fifty armed encounters, some sizeable, others mostly small, between the Sharīf Ghālib and his supporters on the one hand and al-Dir'īyyah and its followers during his whole reign (from 1205H/1791 till 1220H/1805).[654] However, out of all these, his major invasion of 1205H(1795), surprisingly launched under his brother 'Abdal-'Azīz ibn Musā'id's command against the Najdī Highlands, was the only one to meet with some success before being beaten back by Sa'ūd ibn 'Abdal-'Azīz.[655]

It was not as if Ghālib's arms were always unsuccessful against the Da'wah's adherents. For example, upon learning of the presence of Sa'ūd ibn 'Abdal-'Azīz in the vicinity of Turabah on the borders between the Najd and the Ḥejāz during late 1209H(1795), he had launched a swift raid into Najd under the Sharīf Fahayd against the Qaḥṭān at the watering place of Masīl near al-Dawādimī. However, an invasion of Central Arabia by him a little later was to prove a dismal failure, with the Qaḥṭān recovering all that they had lost earlier. Undeterred, the Sharīf, who had considerable resources of his own in addition to the Ottoman aid he received, had decided to place another force under Fahayd in the field during 1211H(1797), which after some reverses, was to meet with success. It was around this time that a Unitarian force under Muḥammad ibn Mu'ayqil was to seize the Island of 'Amā'ir from al-Baḥrayn.[656]

Well against the simple but prudent military advice offered by the wise and experienced Amīr Muḥammad ibn Sa'ūd to his followers "not to explode the rock", his successors were now raiding willy-nilly in all directions with such ease as to inspire fear and concern in all foes. Meanwhile, the cause of the 'Da'wah' towards the end of Dhū'l-Qa'dah 1206H (July 1792) was to suffer the irreparable loss of no less than its 'Imām' himself when Shaykh

Muḥammad ibn 'Abdal-Wahhāb passed away, leaving behind a heritage, that was swiftly to reach several distant lands and inspire puritanical socio-political movements in a short while.[657]

While secretly involved in the initiation and maturing of Ottoman plans to lay about the cause of the 'Da'wah' simultaneously from the east and the west with the aid of local allies, the Sharīf Ghālib, in order to lull suspicions, had again asked 'Abdul-'Azīz ibn Muḥammad to send him a deputation of religious scholars to clarify to him "that which he could not discern". According to Ibn Ghannām, this delegation, led by Ḥamad ibn Nāṣir ibn Mu'ammar during 1211H(1797), was to get the Makkans to concede to the followers of the 'Da'wah' their argument in support of raising the sword in defence of the faith, while failing in getting them to agree that, addressing supplications to the dead was idolatrous![658]

However, as the Ottoman 'Wālī' in Baghdād, Sulaymān Pāshā was preparing the Chief of the Muntafiq Thuwaynī ibn 'AbdAllāh to attack al-Dir'īyyah from the east as the Sharīf Ghālib did so from the west, Thuwaynī was assassinated.[659] In the meantime, the Amīr 'Abdal-'Azīz ibn Muḥammad in a display of his alertness and strength had also decided to send out probing parties that were to reach al-Kuwayt and al-Samāwah on the 'Irāqī border in the east with his son Sa'ūd ibn 'Abdal-'Azīz leading this expedition in person, while Sharārāt on the Syrian border was also reached in the west. Then, when the Qaḥṭān decided to discard Sharīfian allegiance, Ghālib, after securing the submission of Bīshah was nevertheless completely taken unawares at al-Khurmah with great loss. This, while a major Ottoman invasion of al-Iḥsā' with the aid of 18,000 troops under 'Alī Kaykhīyā (later on 'Wālī' in Baghdād) was held up due to stiff resistance in al-Hofūf. Soon, a truce was agreed to and during the Ḥajj of 1214H(1800), Sa'ūd ibn 'Abdal-'Azīz, honourably received and feted by the Sharīf Ghālīb, was to lead the Pilgrims from Najd that year and the next, for his father 'Abdal-'Azīz ibn Muḥammad, now an octogenarian, could not do so due to health reasons.[660]

These two years of rest and respite definitely seem to have benefitted the forces of the 'Da'wah' to recuperate and plan on future avenues for military action. In the winter of 1216H(1801/2), Sa'ūd ibn 'Abdal-'Azīz was to suceed in leading a stealthy raid into al-'Irāq, surprising and sacking the rich Shī'ah shrines dedicated to the memory of their Imāms, as well as other religious institutions in Karbalā in the course of a morning during Dhū'l-Qa'dah (March

1802) and to return home with riches undreamt of. The raid had also resulted in two thousand unfortunate slain victims. Ibn 'Īsā places this event the following year.[661]

Later on, other attempts over the years in that direction by the forces of the 'Da'wah' were to prove a failure because of an activated moat and other defensive precautions. Now and without caring much for the international implications of such deeds, al-Dir'īyyah was found to be interfering and often successfully, in the political quarrels of the Gulf littoral. For example, when the ruler of Masqaṭ, Sulṭān ibn Aḥmad seized al-Baḥrayn in 1216H(1801) from the Āl Khalīfah, and they turned to the Amīr 'Abdal-'Azīz ibn Muḥammad for succour, he was to succeed in retrieving the island for them after a bloody encounter, that was to cost two thousand lives. It was this Sulṭān ibn Aḥmad (r.1206H/1792–1219H/1804), in whose staff the Italian Doctor Vincenzo Maurizi (alias "Shaykh Manṣūr") had been serving, doubling up during times of war as the commander of his artillery as well.[662]

B: (iii) The Adherents of the 'Da'wah' in the Holy Cities:

Then, even as al-Dir'īyyah was dreaming of denuding the Holy Cities of the Ḥejāz of their wealth, the means and the 'casus belli' for such a course were to present themselves soon enough. This was when the cause of the 'Da'wah' succeeded in winning over the serivces of 'Uthmān ibn 'Abdal-Raḥmān al-Muḍā'ifi, the Sharīf Ghālib's brother-in-law and Wazīr, with his vast regional experience and influence, during a visit to the Capital of the Āl Sa'ūd as part of a delegation. An eminent regional Chief himself, al-Muḍā'ifi then set about weaning away the Ḥejāzī tribes owing allegiance to the Sharīf and gathering them around himself in support of al-Dir'īyyah's cause, with the momentum of his activities eventually forcing Ghālib's brother 'Abdal-Mu'īn to vacate al-Ṭā'if, which was then promptly sacked to heart's content with as many as two hundred civillians killed. As a reward, al-Muḍā'ifi was appointed Governor of al-Ṭā'if and the Ḥejāz by al-Dir'īyyah.[663]

After the Ḥajj of 1217H(1803) in which "the Sulṭān of Musqaṭ, Sulṭān ibn Sa'īd (actually Sulṭān ibn Aḥmad), and the Naqīb of al-Mukallā" (probably 'Abdal-Rabb al-Kasādī, d.1258H/1842) and 'AbdAllāh Pāshā ibn al-'Aẓm had participated according to Daḥlān, the Sharīf Ghālib decided to vacate Makkah and withdraw to Jiddah.[664] Sa'ūd ibn 'Abdal-'Azīz then entered Makkah to perform

the lesser Pilgrimage of 'al-'Umrah' after donning the 'Iḥrām' or the Pilgrim's unstitched attire at al-Maghsil after leaving the Wādī al-'Aqīq. It is said that, a hundred and fifty camels were sacrificed in thanksgiving and to feed the poor, before the Unitarians set about demolishing the domes and monuments anathema to them and this was to continue for over a fortnight, until none were left. Henceforth, a single 'Imām' was to lead the obligatory Prayer instead of the four representatives of that many 'Madhāhib' (Schools of Jurisprudence). Sa'ūd ibn 'Abdal-'Azīz was also to ordain that the 'Kashf al-Shubhāt' ('the Unveiling of the Doubtful'), a composition of the Shaykh Muḥammad ibn 'Abdal-Wahhāb, be publicly taught in the 'Ḥalaqāt' (the learning circles) in the 'Ḥaram' and the other mosques. Sa'ūd ibn 'Abdal-'Azīz then advanced on Jiddah, but failing to negotiate the moat after a week's attempts, headed for al-Dir'īyyah after appointing Ghālib's brother 'Abdal-Mu'īn ibn Musā'id as Vassal Sharīf in Makkah and overseeing other administrative and defensive measures.[665]

When the Amīr 'Abdal-'Azīz ibn Muḥammad was struck down in the Mosque of al-Ṭurayf while prostrated in Prayer during Rajab 1218H (November 1803) by a Kurdish assassin named 'Uthmān, said to be of Shī'ite persuasion, he was eighty-two lunar years old and had ruled for thirty-eight years. The strangest aspect about this assassination was that, few Kurds are actually Shī'ah. In addition, members of the latter community are never named after the first three Orthodox Caliphs, whom they behold as "usurpers" of the fourth Orthodox Caliph 'Alī's right to immediate succession to the Prophet's legacy after him as head of the Muslim 'Ummah'. The great Najdī historian Ibn Bishr boldly refers to 'Abdal-'Azīz ibn Muḥammad as "Mahdī Zamānihī" ("the Mahdī or 'the Expected One' of his Era"), no less, in tribute.[666]

B: (iv) Sa'ūd ibn 'Abdal-'Azīz (r.1218H/1803–1229H/1814)

Sa'ūd ibn 'Abdal-'Azīz, at his accession, was fifty-five (lunar) years and already had no less than thirty-six years of military experience behind him. Though he was to rule for only some eleven years, under him, fondly referred to as "al-Kabīr", the Sa'ūdī State was to reach the zenith of its expansion.

In the Ḥejāz, the Sharīf Ghālib, taking advantage of these disturbances, had in the meantime succeeded in retrieving Makkah

and was destined to continue thenceforth to serve as al-Dir'īyyah's official vassal there for over another seven years (till 1228H/1813), that is until the Da'wah's adherents had to evacuate it. However, this is not to say that, amidst his great overt displays of amity and loyalty with his new overlords, he was not in secret contact with the Ottoman administration. Sa'ūd ibn 'Abdal-'Azīz's major initial operation as Amīr was a raid during 1218/19H(1804) on the environs of al-Baṣrah and al-Zubayr, after which, he was to switch his attention to the reoccupation of the Ḥejāz, summoning levies from almost all over Central Arabia to his aid in the accomplishment of his goal, which he was to achieve without much ado. Following Makkah, al-Madīnah too was to surrender prior to the Ḥajj of 1220H(1806), after a siege. The domes of tombs and other institutions, as well as structures held anathema by the followers of the 'Da'wah' were to be destroyed there also as in Makkah and elsewhere.[667] The treasury of the Prophet's Mosque too was denuded as referred to earlier.

Following the Ḥajj of 1220H (February 1806), the 'Maḥmal', whether from Egypt, Syria or Rūm, was deemed a 'Bid'ah' ('innovation'), as was the musical band accompanying it and the concerned Amīrs were warned with dire consequences and guranteed a hostile reception should they appear again with these litters and the accompanying paraphernalia and procession. Then, come the Ḥajj season of 1221H(1807), the traditional Syrian 'Maḥmal' was turned away from al-Madīnah and the Egyptian 'Maḥmal', which had arrived without prior intimation, was also "attacked and burnt". Of course, it is also possible, as maintained by Ibn Bishr that, al-Dir'īyyah feared the introduction into the Holy Cities of professional soldiery in the guise of the Maḥmal's followers that could be utilised by the Sharīf or other plotters against its interests.[668]

During this period, according to Daḥlān, a proclamation was also made following the Ḥajj that, henceforth, none may approach the Holy Cities "beardless".[669] Meanwhile, it is said that, the Sharīf Ghālib himself was made to swear in the Ka'bah that, he would do his utmost as ruler to prevent all "Munkarāt" (vices or abominations), while his officials were asked to ensure the observation of 'Ṣalāt' (Obligatory Prayers) in congregation, the payment of 'Zakāt' (Poor Due), the cancellation of all extortions and tithes untenable in the light of the 'Sharī'ah', which the Sharīfs were often inclined to impose arbitrarily, the prevention of the use of silk or brocade by

men in their dress, as well as the consumption of tobacco in the proximity of the Holy Mosque.[670]

As far as theological developments were concerned, the Sharīf and his colleagues, who were then feigning conversion to the cause of the 'Da'wah', were asked to overlook almost every evolution in Islāmic and religious thought and interpretation since the third century Hijri (9th centuary CE). Yet, according to the reliable contemporary chronicler al-Jabartī, in the face of all that had transpired, the "Saiyyid al-Jamī'" ("Lord of All") with his former customary vigour, was found again in the habit of "collecting taxes from the merchants and if questioned over it, would say: 'These (that is the local traders) are "Mushrikīn" ("Polytheists"), and I collect from the "Mushrikīn" not from the "Muwaḥḥidīn" ("the Unitarians").[671]

Chroniclers record that most parts of Arabia during this period, that is since 1219H(1804), were to suffer from a severe drought and famine due to lack of rains that were to last for six years and even nine years in some areas. As a result, prices not unnaturally had spiraled and according to al-Jabartī, an 'Irdab' of rice in Makkah for example was then costing 500 Riyāls (Maria Theresa Thalers) and wheat 310 Riyāls, while according to Daḥlān, a mere measure of rice or wheat was only available with difficulty for two gold pieces ('Mashkhaṣayn'). The prices of other commodities such as a pound of sugar, fat or oil, were to rise to two Riyāls, coffee and dates to a Riyāl, meat (goat or camel) could barely be found for half a Riyāl and a measure of raisins, if available, was costing three Riyāls. This situation had forced the citizens to sell their dearest possessions in order to keep alive until they had nothing left.[672]

It would have been expected of the Ottoman administration, at this stage at least, to take a greater interest in the affairs of the Holy Cities, particularly after the French evacuation of Egypt during 1216H(1801) and the relief from Napoleon's immediate threat to its posessions in the region. However, that was not to be. The Sublime Porte continued to be preoccupied with fears of French ambitions, Russia's persistent aggressive designs, palace revolutions in Istānbul and the constant threat of turmoil from the Janissaries. For example, the Sulṭān Salīm (Selim) III (r.1203H/1789–1222H/1807) upon his death had been succeeded by his nephew Muṣṭafā III, only for the latter to be deposed a little later in 1223H(1808) in favour of his minor brother Maḥmūd (Mahmut) II (r.1223H/1808–1255H/1839).

Hence, with Pilgrims also discouraged from coming on the Ḥajj because of the general conditions then prevalent and crowned in 1224H(1809) with the woes of a cholera epidemic, Sa'ūd ibn 'Abdal-'Azīz and his followers from all over Arabia were able to perform the Ḥajj in the manner they would have willed, with the former dressing the Ka'bah during each Pilgrimage season with a fine 'Kiswah' of rich brocade or silk and its 'Bāb' (Door) with a curtain of gold and silver metal thread as per tradition, amidst great general displays of chairty.[673]

In the Makkan 'Ḥaram' where he was to order for the dome over the 'Maqām Ibrāhīm' ('Station of Ibrāhīm') to be removed in order for the edifice to be seen clearly by all, Sa'ūd ibn 'Abdal-'Azīz's favourite spot for stationing himself was the roof shading the 'Zamzam', from where he could survey to vantage and be seen. Besides, in his role as 'Imām', he would render the 'Khuṭbat al-Ḥajj' ('the Ḥajj Sermon') on the day of 'Arafah at the Masjid al-Namirah, dressed in his 'Iḥrām' and seated on a camel, advising the congregation on the merits of belief in God's oneness, reminding them of His favours and advising them to follow virtue and shun vice in all its guises.[674]

Such sincere simple exhortations and reminders about the forbidden in Islām, addressed in the presence of Makkah's great scholars, many qualified to issue 'Fatāwī' ('Religious Edicts'), were to irritate some of the Makkans into describing them as teachings fit for the level of "camel herders", of which, even "the most ignorant in Makkah were fully aware". Nevertheless, such feelings in their breasts were not seen to come into the way of these "Ulamā" from pronouncing and proclaiming them out aloud, when asked by Sa'ūd to do so for the benefit of the congregation and they would say: "Know, Oh people, that, the Amīr Sa'ūd (ibn 'Abdal-'Azīz) says unto you that wine is forbidden and adultery is forbidden..." and so on.[675]

Nevertheless, however much the "Ulamā" of Makkah may have scoffed at the implications of the Da'wah's teachings, it was to succeed at home in bringing several of the tribal and nomadic elements into touch with the basic tenets of their religion and to encourage their practice amongst these simple, ignorant souls. At the same time, it was also to inspire intellectual, reformist and freedom movements in more sophisticated societies abroad almost contemporaneously and with varying measures of tangible success at the

individual and the group or the community's level and even on the national scale. One of these for example, "the Great Wahhābī Movement" in India, which has already been referred to and would definitely have had a major impact on the course of regional and global history had its covert activities and political agenda not met with premature discovery, was ultimately to suffer greatly at the hands of that land's colonial masters after witnessing a meteoric rise. Whereas in the Arabian Peninsula, the Da'wah's authority and influence were to expand rapidly yet quietly into the Yaman, Ḥaḍramaut, 'Umān and the Gulf coast region for differing whiles by means of military incursions and vassalage.

Here, following the battle between Sulṭān ibn Ṣaqr ibn Rāshid al-Qāsimī (r.1218H/1803 –1283H/1866) of Rā's al-Khaymah, the Da'wah's vassal in the region and the 'Imām' of Suḥar, Qays ibn Aḥmad (d.1223H/1808), the uncle of the Sulṭān of Masqaṭ, Sa'īd "the Great" ibn Sulṭān (r.1219H/1804–1273H/1856), in which four thousand men were to fall, the British Resident at Masqaṭ, Captain D. Seton "perhaps.... with too much confidence in his own judgement and ability" according to the historian al-Qāsimī, was to report to some of his superiors in India with a fair amount of exaggeration that, the Sa'ūdīs not merely constituted a major threat to the Gulf, but also to the British position in India.[676] Of course, one of the prime reasons for this view of his were the far-stretching naval activities of the Qawāsim that covered a major expanse of the Gulf littoral, with their chiefs being in liaison with al-Dir'īyyah and its regional representatives.

Incidentally, this was also the same year in which the British Royal Navy and the Bombay Marines were later on to burn down Rā's al-Khaymah with the aid of heliographs under the label of "suppression of piracy".[677] Regarding such arbitrary acts, a British Member of Parliament Phillip Francis, wary of them, was to go on record saying: "whenever the British Governor-General of India and his Consul were disposed to make war upon their neighbours, they could at all times fabricate a case to suit their purpose".[678]

C: The First Egyptian Expedition under Ṭūsūn Pāshā (1226H/1811):

As already emphasised in several instances, since Ottoman dynastic claims to the leadership of the Muslim 'Ummah' were associated to a fair extent with the custodianship of the Holy Cities and involved

amongst various responsibilities, the provision of security to those interested in performing the Pilgrimage, hence, in view of the negative situation then pertaining there at least from the Ottoman Administration's point of view, it had become obligatory upon it to act swiftly and with vigour in order to restore the status in its favour. Indeed, the Sublime Porte, with this objective in mind, had been exhorting its 'Wālī' (Viceroy) in Egypt, Muḥammad 'Alī at least since 1219H(1804) to take action according to al-Jabartī, and these Sulṭānic 'Firmāns' (Imperial Commands) were to gather urgency in tone since the stoppage of the Maḥmals and the occupation of Makkah by the proponents of the 'Da'wah'.[679] Still, Muḥammad 'Alī, arguably as great a military genius as Napoleon according to his biographer General Weygand, though less intellectual and at times even crude, was not to be hurried into action with inadequate preparations. Besides, in his first attempt of 1220H(1805) against the Mamlūk opposition at home, he had not entirely been satisfied with the outcome. Then, when he finally felt secure about having set his own house in order after his second treacherous attempt aimed at despatching all the recalcitrant Mamlūk chiefs—some 469—to perdition in Cairo's Citadel on 5th Ṣafar 1226H (1st March 1811), with only one intended victim, Amīn Bey, unexpectedly getting away by jumping over its walls on horseback, to live to tell the tale, he decided to throw himself whole-heartedly into the launch of full-scale operations in the Ḥejāz.[680] These were now initiated by establishing a bridge-head across the Red Sea, for which Yanbu' was seized.[681] The command of this venture was given to Muḥammad 'Alī's brave and talented seventeen year old son Ṭūsūn Pāshā.[682]

Sa'ūd ibn 'Abdal-'Azīz prepared to meet this threat by a general call to arms. He was by now ably assisted by his brave and capable son 'AbdAllāh, who had decided to meet the enemy on this occasion on grounds and terms of his own choosing, where the enemy's superiority in numbers, fire-power and discipline would be minimised. The general strategy of the Egyptians on this occasion, apart from obviously using their superiority to advantage, was to work on the loyalty of the fickle-minded and deprived bedouins by displays of indefatigable strength and interminable resources in order to instill fear and doubt in them and buy their support, or at least their non-involvement, by the appeasement of their insatiable avarice with silver and gold. In fact, in keeping with the advice of

the Sharīf Ghālib, innumerable rich cloaks laced with sable and pelts, Cashmere shawls in addition to 100,000 Riyāls (Maria Theresa Thalers) were presented to the Paramount Chief of the Ḥarb tribe alone, of which, the Sharīf was to appropriate 18,000 Riyāls for himself according to the Makkan historian Daḥlān.[683]

In spite of the fact that the adherents of the 'Da'wah' were to battle it out against tremendous odds with incredible determination and valour, al-Madīnah was beseiged and ultimately taken during the last quarter of 1227H(1812) and Muḥammad 'Alī was to hasten to forward its keys to the Sulṭān Maḥmūd II in Istānbūl (then called "Islāmpūl").[684] It has to be added here that, the Pāshā was then seeking from the Sulṭān the 'Pāshālik' of Syria as well for himself, on the pretext that Egypt alone could not bear the burden of the operations and also because al-Dir'īyyah was only seventeen marching stages away from the Syrian border.[685]

Meanwhile, Sa'ūd ibn 'Abdal-'Azīz also was to perform his ninth and last Ḥajj that year before returning to Najd, recieving the news of the surrender of al-Madīnah to the Egyptians 'en route'. His departure from Makkah had been an encouraging signal for the Egyptian forces to advance on Makkah, where the Sharīf Ghālib was now waiting to welcome them despite the allegiance he had sworn earlier of loyalty to al-Dir'īyyah in the vicinity of no less a sacred place than the Ka'bah itself. Makkah and al-Ṭā'if were both to be taken by the Egyptians during the early part of 1228H(1813), though looking further east, they were to be surprised by the defence put up against them at Turabah, which the " Unitarians" often tended to treat as a base for operations into the Ḥejāz. This had been mainly due to the determination of a lady called Ghāliyah and it was to compel them to withdraw, leaving behind some artillery pieces and ammunition. Reflecting on this major reversal of fortune now being faced by the adherents of the 'Da'wah', Ibn Bishr was to find explanation for this dilemma in the following words: "and confusion confounded the ranks of the 'Muslims' due to God's inexhorable decree because of our sins, for which we ask His pardon".[686]

Sensing the resolve of the tribal levies to be generally wilting before the determination of a great regional Power which had already spent 1,750,000 Egyptian Pounds and lost 8,000 men and 25,000 transport animals and yet appeared as determined as ever, Sa'ūd ibn 'Abdal-'Azīz decided to address the situation on his part

amongst various responsibilities, the provision of security to those interested in performing the Pilgrimage, hence, in view of the negative situation then pertaining there at least from the Ottoman Administration's point of view, it had become obligatory upon it to act swiftly and with vigour in order to restore the status in its favour. Indeed, the Sublime Porte, with this objective in mind, had been exhorting its 'Wālī' (Viceroy) in Egypt, Muḥammad 'Alī at least since 1219H(1804) to take action according to al-Jabartī, and these Sulṭānic 'Firmāns' (Imperial Commands) were to gather urgency in tone since the stoppage of the Maḥmals and the occupation of Makkah by the proponents of the 'Da'wah'.[679] Still, Muḥammad 'Alī, arguably as great a military genius as Napoleon according to his biographer General Weygand, though less intellectual and at times even crude, was not to be hurried into action with inadequate preparations. Besides, in his first attempt of 1220H(1805) against the Mamlūk opposition at home, he had not entirely been satisfied with the outcome. Then, when he finally felt secure about having set his own house in order after his second treacherous attempt aimed at despatching all the recalcitrant Mamlūk chiefs—some 469—to perdition in Cairo's Citadel on 5th Ṣafar 1226H (1st March 1811), with only one intended victim, Amīn Bey, unexpectedly getting away by jumping over its walls on horseback, to live to tell the tale, he decided to throw himself whole-heartedly into the launch of full-scale operations in the Ḥejāz.[680] These were now initiated by establishing a bridge-head across the Red Sea, for which Yanbu' was seized.[681] The command of this venture was given to Muḥammad 'Alī's brave and talented seventeen year old son Ṭūsūn Pāshā.[682]

Sa'ūd ibn 'Abdal-'Azīz prepared to meet this threat by a general call to arms. He was by now ably assisted by his brave and capable son 'AbdAllāh, who had decided to meet the enemy on this occasion on grounds and terms of his own choosing, where the enemy's superiority in numbers, fire-power and discipline would be minimised. The general strategy of the Egyptians on this occasion, apart from obviously using their superiority to advantage, was to work on the loyalty of the fickle-minded and deprived bedouins by displays of indefatigable strength and interminable resources in order to instill fear and doubt in them and buy their support, or at least their non-involvement, by the appeasement of their insatiable avarice with silver and gold. In fact, in keeping with the advice of

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by feverish military activity and guerilla warfare. Mustering some 20,000 warriors, he decided to make a lightning swift advance onto al-Madīnah startling all, only to be deterred there by its defences, to which he had no suitable answer in his armoury in the guise of suitable guns or other siege equipment.[687]

Upon returning to al-Dir'īyyah, he was to learn of a pressing crisis in 'Umān, where he was to lose one of his militarily ablest and most trusted lieutenants, Muṭlaq al-Muṭayrī.[688] Meanwhile, at about this stage, two other aides of similar calibre, Ibn Muḍaiyyān (his erstwhile Governor of al-Madīnah) and the able, experienced and influential 'Uthmān al-Muḍā'ifī were also to be taken captive in the west. Regarding 'Uthmān al-Muḍā'ifī, it is said that Sa'ūd ibn 'Abdal-'Azīz was to offer to pay a 100,000 Riyāls in ransom for his freedom. However, as luck would have it, the offer, though lucrative, had arrived in the Egyptian camp after his departure for Egypt and therefore could not be entertained.[689]

Then, when Sa'ūd ibn 'Abdal-'Azīz heard of the arrival of Muḥammad 'Alī himself in the Ḥejāz to take stock and control of the situation, he decided to open pourparlers for peace, if for nothing else then to gain time. However, his envoys, bearing the message to Jiddah upon the Pāshā's arrival, were to be informed that, peace would require the restoration of all that was taken from the Prophet's Chamber in al-Madīnah and the reparation of the cost of the expedition as per the figures already quoted. This, Sa'ūd ibn 'Abdal-'Azīz would not or could not entertain.[690]

Muḥammad 'Alī had left Cairo in mid-Shawwāl 1228H(1813), at the same time as the Egyptian Ḥajj Caravan and had brought with him the 'Kiswah' that had been returned by the Unitarians after the establishment of their hegemony over Makkah some five years ago. He was now also to dress the Ka'bah that year, as well as lead the Ḥajj procession in a public display aimed, apart from other things, at advising his overlord the Sulṭān in Islāmpūl and the Muslim world at large that, Ottoman authority had been restored in the Holy Land.[691] His other objective would of course have been to study and reivew from close the whole situation and the steps that he would need to take in support of his future ambitions.

However, not much later after he had arrived in Makkah, where he was to put up at the house that later on came to be known as "Bayt Bānājah" (after the famous Ḥaḍramī trading family), feeling uncomfortable with the Sharīf Ghālib, he was to replace him with

his nephew Yaḥya ibn Surūr ibn Musā'id, wrongly referred to by Ibn Bishr as "Surūr ibn Yaḥyā ibn Surūr". This was again after Ghālib and he had sworn in the Makkan 'Ḥaram' to be loyal to each other.[692] According to the Makkan historian Daḥlān, the Sharīf Ghālib was then defended by several ethnic groups recognised for their martial qualities, such as "four hundred Yamanīs, as many Ḥaḍramīs, the same number of Yāfi'īs, as well as Maghribīs and Sulaymānīs" (the latter men hailing from the Jīzān, or more correctly the 'Jāzān' region), altogether some two thousand; this, while another thousand slaves were said to man his forts for him.[693] Hence, Muḥammad 'Alī had little option but to seek recourse to treachery in order to affect his designs with minimum risk of loss of life in this regard.[694]

The Sharīf Ghālib by then had exercised authority for some twenty-seven lunar years. He was first deported to Cairo, there to be joined by his four wives of African origin ("Ḥabashīyyāt"), a white slave girl and three sons plus their retainers. Compensated as best as possible upon the Sulṭān's command for the loss of his great wealth and commercial interests, which were known to have been spread as far apart as the Yaman and India. He was later on to be removed to Salonika with a handsome allowance, where he was to die in the plague of 1231H(1816).[695]

Meanwhile, Sa'ūd ibn 'Abdal-'Azīz 'al-Kabīr' ('the Great'), also referred to as "Abū'l-Shawārib" ("Father of the Moustache") and truly one of the greatest of his house and his era, was to pass away on 11th Jamād al-Awwal 1229H (1st May 1818), while his son and heir 'AbdAllāh ibn Sa'ūd was away raiding in the region of Ṣufaynah. Ibn Bishr maintains that, "Sa'ūd (ibn 'Abdal-'Azīz) had full knowledge of Qur'ānic exegesis" and that, in the lecture sessions that would follow the Obligatory Prayers, Commentaries of Ibn Kathīr (d.774H/1372) and al-Ṭabarī (d.310H/921) would be read out in his assemblies.[696] It is worth pointing out here as a reflection on Sa'ūd ibn 'Abdal-'Azīz's open-minded nature that, followers of the 'Madhhab' of the 'Imām' Ibn Ḥanbal, to which the adherents of the 'Da'wah' also belong, do tend to differ with al-Ṭabarī for example, on some points of 'Fiqh' (Jursiprudence) and 'Tafsīr' (Exegesis). In his kitchens, 500 'Sā'' (Measures) of wheat and rice would be prepared daily to be served with meat for important guests, with 'Ḥinṭah' (wheat served in the guise of a gruel called "Jarīsh") and

dates for the rest, while on 27th Ramaḍān, he gave away as many as 3,000 dresses.[697]

His tax gathering parties consisted of seventy teams, each with seven members—an 'Amīr', a clerk, an accountant, a treasurer and three general assistants—and the outcome of their efforts according to the unknown Author of the 'Lam' al-Shihāb' ('Glow of the Lamps') was the collection of some 2,310,000 Riyāls (Maria Theresa Thalers) in revenue, while Burckhardt suggests it's half.[698]

As far as the division of booty went, he would retain a fifth and distribute the rest fairly amongst his men, with a single portion for a footman and double that for the possessor of a horse. His park of artillery comprised of sixty mostly antiquated pieces, half of them of large bore and his palace household included 1,300 slaves and retainers, while his stable held 1,400 steeds, 600 of which were for use in raiding. Then there was in addition that select force of around 300 regular warriors that he had gathered around himself as a sort of special force or an elite Praetorian guard. As their title "al-Manqīyyah" or "the Picked Ones" reveals, they had all been individually selected by him and personally after he had heard tales of their military feats and valour and tried them out to his satisfaction. Towards these also he was always greatly indulgent.[699]

Soon after 'AbdAllāh ibn Sa'ūd's, undisputed accession, he had to devote all his energies to saving his large unwieldy desert realm from the jaws of this Turco-Egyptian invasion, seen as "a result of sins" committed by the followers of the 'Da'wah' by Ibn Bishr.[700] Knowing the importance of Turabah in any Najd-Ḥejāz conflict and particularly this swiftly evolving struggle with the Egyptian forces then arrayed for an advance eastwards, he now asked for his vassals and allies to pour into it with their followers and meet up with his handsome and popular brother Fayṣal ibn Sa'ūd in order to serve under his command. This was to continue until a force, some 40,000 strong had been assembled. What followed next has been described by Rāfi'ī Bey accompanying the Egyptian expedition, as "one of the most important battles in Egyptian military history", in which, despite reckless acts of bravery from the adherents of both sides, training in military discipline was ultimately to carry the day.[701]

Battle had been joined, when an Egyptian force met up with Fayṣal's warriors at 'Bisl al-Qaṣr' between Wādī Turabah and al-Ṭā'if during Muḥarram 1231H (December 1815). Although initially victorious, the men under Fayṣal, each clan or tribe under the

command of its own chief, were forced to fall back, when Muḥammad 'Alī had reinforced his troops in person at a critical stage, turning the tables on the enemy and compelling them to scatter. Upon this, instead of falling back into Turabah to regroup as some of the commanders had done in anticipation that others would follow, these tribal levies, in a reminder of the days of old, had taken to the different routes leading homewards, thus compelling their leaders also to follow them after a wait and under pressure from the advancing Egyptians, who were then to proceed to occupy Turabah and even give the fleeing tribesmen chase in different directions in mopping up operations and for distances which would not expose their rear to the risk of counter-attack.[702]

It is said that Muḥammad 'Alī, while augmenting his regulars with desert auxillaries of experience and training his men in desert warfare, had never shied away like a good commander from sharing his men's lot equally at stages of this campaign, when his men had been reduced to dire straits through shortage of supplies and were surviving on little more than dates. Never the one to feel shy over seeking advice in matters in which he was ignorant, it is said that Muḥammad 'Alī was often to benefit during this crisis from listening to the Sharīfs Shanbar ibn Mubārak al-Mun'imī, Rājeḥ al-Shanbarī and Muḥammad ibn 'Aun.[703]

Just as Muḥammad 'Alī was preparing himself for an invasion of Najd, two threats were to draw him back to Egypt. One of these was local and emanated from an emissary of his own, Laṭīf, who had managed to ingratiate himself with the Sublime Porte in a very short while, going on to receive the lofty title of "Pāshā", so far only bestowed on him and his sons alone as far as Egypt was concerned. The other was international and involved Napoleon, who had escaped from Elba.

Handing over charge to Ṭūsūn in al-Madīnah to continue with the preparations, but not the adequate means, Muḥammad 'Alī quietly slipped back to Egypt. Then, during the first quarter of 1230H(1815), as Ṭūsūn, though making little headway due to heavy resistance, was nevertheless dreaming of means or an oppurtunity to end this long drawn campaign at a single blow, a version says that, a messenger sent by Muḥammad 'Alī to Ṭūsūn was to arrive with orders that he end all hostilities and return to Egypt as soon as possible. This message is said to have been captured by 'AbdAllāh ibn Sa'ūd while on its way. The latter, upon acquainting himself

with the contents and pleased with them, had decided to send it on to Ṭūsūn post-haste, though the two unfortunate guides leading the messenger, had been executed.[704] On the other hand, al-Rāfi'ī maintains that, it was 'AbdAllāh ibn Sa'ūd who had "sent him an emissary (called Ḥabāb by Burckhardt), seeking truce and offering obedience". To this, Ṭūsūn's response, sent with his Syrian physician Yaḥyā Effendī along with some presents, had been that, as he could not respond to the request without consulting his father, he would offer a truce of twenty days in order for himself to be enabled to do so. The Physician had further been charged, as may well be imagined, with using his presence in the opponents' camp, to study their situation carefully, as well as to inspire awe in them with tales of Egypt's bottomless wealth and strength.[705]

Amidst the confusion of who sought the truce first, it becomes clear that, 'AbdAllāh ibn Sa'ūd and Ṭūsūn were willing to be satisfied with the confinement of the Sa'ūdī State to Najd and al-Iḥsā' with the proviso that, there be no interference by either party with the annual Pilgrimage and the trade traffic, local and between Arabia and its neighbours, and also that, 'AbdAllāh ibn Sa'ūd should send emissaries to attend the audience in Cairo with Muḥammad 'Alī concerning the presentation, finalisation and confirmation of these terms. According to Burckhardt, while twenty emissaries were to visit Ṭūsūn's camp, many of whom were then to go on to Cairo as well, bearing gifts and an appeal also addressed to the Sulṭān, only two were actually to meet the Pāshā. Ibn Bishr, while naming the two envoys as Ḥasan ibn Mazrū' and 'AbdAllāh ibn 'Aun succintly sums up what transpired by mentioning that, when they arrived in Cairo, they found Muḥammad 'Alī's attitude regarding peace to have changed![706]

It would appear that, with the immediate local threat to his position from the Albanian soldiery over, he now did not want to jeopardise his plans for future aggrandisement in Arabia and the region, with the Sanjaqs of Syria and now al-'Irāq also hardly distant from his grasp. Hence, he was found to fall back again onto harping on the terms he had formally offered Sa'ūd ibn 'Abdal-'Azīz earlier and at least one of which was physically impossible to meet. This of course was the demand for the return of all the treasures that had been taken from the Prophet's Chamber before the concept of peace between them could be entertained by him, as 'AbdAllāh ibn Sa'ūd simply did not have them as they had been

distributed. Then, there was also the difficult requirement of presenting himself before the Sulṭān in Islāmpūl to await his pleasure, while also surrendering al-Dir'īyyah to the Governor of al-Madīnah, under whose jurisdiction it was henceforth to be alongside its ruler and all these were terms that could hardly be considered seriously.

'AbdAllāh ibn Sa'ūd's reaction even to these conditions was, according to al-Rāfi'ī, a pragmatic one. Explaining once again his position vis à vis the treasures taken from the Prophet's Chamber and excusing himself from waiting on the Sulṭān as it would have meant almost certain execution, he was nevertheless to offer to receive a deputy in al-Dir'īyyah to take charge of the revenue and ensure the remittance of a fixed sum regularly in reparation until the amount sought was settled. Muḥammad 'Alī's reaction to this reply, going by the same chronicler, was to threaten the Sa'ūdī Amīr with war and destruction if he did not comply.[707]

Meanwhile, Ṭūsūn's return home on 5th Dhū'l-Ḥijjah 1231H (8th November 1815) had been to a tumultuous welcome and though only twenty years old, he was to die some ten months later. A brave man who appreciated bravery in others, 'AbdAllāh ibn Sa'ūd, when asked would readily admit that, he (Ṭūsūn) and his Scottish treasurer Ibrāhīm Āghā (né Thomas Keith), who was destined to lose his life in al-Qaṣīm in an encounter, were two of the bravest men in the Egyptian army.[708]

D: The Second Egyptian Expedition under Ibrāhīm Pāshā:

Thanks to Muḥammad 'Alī's intransigience, the writing on the wall now appeared clear to 'AbdAllāh ibn Sa'ūd as far as the course he now had to adopt was concerned. Hence, without wasting any time and placing his trust in God, he once again decided to send out a general call to arms to assess his own actual strength and the commitment of his followers, as well as their level of confidence in view of the impending struggle. In addition to using this excercise as a display of fearlessness and strength on his part, he also wanted to vent his spleen without delay on all those who had previously co-operated with the invading forces and were likely to prove a thorn in his side once again after the arrival of the new Egyptian expedition. This was in order to discourage them from this course of action. When these elements withdrew helter-skelter in various directions to avoid contact with him in this determinedly punitive mood, 'AbdAllāh ibn Sa'ūd also set about destroying all possible

facilities such as wells and forts, that could be used by the Egyptian forces in their advance on al-Dir'īyyah from the west. This raid or series of raids combined into one single energetic sweep by 'AbdAllāh ibn Sa'ūd, are generally remembered, according to the historian Ibn 'Īsā in Najd by the nickname of "Ghazwat al-Muḥarrash" because of the provocative implications inherent in it against the truce concluded with Ṭūsūn. It is of course probable that, when this nickname was coined, the general populace was not yet aware of the outcome of the representations by the Najdī deputation in Cairo. Nevertheless, this raid did serve to add to Muḥammad 'Alī's resolve, as tales of it were carried to Cairo and narrated before the Pāshā by a number of the fleeing notables of al-Qaṣīm, who had joined the ranks of those already resident there. In fact, the chronicler Ibn Bishr is frankly of the opinion that, it is because of this raid that "the violation of the peace by the 'Rūm' occured".[709]

Muḥammad 'Alī was now to take six more months in addressing his additional preparations. These of course had incorporated a serious review of and remedies for all the grave shortcomings sensed by the former expedition. Also, apart from an experienced French staff officer, Vaissiere, a doctor (Antonio Scoto), two surgeons and a pharmasict, all of these Italians, were now recruited to serve with this new expeditionary force. In addition to the normal component of professional regulars, it was to include two thousand sturdy "Fallāḥīn" (peasants) from Asyūṭ (Assiūṭ), picked by the new Commander, the twenty-seven years old Ibrāhīm Pāshā himself, as he made his way to the coast in order to cross the Red Sea over to al-Madīnah's main port, Yanbu'. Ibrāhīm Pāshā, to whom some sources refer as the eldest of Muḥammad 'Alī's progeny, while others as an adopted son, was also to engage six thousand camels from the famous 'Abābidah bedouins, to carry the force's equipment from Qanā to al-Quṣayr on the Red Sea.[710] On the former occasion during 1227H(1812), when Muḥammad 'Alī had boarded his vessels at Suez, according to Burckhardt, he had brought with him some two thousand cavalry, while another group of horse of similar size, accoumpanied by eight thousand camels, had arrived overland.[711]

There is some dispute between al-Rāfi'ī and Daḥlān over from where the operations against Najd were initiated by Ibrāhīm Pāshā after his arrival in the Ḥejāz during Shawwāl 1231H(September 1816). The former mentions al-Madīnah, while the latter opts in favour of Makkah.[712] These had of course been preceded by every

effort to over-awe and secure the cooperation of clans of the Ḥarb, Muṭayr, 'Utaybah and 'Anayzah, who had formerly assisted his younger brother Ṭūsūn.[713]

From here on, given the resources of this expeditionary force, were they also to possess like determination, then no matter however much 'AbdAllāh ibn Sa'ūd and his followers resisted, the result appeared to be a foregone conclusion and Ibrāhīm was to miss no opportunity to lure his opponents to his side 'en masse' or piecemeal with generous terms of truce or surrender as his advance progressed. In the face of such tactics and superior fire-power and discipline, the guerrilla tactics and valour of 'AbdAllāh ibn Sa'ūd and his tribal warriors, always prone to swift changes in temperament and behaviour, were found to flounder.

For example, at al-Rass, where 'Unitarian' units under Ḥijaylān ibn Ḥarb had gathered to stem Ibrāhīm's adavance, al-Fākhirī mentions that, they were subjected to bombardment with as many as five thousand artillery shells and other rounds in just a single night and in the end were found to avail of the Pāshā's generous terms to surrender after a seige that had lasted three and a half months. This of course had been in the face of 'AbdAllāh ibn Sa'ūd's inability depite efforts to relieve them. By then, they had lost as many as 160 men according to the Egyptian al-Rāfi'ī, while Ibn 'Īsā quotes the figure of 200, with the besiegers losing twice as many. Ibn Bishr, as usual, tends on the other hand and rightly or wrongly, to double the invaders' losses and halve those of the 'Unitarians'.[714]

Taking heart from how long his garrison at al-Rass had managed to hold back the invading forces and even as its remnants fell back onto 'Anayzah bringing with them tales of the enemy's formidable weaponry and the way they were treated upon surrender, which was undoubtedly to prove detrimental to his men's morale, 'AbdAllāh ibn Sa'ūd now decided, starting with 'Anayzah, to strengthen every fort and citadel in Ibrāhīm's path, while maintaining a free hand for himself to harass the besiegers at will from outside. When satisfied with 'Anayzah's preparations and before moving on to other forts, he had proceeded to place it under the command of his distant cousins Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm (the sons of Ḥasan ibn Mishārī ibn Sa'ūd) and to devote his attention next to Buraydah. However, as luck would have it, a chance shot from the besiegers was to ignite the well-stocked magazine of one of its forts, "al-Ṣafā'", creating mayhem and compelling its garrison to seek

terms. Again, Ibrāhīm was most generous in offering terms, merely seeking their neutrality in future fighting involving his soldiers.[715]

When 'AbdAllāh ibn Sa'ūd received the news in Buraydah of 'Anayzah's fate, he decided to fall back onto his Capital, while rather short-sightedly or fatalistically giving leave to those of his followers who had seasonal chores to perform, to leave his side and rest, as, for most tribesmen, raiding or fighting was a seasonal function.[716] A little later on, he was to find himself in need of their support in the face of Ibrāhīm Pāshā's swift advance upto the gates of al-Dir'īyyah, despite having rested at Buraydah, which too had surrendered without serious resistance. After a stay of a couple of months awaiting supplies and completing other preparations for the final assault, Ibrāhīm was on the move again in Rabī' al-Awwal 1233H (January 1818). Shaqrā on the way, because of its natural advantages and fortifications, was to occupy most of his attention before it too capitulated, some ten weeks into a seige.[717]

Ḍurmā, the strongest and best stocked of 'AbdAllāh ibn Sa'ūd's fortified posessions, where the Āl Sa'ūd maintained their stables, was to be assaulted next after a month of mopping up operations covering the neighbourhood. This siege, though short in duration, was to cost him dearly in terms of loss of life, adding greatly to his ire. For example, Ibn Bishr places the loss of dead amongst the defenders alone at two thousand and Ibn 'Īsā at thirteen hundred.[718] Nevertheless, in keeping with his policies, Ibrāhīm was to ensure that, the three thousand odd women and children found there were safely sent off to al-Dir'īyyah, indirectly adding to the burden of its defenders, though of course they were well-received there.

The Chronicler al-Jabartī mentions that, when news of Ibrāhīm's activities at this stage was slow in arriving in Cairo, Muḥammad 'Alī, with a genuine touch of paternal concern, had commissioned the scholars at the University and Mosque of al-Azhar to hold special reading sessions for common benefit from the compilation of the Prophet's 'Traditions' by al-Bukhārī daily for a couple of hours after sunrise and to pray for his son's success in this venture. Then, when the news of his victories did arrive, Muḥammad 'Alī was to distribute gold amongst those involved in this.[719]

E: The Fall of al-Dir'īyyah and the First Sa'ūdī State:

Al-Dir'īyyah, a formidable conglomerate of five settlements, naturally protected by steep cliffs a hundred feet high in the Wādī Ḥanīfah, a valley around 500 yards in width and about four miles North to South, was laid siege to next by 5,500 regulars including, some cavalry, supported according to al-Rāfi'ī by twelve (Sadleir says thirteen) artillery pieces.[720]

'AbdAllāh ibn Sa'ūd also, while lacking in modern guns, had arranged the defences elaborately, though it was to become apparent as the siege dragged on, that, these positions were prone to suffering from poor inter-communication. During the course of this fighting, one of Ibrāhīm's large ammunition dumps was to catch fire and blow up and with an explosion so loud that, it could be heard at a distance of four walking days according to Ibn Bishr. It was also to destroy with it great quantities of precious war material and supplies—half the entire stock according to al-Rāfi'ī—which had been conveyed across the desert at great expense. The British emissary to Ibrāhīm, Captain Sadleir was to record that, as a result, his artillery from then on had "remained without ammunition for nearly two months."[721] Ibrāhīm had nevertheless managed to keep the flagging spirits of his men alive by commandeering and ordering stocks in replacement from other depôts he had established 'en route', while urgently calling up for fresh supplies from home as well as al-'Irāq.[722]

As the siege continued unabated with great displays of valour from both sides, Muḥammad 'Alī, upon learning of Ibrāhīm's predicament and loss of supplies, decided to send to his aid a force of three thousand infantry and some cavalry units under his nephew (a sister's son) Khalīl Pāshā and they were to set sail on 8th Shawwāl 1233H (12th August 1818). As far as these attempts to urgently convey supplies to Ibrāhīm were concerned, according to Daḥlān, as much as six Riyāls per camel were being paid merely for the distance between Yanbu' and al-Madīnah and then almost nineteen Riyāls from there to al-Dir'īyyah and perhaps even more.[723]

In the meantime, rather than wait and to have Khalīl share in the successful conclusion of this enterprise, Ibrāhīm decided to deliver a particularly determined assault from all sides. This was initiated with a heavy artillery barrage and a successful feint against the left or northern bank of the Wādī. The move was to succeed in drawing away defenders from the strongly protected southern sector (the right bank) to the defence of its northern counterpart, now under attack.[724]

Amidst the fierce fighting during this invasion and now the siege, ʻAbdAllāh ibn Saʻūd had already lost many of his closest kin, twenty-one to be precise, not to mention other commanders of calibre. These included his brothers, Ibrāhīm ibn Saʻūd, Turkī ibn Saʻūd (who was ill then) and his right-hand man Fayṣal ibn Saʻūd, who was known amongst the bedouins according to Burckhardt, for his looks and amiability.[725] Meanwhile, a number of the adherents from other clans, upon realising the hopelessness of the situation, were also to join the ranks of those seeking terms for themselves and their followers. One of the most notable of these was Ghaṣṣab al-ʻUtaybī, who had been serving ʻAbdAllāh ibn Saʻūd until this stage with devotion as the Captain of his cavalry.[726]

ʻAbdAllāh ibn Saʻūd also now decided to admit the hopelessness of his situation and to fall back onto his last retreat, his castle in al-Ṭurayf. From there, after some further fighting, he sent a delegation under his uncle ʻAbdAllāh ibn ʻAbdal-ʻAzīz, Shaykh ʻAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn ʻAbdal-Wahhāb and Muḥammad ibn Mishārī ibn Muʻammar of al-ʻUyaynah to seek terms from Ibrāhīm Pāshā. In response, the latter, while offering safety to the neighbouring hamlets and villages (collectively referred to as the "Ahl al-Sahl"), refused to proceed any further until ʻAbdAllāh ibn Saʻūd had presented himself before him in person. This was on seventh Dhū'l-Qaʻdah 1233H (9th September 1818). Then, after another couple of days of desperate fighting with gunfire aimed at al-Ṭurayf from all directions, ʻAbdAllāh ibn Saʻūd bravely decided to comply.[727] Captain Sadleir, being a soldier, gives a brief but accurate description of the artillery pieces with Ibrāhīm Pāshā, while Ibn Bishr, reporting on the authority of an eye-witness on some of the long-range rifles used in this campaign, says that the one that brought Fayṣal ibn Saʻūd down had measured "nine hand-spans" in length and its rounds weighed "eleven Dirhams" (34.32 grams—as a Dirham weighs 3.12 grams or a twelfth of an English ounce).[728]

The overall campaign had lasted some seven years and this last siege had taken almost six months. As far as losses in men were concerned, Ibn Bishr claims that this episode had cost the Pāshā as many as 10,000 men with another two thousand killed in other operations, in comparison to the loss of thirteen hundred by the defenders at al-Dirʻīyyah, which of course included men from several important clans of Najd and their following. For example, the clan of Āl Muʻammar alone were said to have lost as many as fifteen

members. Sadleir, who had interviews with Ibrāhīm in the vicinity of al-Madīnah some months after the war, gives his strength at the start of these operations as 5,600 infantry and 1,950 cavalry. These figures of course had been given to him by Ibrāhīm himself. Al-Fākhirī's figures on Egyptian dead in the whole campaign, most probably based on Ibn Bishr's, are 10,000, with al-Dirʻīyyah's losses remaining at 1,300.[729]

Sadleir, in keeping with the objectives of his mission, had primarily then been interested in discovering Ibrāhīm's future intentions and how they clashed with British designs, plus in securing his help in preventing the interception of commercial vessels in the Gulf and the levying of dues by the local chiefs, which the British termed "piratical" acts.[730] This was to be by means of a general truce to be signed by all the Gulf's relevent chiefs of note. However, this was not to transpire until Rā's al-Khaymah, which had been bombarded by the British in 1224H(1809), was again destroyed by them in Ṣafar 1235H (December 1819). When Sadleir had met up with Ibrāhīm, the latter was at that stage very much on his way home and could hardly discuss with the former the concepts he had been sent to explore beyond generalities, especially without his father's instructions.[731]

Nevertheless, the final outcome of this British drive in the interests of enforcing a general truce on the waters of the Gulf was to be a Treaty of Peace entered into with Britain by all the Gulf chiefs during Rabīʻ al-Awwal 1235H (January 1820) after the alluded to second destruction of Rā's al-Khaymah at British hands. Thus did the nomenclature of "the Trucial Coast" extending from the "eastern base of the Qaṭar peninsula to Rā's Musandam in the Strait of Hormūz" and encompassing "the Trucial States" come into existence. In Cairo, the arrival of the news of Ibrāhīm Pāshā's victories, coinciding with celebrations of the "Īd al-Aḍḥā' was the cause for great celebrations that were to spill over into the following lunar year (1334H).[732]

Many romanticised accounts, several of then surely apocryphal, exist about this last phase of events at al-Dirʻīyyah and they all laud the bravery, sincerity and realism of ʻAbdAllāh ibn Saʻūd. For example, in his 'Histoire de l'Egypte', Mengin has Ibrāhīm chivalrously offering ʻAbdAllāh ibn Saʻūd munitions to continue his resistance with, to which his dignified and spiritual response was:

Amidst the fierce fighting during this invasion and now the siege, ʻAbdAllāh ibn Saʻūd had already lost many of his closest kin, twenty-one to be precise, not to mention other commanders of calibre. These included his brothers, Ibrāhīm ibn Saʻūd, Turkī ibn Saʻūd (who was ill then) and his right-hand man Fayṣal ibn Saʻūd, who was known amongst the bedouins according to Burckhardt, for his looks and amiability.[725] Meanwhile, a number of the adherents from other clans, upon realising the hopelessness of the situation, were also to join the ranks of those seeking terms for themselves and their followers. One of the most notable of these was Ghaṣṣab al-ʻUtaybī, who had been serving ʻAbdAllāh ibn Saʻūd until this stage with devotion as the Captain of his cavalry.[726]

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Two days after the fall of al-Dir'īyyah, 'AbdAllāh ibn Sa'ūd, with several of his kin, was to be led off to Cairo, on his way to Islāmpūl (Istānbūl), where he was to await the decision of the Sulṭān Maḥmūd II regards his fate. Indeed, this was the cardinal condition on the basis of which his surrender had been entertained.[735]

Upon arrival in Cairo on 17th Muḥarram 1234H (16th November 1818), 'AbdAllāh ibn Sa'ūd was put up in the Palace of Ibrāhīm Pāshā's son, Ismā'īl. During his interview with Muḥammad 'Alī, the latter was to enquire of him how he had found Ibrāhīm as an adversary in battle. To this, 'AbdAllāh ibn Sa'ūd's reply as a brave warrior who admired valour in others, had been: "He did not fall short in measure and exerted all his endeavours and so did we, until what the Lord had decreed came to pass". The Pāshā had then dressed him in a robe of honour and promised to plead his case with the Sulṭān.[736]

Now, 'AbdAllāh ibn Sa'ūd had also brought with him a plated box bearing three exquisite Qur'āns, some three hundred large pearls and a large emerald in a band. When the Pāshā asked him about them, 'AbdAllāh ibn Sa'ūd's explanation had been: "this is what my father had taken from the Prophet's Chamber and I am taking them with me for the Sulṭān". Then, when the Pāshā informed him with a touch of enquiry that, "many other objects had also been taken from the Chamber", 'AbdAllāh ibn Sa'ūd's reply was to say: "This is what I found with my father… senior chiefs, the people of al-Madīnah, the Āghās of the Mosque and the Sharīfs of Makkah also took things". Muḥammad 'Alī's comment on hearing this was to add that, he too "had found things from there with the Sharīf" (Ghālib ibn Musā'īd).[737]

'AbdAllāh ibn Sa'ūd then left Cairo for Alexandria on 19th Muḥarram 1235H (18th November 1819) on his was to Islāmpūl (Istānbūl), there to be publicly displayed in fetters, then tried and finally condemned to death after repeatedly refusing with dignity to recognsie the error of his beliefs as asked to do by the "Ulamā" and the Muftīs in a trial. He was finally executed during Ṣafar 1234H (November 1818) in accordance with their judgement.[738]

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During his meeting with Sadleir in the vicinity of al-Madīnah, referred to earlier, he was to mention to the latter that: "the revenues of the country were insufficient for maintaining an adequate force for its protection" and that, in despatching the expedition as well as ordering the destruction of al-Dir'īyyah, his father Muḥammad 'Alī had been acting on the orders of the Sublime Porte.[740]

As averred to earlier, apart from finding out Egyptian intentions and policy regarding the future of the region, Sadleir was also hoping to seek the Pāshā's assistance in order to ensure that, the practice then rampant in the Gulf of intercepting commercial vessels on the high sea and levying dues on their cargo by the navies of the various chiefs of the littoral, an act viewed as "piracy" by the British, was quelled for ever. However, Ibrāhīm Pāshā, then on his way home, could hardly discuss the subject beyond generalities without instructions from his father.[741]

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was on his way back home with his family, Khalīl Pāshā was appointed by his maternal uncle Muḥammad 'Alī as his cousin's successor and the 'Governor of Arabia'. This however was not to be for long, as he passed away shortly after his arrival, to be succeeded in office by his brother Aḥmad Shukrī Yakin and the latter was to continue in this post for almost a good ten years with the tiresome objective of maintaining law, order and peace to the best of his ability with quite insufficient means and forces at his disposal in view of the size of the challenges he was facing. Aḥmad Yakin was to serve two spells of duty as Governor of the Ḥejāz, the first one between 1235H(1820) and 1244H(1828) and then another from 1248H(1832) till 1256H(1840). Both of them had been long enough durations for him to warrant the label amongst the indigenous public of "the Pāshā of the Ḥejāz". During the period in between, the office was to be held first by Salīm Bey for a couple of months, then by 'Ābdīn Bey, who was destined to die in Makkah during the cholera epidemic of 1246H(1831) to be succeeded by Khurshīd Bey. Although appointed at the begining of 1247H (June 1831), Khurshīd Bey was forced to leave Makkah for Egypt during the Rajab of that year (January 1832) due to the "Turkçe Bilmez" rebellion, leaving Ismā'īl Bey behind in charge during his absence, who was to prove of sound enough mettle to overcome the rebels after some hiccups.[742]

F: Egyptian Occupation (1233H/1818–1256H/1840)

F: (i) The Interregnum in Najd:

In Najd and all the other areas that had once been pacified by the Da'wah's champions by the threat of the use of the mailed fist, the internecine feuding and local power struggles that had existed before the dawn of the 'Unitarian Call' were once again to become rampant and get bolder in propotion by the day. All this was happening now under the very noses of the Egyptian troops, who had decided in the meantime, to merely focus on hanging on to the security of their garrisons as best as possible, ignoring all else and in view of the paucity of their resources, to attempt also to augment their means of livelihood by living off the soil. This, as may be imagined, was much to the ire of the already decimated and greatly suffering local population.

As Najd was lost in the midst of grappling with these problems, just as a scion of the House of Mu'ammar, 'Uthmān had formerly taken on himself the role of supporting the 'Da'wah' in its embryonic stage by providing protection to the Shaykh Muḥammad ibn 'Abdal-Wahhāb before having to let him go due to threats from the Āl 'Uray'ar princes of the Banī Khālid of al-Iḥsā', so now also was another member of the clan of Mu'ammar, Muḥammad ibn Mishārī, to take up the challenge of restoring to Najd some of its former cohesion and tranquility with the aid of lessons learnt from the past. The most effective of these of course was using the attraction of the 'Da'wah' to draw people to himself as its champion, while ensuring at the same time to appear to be operating under the official panoply of the Turco-Egyptian writ, by stressing his allegiance to it and thus gaining its goodwill and enjoying its favour and protection at times of need.[743] Incidentally, this was also the policy that the 'Uray'ar princes, Mājid and Muḥammad, were doing in their designs to restore their clan's fortunes in al-Iḥsā' and the east coast.[744] Meanwhile, in a bid to win over and retain the loyalty of all those elements that the Āl Sa'ūd had displaced or harmed in the past, the Egyptians had decided to restore them to their former status and assests that they had been deprived of.

However, when all appeared to be slowly falling into place for Muḥammad ibn Mishārī's ambitions regards staking his claims to the legacy of the 'Unitarian Imāmate' and the over-lordship of Najd, his hopes were to be shaken by the sudden appearance on the scene around mid-1235H (1820) of Turkī ibn 'AbdAllāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Sa'ūd and his brother Zayd, soon to be followed by that of Mishārī ibn Sa'ūd ibn 'Abdal-'Azīz, a brother of the last Sa'ūdī 'Imām' cum 'Amīr' 'AbdAllāh ibn Sa'ūd.[745]

Faced with this peculiar dilemma, it is to Muḥammad ibn Mishārī's foresight, goodwill and credit that he decided to opt out of the competition for supreme authority in Najd and to declare his recognition of Mishārī ibn Sa'ūd's claim, particularly as the House of Mu'ammar then enjoyed close ties of kinship with the Āl Sa'ūd. Nevertheless, in the ups and downs and changes of heart and loyalty of Central Arabian politics, whilst Mishārī ibn Sa'ūd was destined to be treacherously seized by Muḥammad ibn Mishārī Ibn Mu'ammar and handed over to the Egyptian authorities to die subsequently in captivity under somewhat mysterious circumstances, Muḥammad al-Mu'ammar and his son Mishārī ibn Muḥammad were

later on to be executed by the next Sa'ūdī contender, the Amīr Turkī ibn 'AbdAllāh, for their treacherous behaviour.[746]

It is interesting to note before moving on that, according to historians like Daḥlān, the remnants of the Āl Sa'ūd who had survived the ordeal of al-Dir'īyyah's destruction and escaped its aftermath, had all converged again onto their former capital after Ibrāhīm's withdrawal and started to rebuild and revive it. However, Muḥammad 'Alī, upon learning of this activity was to send a force under Ḥusayn Bey to put an end to it and then to follow those who had fled and taken refuge in al-Riyāḍ, to seek and accquire their surrender.[747]

Yet again, traditional mayhem was completely to break loose in Central Arabia once more, as the Pāshā's attention was to be diverted elsewhere soon enough, primarily Greece, where a revolt had flared up in the Morea under Yipsilantis during 1236H(1821), compelling his overlord the Sulṭān Maḥmūd II to ask for his assistance with the offer of the Pāshālik of Crete in reward, if successful and this in addition to Syria-Palestine that he had already been promised. That Greece was ultimately to gain its independence in 1243H(1827) was primarily due to the support and intervention of the Great European Powers and the destruction by the combined naval effort of Britain, France, and Russia of the Turco-Egyptian fleet at Navarino in 1243H(1827), but not before some dazzling military feats by the Egyptian armies between 1239H(1824) and 1242H(1826). However, that is another story.

In the meantime, in the absence of a strong controlling presence in Makkah, the feelings of the Sharīf Yaḥyā ibn Surūr, appointed during 1228H(1813) after his uncle Ghālib's removal from office by Muḥammad 'Alī, but without many of the former's prerogatives, were to spill into open rebellion, particularly due to the Pāshā and his administration's continuing reliance in the main on the Sharīf Shunbar ibn Mubārak. The Grand Sharīf Yaḥyā now decided to remove this hurdle from the scene forever by slaying him. This was to come to pass after the Maghrib Prayer on 22nd Sha'bān 1242H (April 1827) and by the Bāb al-Ṣafā' too, within the precincts of the Holy Mosque itself and at the hands of the Sharīf Yaḥyā in person.[748]

Refusing capture and while on his way to Cairo, Yaḥyā was to contemplate raising the standard of rebellion thanks to the encouragement of the chiefs of the Ḥarb tribe on his route, while the

Sharīf 'Abdal-Muṭṭalib ibn Ghālib was appointed in his stead upon Aḥmad Yakin Pāshā's commendation, though after some delay. He was however replaced some six months later in Ṣafar 1243H (September 1827) by Muḥammad ibn 'Abdal-Mu'īn ibn 'Aun (d.1274H/1858), whose abilities and valour Muḥammad 'Alī respected. Upon this, Yaḥyā and 'Abdal-Muṭṭalib were to decide to join forces and after much skirmishing and several clashes, the former was captured and forwarded to Egypt to die there in 1254H(1838), while the latter wended his way to Istānbul. Muḥammad ibn 'Aun's Sharīfate was destined to last till 1267H(1851) and indeed, it is to this Sharīf that Mishārī ibn 'Abdal-Raḥmān, the cousin of the Sa'ūdī Amīr Turkī ibn 'AbdAllāh was to turn in 1246H(1830) with the intention of seeking his help against the latter, but without result.[749]

It was also during this year, 1246H(1830/31), that the Pilgrimage was affected since Dhū'l-Qā'dah (April 1831) by a virulent epidemic of cholera, which was to carry away Pilgrims and citizens alike by the tens of thousands. For example, while the Najdī Pilgrims had been decimated by half, and the Syrian caravan by two-thirds of its numbers, Makkah had already lost some sixteen thousand by the time of the latter's return. Then, when this caravan stopped at al-Madīnah on its way home, that city also started to suffer rapidly according to the Najdī chronicler Ibn Bishr and to the extent that, "men, women and children entered the Prophet's Mosque supplicating and imploring before God, the Almighty, so that He relieved them of it".[750]

F: (ii) The Turkçe Bilmez Affair:

Another rebellion of a serious nature and from an unexpected quarter that Muḥammad 'Alī had to endure in the Ḥejāz during his political presence in the region was the one led by Georgian, Albanian and Turk irregulars in the main. Its leader was Muḥammad Āghā, a Mamlūk of his brother-in-law Muṣṭafā Bey and a senior Georgian cavalry officer in Egyptian service. Muḥammad Āghā was supported in this instance amongst a number of others by a Zaynal Āghā, Zenār (Zamen) Āghā (an Albanian infantry officer), Khurshīd Āghā, Ibrāhīm Āghā and Ḥusayn Āghā. Since Muḥammad Āghā was known in his day as "Turkçe Bilmez" or "he who knows not Turkīsh", this rising, because of its association with him, has been labeled with his nickname.

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This rebellion had initially started in Jiddah in 1248H(1832) and ostensibly over a request for the settlement of arrears of pay placed before the new Governor of the Ḥejāz, Aḥmad Yakin's replacement Khurshīd Bey. It is interesting to observe that al-Fākhirī suggests that "this year should be referred to as 'the year of events'". Khurshīd Bey himself was another Georgian who enjoyed Muḥammad 'Alī's favour, having caught his eye in Arabia and other theatres of war and who understood well his master's modus operandi. Hence, in this instance too he had asked that he be allowed to place their request before Muḥammad 'Alī, to which "Turkçe Bilmez" and his followers were to agree. However, the former, upon learning of the crisis and sensing military indiscipline, was to send two sets of instructions, one of them secret. While the first set ordered settlement to lull the rebels into a sense of false security, the secret one also demanded the arrest and dispatch of the ring-leaders, particularly "these two pigs" ("Turkçe Bilmez" and Zaynal Āghā) to Egypt.

When the latter document was discovered by the rebels upon the person of the messenger Āghā Rizqal, what may have been termed military unrest so far, was henceforth to take on the form of an armed rebellion. Refusing the entreaties of this emissary and the Sharīf Muḥmmad ibn 'Aun alike, who thereupon withdrew to the hill station of Hadā near al-Ṭā'if, they first plundered according to an account, the treasury in Jiddah and the nineteen vessels in the harbour belonging to the Pāshā and seizing them, expelled the Governor Khurshīd Bey to Egypt, proclaiming Muḥammad Āghā as the new 'Wālī' in his place. A further cause for the disenchantment of these troops with Muḥammad 'Alī would have been Ibrāhīm Pāshā's campaign against their overlord the Sulṭān in Syria, where the Egyptian forces were getting the better of their Imperial Ottoman counterparts.

It is said that, after proclaiming Muḥammad Āghā Governor, the rebels had decided to advance upon Makkah. Though eventually defeated there by a loyalist infantry unit under Ismā'īl Bey after several early successes and forced to fall back onto Jiddah, Muḥammad Āghā had nevertheless been confirmed by the Sulṭān Maḥmūd II also as the Ḥejāz's 'Wālī' through the medium of the Governor of Baghdād, who had now become the channel of communication between these rebels and the Sublime Porte. It ought to be pointed out here that, Daḥlān's account maintains that, it was

after the battles in Makkah and the fall back onto Jiddah that its treasury and the Pāshā's nineteen ships in its harbour had been seized and plundered and this, though somewhat illogical, seems to be the correct version. Daḥlān also states that Muḥammad 'Alī was to compensate without scrutiny all those whose property had been affected in this episode.[751]

Seeing the custodianship of the Holy Cities as crucial to his future designs, particularly as Ibrāhīm was doing well enough in Syria at least for the time being, to appear to be able to secure for him a domain greater than that ruled by the two Mamlūk dynasties preceding his, Muḥammad 'Alī decided immediately to send in large reinforcements with Aḥmad Yakin Pāshā, who was now also appointed 'Wālī' for the third time. Landing at Yanbu' in mid-1248H(1832/3), Aḥmad Yakin managed to cut off all those who aspired towards contact with the Sulṭān and other loyalists via Syria, which appears to have been the intention of Muḥammad Āghā and his followers after their ultimate reverse in Makkah.

Hence, they now decided to move southwards towards the Yaman in two columns, one by sea in the vessels seized by them in Jiddah and hugging the coast, the other overland and close to it along the shore, successfully engaging Muḥammad 'Alī's troops in al-Qunfidhah, Abū 'Arīsh and al-Ḥudaydah and occupying them, before ending up in al-Mukhā.

Unfortunately, Muḥammad Āghā began at this stage to run short of funds and compelled to interfere with normal commerce and the cargos in the harbour, while also quarreling with his local allies. As a result, he was to find out soon enough that, he had no outlet whatsoever for help and from then on, the writing was on the wall for hin and his movement.

Besieged by tribes led by the Chief of the 'Ar'ar at al-Mukhā upon the instigation of Aḥmad Yakin, he and some of his friends managed, after much stiff fighting, of which Ibn Bishr's account also bears notice, to row to the safety of a British East India Company man-of-war called "Tiger", which was to take them to Bombay. From there, they were to make their way to al-Baṣrah, thus heralding the end of this strange affair in the Ḥejāz and the 'Asīr, regarding which, Bayly Winder says he found "none... stranger", but not completely.

In al-Baṣrah, Muḥammad Āghā was to be charged by the Ottoman authorities, because of his experience, with that Port's de-

fence for a while. This was in order to face the threat posed by the arrival of Khurshīd Pāshā's expedition to the Gulf Coast in 1255H(1839), with definite plans to seize to al-Baṣrah and advance into al-'Irāq if Muḥammad 'Alī approved. However, though in full agreement with his above Commander in heart over this matter, the Pāshā, now extremely wary of the reaction of the Great Powers and particularly Britain, was not to grant Khurshīd Pāshā his approval, much to the latter's agitation. Then, roundabout this stage and in a 'volte face' of events, Muḥammad Āghā was to quarrel with the 'Wālī' of Baghdād and apply for Muḥammad 'Alī's pardon and permission to join Khurshīd Pāshā's expedition. This, however, was not granted, as Muḥammad 'Alī by now had developed an apprehensive view of Muḥammad Āghā. Hence, the latter was to make his way to Islāmpūl and disappear from the regional scene.[752]

Concerning Ibrāhīm Pāshā's successes against the Ottoman forces in the north, it ought to be specified that, upon his arrival at Kutāhiā, some fifty leagues from the Ottoman Capital during 1249H(1833), an agreement was arrived at through French intermediation, whereby Muḥammad 'Alī's possession of the Syrian provinces in addition to Crete was to be confirmed by the Sulṭān, along with the conferment of the Ḥejāz (namely Jiddah and the keep of the Makkan Holy Sanctuary) and Adana on his son Ibrāhīm.[753] However, while this was brewing, the latter's activities leading up to his victory at the battle of Nazīb (Niṣībīn) in 1255H(1839), in which the great Prussian (German) soldier Helmut von Moltke was an adviser to the Ottoman forces, were to acquire for his father in addition to Syria-Palestine, a foothold in Anatolia itself. Meanwhile, thanks to Fawzī Pāshā, the Ottoman navy also was to go over to Muḥammad 'Alī.[754]

However, this unexpected aggrandisement of the vassal at the expense of the master and on such a scale was ultimately to lead to negative results for the former in a short while, particularly as it did not conform then with the interests of the Great Powers. Muḥammad 'Alī was also to discover during the crux of this crisis that, France's sympathies, though with him, did not extend to the limit of going to war for his sake with all the other major Powers, a perception he had been erroneously led to believe in till this stage by that Power's envoys.

F: (iii) Sa'ūdī Revival—
The Rise of Turkī ibn 'AbdAllāh in Najd:

Meanhwile, by 1240H(1824), faced by dispirited Egyptian detachments shorn of supplies in the Najd, Turkī ibn 'AbdAllāh was able to put sufficient pressure on the garrisons of Manfūḥah, to be followed by al-Riyāḍ also, to induce them to withdraw towards al-Madīnah in the manner of the units from al-Qaṣīm earlier. Then, making al-Riyāḍ his Capital and after receiving pledges of obediance from the various local elements and restoring the supporters of his family to high office wherever possible, he set about entering into a conciliatory correspondence accompanied by gifts with the Egyptian Governor-General in the Ḥejāz, Aḥmad Pāshā Yakin, seeking his intercession with Muḥammad 'Alī to award him a diploma of appointment over Najd as its 'Wālī' in confirmation of his more or less 'de facto' status, while impatiently addressing similar pleas a little later on to the Ottoman 'Wālī' in Baghdād, Dā'ūd Pāshā also, to intercede with the Sulṭān on his behalf for a like patent, this during 1241H(1826).[755]

This, as can be imagined, was much to the irritation of Muḥammad 'Alī, who by now had come to view the affairs of the Arabian peninsula as his own sinecure, and hence, to oppose Baghdād's or any other authority's involvement in them. On the other hand, when Turkī ibn 'AbdAllāh was asked by Muḥammad 'Alī to visit Cairo as "a fully honoured guest" for a short duration in proof of the sincerity of his claims and interntions, fearing the Pāshā's ways and what could well transpire there, he dared not.[756]

It was at about this time—1241H(1826)—that Mishārī ibn 'Abdal-Raḥmān ibn Mishārī ibn Sa'ūd, a son of a sister of Turkī, and the Shaykh Muḥammad ibn 'Abdal-Wahhāb's grandson of Shaykh 'Abdal-Raḥmān ibn Ḥasan, were to arrive in al-Riyāḍ after making good their escape from Egypt, for the former to be appointed Amīr over Manfūḥah and the latter, the Capital's 'Qāḍī'. This development was to be followed shortly by the arrival of his own son Fayṣal ibn Turkī during 1243H(1827), who in turn was destined to preside over the appanage of his forebears with considerable credit despite the size of the challenges, during two separate spells as ruler later on.[757]

It is also this Turkī ibn 'AbdAllāh, who before his assassination, was to summon the tribes of the region owing allegiance, to meet

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him at a pool called Wuthaylān and to address them and his officials together and remind them as in the Qur'ān of God's many favours, uniting them when divided, bestowing power and wealth on them when they were weak and poor and asking them in return to be ever-righteous and not to oppress the poor. When the perplexed Governor of Buraydah 'Abdal-'Azīz ibn Muḥammad ibn 'AbdAllāh requested him to be more specific in placing the blame if any had erred in his view, his retort was: "This applies to you and your likes, who think they have become possessors of territories by their swords. In reality it is the sword of Islām and the agreement over an 'Imām' which seized them and humbled them for you".[758] This was an undertaking, adherence to which had endeared the Āl Sa'ūd to the indigenous populace and should continue to do as long as they abide by it.

F: (iv) Mishārī ibn 'Abdal-Raḥmān, Fayṣal ibn Turkī, Khālid ibn Sa'ūd and 'AbdAllāh ibn Thunaiyyān Āl Sa'ūd

Turkī ibn 'AbdAllāh, who according to Ibn Bishr "had no equal in good sense and political acumen" amongst his other qualities, was to be struck down at the behest of his cousin cum nephew Mishārī ibn 'Abdal-Raḥmān while returning from the mosque on Friday, also the last day of 1249H(May 1834). This was while his son Fayṣal ibn Turkī was away raiding in al-Qaṭīf. The latter, upon learning of the news and after holding a swift meeting with his captains, who recognised him as his father's successor, decided swiftly to lay siege to and retrieve al-Riyāḍ. Amongst these captains was his dear friend and comrade-in-arms, 'AbdAllāh ibn 'Alī Ibn Rashīd, a noble of Jabal Shammar, known in the words of Ibn Bishr for his "judgement and bravery" and destined later on to found another great Central Arabian dynasty, that was to hold the weal in the region and even eclipse the Āl Sa'ūd in power for several oncoming decades.[759] Meanwhile, Harry St. John ('AbdAllāh) Philby was to say of Turkī ibn 'AbdAllāh and his eleven year reign that, "if ever there was a 'man of destiny', it was he" and also that, "had it not been for Turkī's patient and persistent efforts to repair the ruin he had inherited, the Sa'ūdī Arabia of his great-grandson would never have had a chance of realisation".[760]

During the ensuing siege of al-Riyāḍ, and shaken by the constant bombardment, Mishārī ibn 'Abdal-Raḥmān had decided to seek terms. However, when negotiations failed, three of Fayṣal ibn

Turkī's trusted lieutenants inclusive of and led by 'AbdAllāh Ibn Rashīd managed, through bribery and promises, to gain access into the castle, with the ultimate outcome that, at the loss of his companions ('AbdAllāh ibn Khamīs and Baddāḥ al-Muṭayrī), 'AbdAllāh Ibn Rashīd, though himself gravely wounded, was to succeed in decapitating the surprised Mishārī ibn 'Abdal-Raḥmān, described by the traveller Palgrave as " a man of Herculean size", along with six of his accomplices according to Ibn Bishr's account. When parts of his body—some say his hand, others his head, followed by a carcass—were cast into the yard for public viewing, the citizens of al-Riyāḍ were to lose no time in hastening to swear allegiance to their new 'Imām'. Mishārī ibn 'Abdal-Raḥmān had merely ruled for some forty days in all. Ḍārī Ibn Rashīd however maintains in his 'Nubdhah' ('Summary') that, Mishārī had been executed upon Fayṣal ibn Turkī's orders by 'AbdAllāh Ibn Rashīd in an act of revenge for the assassination of Turkī ibn 'AbdAllāh.[761]

Meanwhile, of Palgrave, né Cohen and a Jewish convert to Christianity, it may be added that, he was then engaged in a covert information gathering mission for the French Emperor Napoleon III. This was during Ṣafar 1250H (June 1834) and was to last till 1254H(1838), when his failure, despite persistent attempts to compose his differences with the Egyptian forces, was ultimately to lead to his expulsion.[762]

Ever since his involvement in Arabian politics, Muḥammad 'Alī had considered the coastal region of the 'Asīr as crucial to his strategy for approaching the Ḥejāz from across the Red Sea and the south and sure enough, to keep this region in constant subservience without a sufficient permanent presence was not proving easy in view of the recalcitrant nature of the local tribes, their affinity with the cause of the "Da'wah", though somewhat loose by now, and Egyptian ignorance of their customs, social and martial. An attempt to find an answer to the latter shortcoming had been made to some extent by the engagement of "sons of Ḥaḍramaut", for they were looked upon as "more capable of facing the assaults of the Bedouins, as well as possessed with a superior understanding of their tribal methods in fighting" as official documents in the 'Ābdīn Palace Archives to do with this period in Arabia and dating between the years 1238H(1822) and 1253H(1838) verify.[763]

However, lack of knowledge of the former was at times to lead them during this phase to costly errors, such as during 1251H(1835),

him at a pool called Wuthaylān and to address them and his officials together and remind them as in the Qur'ān of God's many favours, uniting them when divided, bestowing power and wealth on them when they were weak and poor and asking them in return to be ever-righteous and not to oppress the poor. When the perplexed Governor of Buraydah 'Abdal-'Azīz ibn Muḥammad ibn 'AbdAllāh requested him to be more specific in placing the blame if any had erred in his view, his retort was: "This applies to you and your likes, who think they have become possessors of territories by their swords. In reality it is the sword of Islām and the agreement over an 'Imām' which seized them and humbled them for you".[758] This was an undertaking, adherence to which had endeared the Āl Sa'ūd to the indigenous populace and should continue to do as long as they abide by it.

F: (iv) Mishārī ibn 'Abdal-Raḥmān, Fayṣal ibn Turkī, Khālid ibn Sa'ūd and 'AbdAllāh ibn Thunaiyyān Āl Sa'ūd

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However, lack of knowledge of the former was at times to lead them during this phase to costly errors, such as during 1251H(1835),

when according to Ibn Bishr, Aḥmad Yakin and the Sharīf Muḥammad ibn ʻAun, then busy attempting to pacify that region, were once to meet with a major reverse due to misreading the presence of women and children in opposition ranks—a tribal statement emphasising their vow to fight on till victory or death—as a sign of warm welcome from the local populace, thus gathered to sing and dance in cordial reception for their noble guests. Daḥlān, who denies the presence of Aḥmad Yakin in this expedition, nevertheless blames him for not supporting the Sharīf Muḥammad ibn ʻAun adequately.[764]

Only, what they had also gone on to do in the meantime on this occasion after falling on and scattering the unsuspecting Egyptian forces in the direction of Makkah, was to embroil the unsuspecting, though no doubt privately sympathetic, Fayṣal ibn Turkī in their quarrel, by forwarding to him more than a generous share of the booty they had seized following this battle.[765] The tactic, aimed at securing for themselves the goodwill and support of the latter, was unfortunately to come at a time for Fayṣal, when he was trying his best to assuage Muḥammad ʻAlī's feelings and acquire the Pāshā's recognition for himself as his vassal in Najd and was to affect his chances of success.

On the other hand, hardly the one to be thwarted by such denouements, Muḥammad ʻAlī was now to seek to reinforce his activities in the ʻAsīr via Makkah and al-Ḥudaydah also, where Aḥmad Yakin's younger brother Ibrāhīm Yakin "Kuçuk" ("the Younger") was based, by sending other expeditions with reinforcements, but again with limited and temporary results due to the inadequacy of means at their disposal in view of the size of the challenges on hand.[766] Meanwhile, he had also now decided to take up issue with Fayṣal ibn Turkī by claiming arrears of tribute. Fayṣal attempted to soften the Pāshā's attitude by sending his brother Jiluwī ibn Turkī to Aḥmad Yakin with valuable presents and humble words, to plead his case for him with his uncle, but Muḥammad ʻAlī's cold and calculating mind had already been made up in favour of another course of policy and actions.[767]

Recalling Aḥmad Yakin and the Sharīf Muḥammad ibn ʻAun to Cairo, to explain their early failure in the ʻAsīr and retaining the Sharīf with him, Muḥammad ʻAlī now decided to send another expedition under Khurshīd Pāshā, who then effectively was his Minister for War. This was again focused on the ʻAsīr and the Yaman

to start with and he was to test Fayṣal ibn Turkī by asking him to furnish the required number of camels for it and to participate in the operations in proof of his loyalty. Fayṣal ibn Turkī's polite excuses concerning his inability on both counts was to confirm Muḥammad ʻAlī's suspicions and rouse his ire further by moving him into sending more troops and supplies under General Ismāʻīl Bey (Cairo's Chief of Police), with orders to ensure that the camels were supplied and even to invade Najd if necessary. Fayṣal ibn Turkī now decided to placate Egyptian feelings by offering to send 5,000 camels. This was when the original demand had been for 15,000 of the beasts and 20,000 if Mengin in his 'Histoire' is to be believed. Hence, as the Egyptians were unwilling to entertain anything less than the required number and to view this as non-compliance on Fayṣal's part even if a host of other issues were to be ignored, the invasion of Najd was now on.[768]

Ismāʻīl Bey, who was to land at Yanbuʻ in 1252H(1836), had brought along with him Khālid ibn Saʻūd, a younger son of Saʻūd the Great and a brother of the last Amīr cum Imām ʻAbdAllāh ibn Saʻūd, who, having spent eighteen years in Egypt, was a man of modern outlook. The threat of an impending Egyptian invasion now and the presence of Khālid ibn Saʻūd in the Egyptian camp were to divide somewhat the ranks of Fayṣal ibn Turkī's supporters. Hence, even as he decided to fall back onto al-Iḥsā' to observe the developments from a distance, Ismāʻīl and Khālid ibn Saʻūd were to make their entry into al-Riyāḍ during the month of Ṣafar 1253H (May/June 1837).[769]

Before taking this step, when Fayṣal ibn Turkī had called for a council of war to determine the future course of action, it was ʻAbdAllāh Ibn Rashīd who had encouraged him to adopt this tactic, no doubt in order to stretch the Egyptian lines of communications.[770] Opting under the circumstances to act in accordance with ʻAbdAllāh Ibn Rashīd's advice, Fayṣal ibn Turkī was to return and lay siege to al-Riyāḍ, reducing its garrison to eating its horses and driving up the prices of all commodities. For example, according to Ibn Bishr, a 'Measure' of Coffee, if available, was selling for eighteen Riyāls, until the town was relieved.[771]

Then, after some further daring bids following the seige of al-Dilam and al-Zumaiqah by Khurshīd Pāshā, who in the meantime had advanced into Central Arabia from al-Madīnah during 1254H(1838) thus adding greatly to the pressure, Fayṣal ibn Turkī

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Khurshīd Pāshā's stay in Central Arabia was to last some eighteen months, during which, he was also to take the daughter of al-Ṣuwayni' al-Hutaymī as a bride. She, according to Ibn Bishr, may already have had a husband, an unlikely state of affairs, which, if true, hardly seems to have mattered much strangely enough! This was by the spring known as "'Ayn Ibn Qattūr" and during Rabī' al-Awwal 1256H(May 1840), following his departure from Tharmadā, an area in which he had spent almost a year. Khurshīd Pāshā also seems to have been pleased during this stage with 'AbdAllāh Ibn Rashīd (d.1263H/1847), who was shortly destined to become the 'Amīr' of Jabal Shammar with Fayṣal ibn Turkī's continuing friendship and approval, ever since playing that vital personal role in his fight against Mishārī ibn 'Abdal-Raḥmān and then in most of the subsequent challenges that he had faced till that stage.

Upon the arrival of Khurshīd Pāshā in al-Madīnah and his search for reliable sources for the supply of camels for the oncoming advance on Najd, 'AbdAllāh Ibn Rashīd, after winning over Khurshīd Pāshā's confidence, is on record for bringing to him 450 camels seized from a group of the 'Anayzah tribe and then a thousand more from another group, while not keeping what he had done from his friend Fayṣal ibn Turkī either, a sure reflection on the level of their mutual understanding and trust. Then, while returning from this visit of his to Khurshīd Pāshā's camp, when he was to lose camels and men in a fight with the inhabitants of Buraydah and decided to return to the Pāshā to complain, the latter, recognising his intrinsic worth, was to send him back home again loaded with many gifts. In the meantime, his brother 'Ubayd Ibn Rashīd, a man of considerable political ability, had already succeeded in dealing with the various challenges in the path of the establishment of their authority at home, even though they merely hailed from a cadet branch of the princely house of that region. Upon his arrival in Ḥā'il, 'AbdAllāh Ibn Rashīd was to celeraberate his and his brother 'Ubayd's success by building the large castle known as "Barzān" in the quarter which bears that name. Then, as Khurshīd Pāshā at this stage was pulling out of Najd and again needed pack animals,

'AbdAllāh Ibn Rashīd was once more to come to his assistance as before with a gift of seven hundred camels.[773]

On this occasion, it may be added that, the push by Egyptian arms into Central Arabia was to reach al-Iḥsā', followed by the waters of the Gulf, and then to occupy the islands of al-Baḥrayn and even seriously to contemplate the invasion of al-'Irāq as averred to. This was to make Egyptian influence felt and treated with deference from al-Kuwayt in the north down to 'Umān in the south, until the arrival of orders from Cairo to withdraw in order to placate British fears. The Chronicler al-Rāfi'ī actually claims and with full justification that, these were the very apprehensions which were to prevent the expansion on this occasion of Egyptian influence "towards the outlet of the Tigris and the Euphrates".[774]

Meanwhile, Khālid ibn Sa'ūd's three years long reign (1254H/1838–1257H/1841) was unfortunately not to prove a happy experience for him. As Muḥammad 'Alī had decided to maintain a sizeable military presence in Arabia in defence of his regional strategic intrests, this was to work to Khālid's disadvantage and give him the appearance of an Egyptian puppet in the eyes of his mostly suspicious and xenophobic countrymen. Then, any ideas of his which may have smacked of change or improvement were seen by them as anathema and devious Egyptian inspired ploys to be resisted wholeheartedly. Hence, when Khālid ibn Sa'ūd felt he could not cope with the scene any longer or at least for the time being, he decided to leave his Capital and to drift eastwards, this journey of his taking him to al-Ḥufūf, al-Dammām, al-Kuwayt, al-Qaṣīm and then ultimately west to Makkah, where he was to pass the remaining twenty years of his life in Prayer and remembrance of God, with the exclusion of two interjections or departures.

These were when, he was actually seen to take to the field against Fayṣāl ibn Turkī alongside the Sharīf Muḥammad ibn 'Aun during 1263H(1847), with the other occasion being when he was to offer his services to the Ottoman authorities in expelling the same rival during the troubled period of the 1270s(1850s), when Fayṣāl ibn Turkī had started to default in the payment of the promised tribute of 10,000 Riyāls (MT Thalers). Khālid ibn Sa'ūd's reaction on this occasion, if provided with military help and reinstalled, was to offer a calculated tenfold increase on his part in this sum based on sound calculations. The Frenchman Didier, who was

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to meet him in Jiddah during 1270H(1854) on a number of occasions, was to describe "Khālid Bey" in gracious and touching terms.[775]

Khālid ibn Sa'ūd's successor, 'AbdAllāh ibn Thunaiyyān (r.1257H/1841– 1259H/1843), a great grandson of Thunaiyyān, the brother of the First Sa'ūdī State's founder, the Amīr Muḥammad ibn Sa'ūd, was to assume power next after rebelling against the former, who had then appeared uninterested in resisting his cousin. However, no sooner had he completed the establishment of his authority after seizing al-Riyāḍ and asking its garrison, mostly Turkish and Moroccan soldiery, to leave under a truce, than 'AbdAllāh ibn Thunaiyyān decided to work towards safeguarding his interests by concentrating on improving his relations with the Ottomans—for the Egyptians by now had mostly withdrawn as a result of international political threats and commitments as shall be seen. 'AbdAllāh ibn Thunaiyyān was to attempt this by sending gifts and conciliatory messages to the Ottoman 'Wālī' in the Ḥejāz, 'Uthmān Pāshā and the Grand Sharīf of Makkah at the time, Muḥammad ibn 'Aun.[776]

During this period, while 'AbdAllāh ibn Thunaiyyān was thus engaged, Fayṣal ibn Turkī and his family were to manage to escape from Egypt with the help of the Khedival heir presumptive 'Abbās (son of Ṭūsūn) and arrived during 1259H(1843) at the doorstep of their old friend and former vassal 'AbdAllāh ibn 'Alī Ibn Rashīd in Ḥā'il. Not forgetting their past association, 'AbdAllāh Ibn Rashīd was nobly to offer to place himself and his resources at the disposal of his friend until his objective had been realised. After several efforts to seek a peaceful solution to the dilemma had failed, the final outcome of this episode was that 'AbdAllāh ibn Thunaiyyān was seized one night while loitering about outside al-Riyāḍ's castle, then under siege, probably on an inspection round and to die within a week in incarceration, killed according to the historian Ḍārī Ibn Rashīd.[777]

F: (v) Fayṣal ibn Turkī's Second Reign

This was to pave the way for Fayṣal ibn Turkī's second and longer reign (from 1259H/1843 till 1282H/1869), which was to be without major hiccups as far as the Ottoman authorities in the Ḥejāz and the Grand Sharīf were concerned, save once. This, according to Daḥlān was during 1263H(1847), when the Sharīf Muḥammad ibn 'Aun, upon orders from the Sublime Porte, was to march into al-Qaṣīm from al-Madīnah with a contingent of regulars with the

objective of keeping Fayṣal's ambitions in check. Ibn Bishr however traces the origins of this incident to the complaints of some chiefs of al-Qaṣīm inimical to the ruling Āl Sa'ūd and then residing in Makkah, who were to suggest that, if Khālid ibn Sa'ūd was to be reinstated, this would be mostly popular and to advantage, countering negligent opposition, if any. Khālid himself was to repeat his former offer upon this coming to pass, to pay an annual tribute of 100,000 Riyāls (Maria Theresa) on time, and also to reimburse the cost of the expedition. Fayṣal ibn Turkī however was successfully to see through this crisis by resorting to a mixture of diplomacy and a display of his military strength. The offer of valuable presents and a reasonably large sum of money (10,000 Maria Theresa Riyāls!), as well as an installment of the annual tribute claimed due and said by Daḥlān to have been ten thousand Riyāls (Maria Theresa Thalers), in addition to a show of his military preparedness if matters were to come to resorting to a settlement by recourse to arms, was to see the matter resolved in his favour. In return, the Sharīf was to agree to forego all claims to interference in the jurisdiction of al-Qaṣīm and the tribal areas of Najd according to Ibn Bishr. Daḥlān also states that "Fayṣal continued to pay that tribute for many years until he died. Then it was discontinued". Fayṣal ibn Turkī's return from exile had been marked by a most blessed sign, heavy rains signalling the end of a severe drought, that had lasted for some nine years taking a very heavy general toll.[778]

The Sharīf Muḥammad ibn 'Aun was to die during 1275H (1858), followed some seven years later by Fayṣal ibn Turkī in 1282H (1865). He had been given permission to return from Cairo in 1256H(1840) after the Treaty of London to quell disturbances by the tribes of Ḥarb in the vicinity of al-Madīnah and to facilitate the smooth withdrawal of Egyptian troops from Arabia. Lieutenant-Colonel Lewis Pelly (the British Political Resident in the Gulf), who was to visit Fayṣal ibn Turkī a little before his death in al-Riyāḍ, described his appearance as "quite blind" but "remarkable" and then makes the amazingly preposterous assertion that "from something which occured, I could not but persume that he was a freemason"! While readily claiming to be "very severe" but "just", Fayṣal ibn Turkī was to speak to him about the ever-present "distinction between religious and political warfare" and to express a desire for the acquisition of water pumps. A great believer in the teachings of the Shaykh Muḥammad ibn 'Abdal-Wahhāb, one of

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The rule of the Āl Sa'ūd was to last in this incarnation till 1309H(1891) and then to be revived after a brief eclipse of some years, in 1319H(1902).

G: Muḥammad 'Alī, the Sulṭān and Egyptian withdrawal from Arabia

G: (i) Ibrāhīm Pāshā's Advance into Syria and the North:

As far as the dreams and designs of Muḥammad 'Alī to realise his ambitions at the expense of his overlord, the Sulṭān, were concerned, the Treaty of London signed on 15th July 1840 (mid-Jamād al-Awwal 1256H) by Austria, Britain, Prussia, Russia and the Ottoman Empire was to place a firm territorial limit on his ambitions. Its chief architect, as may perhaps be imagined, was Britain's Palmerston with his country's over-riding concern over the maintenance of the Ottoman State's integrity, even if as a "sick man". This was in order to enable it to play the role of a buffer between Russian aspirations southwards in the direction of India, the Mediterranean and the Gulf and British interests there. Its other architect, the Austrian Metternich's prime interest in this was the mainteneance of the balance of power in Europe, seen by him as the surest guarantee of peace.[780]

Since the Treaty's terms were more or less aimed at reducing Muḥammad 'Alī in summary to his earlier status of vassalage, albeit a hereditary one, his spirited reply, with French encouragement, had initially been refusal.[781] However, he was soon enough to become aware of France's unwillingness to take up arms along his side should the need arise.[782] Upon realising this, he knew he had little option now but to compose his differences with the Sulṭān and the Great Powers arrayed against him and he managed to do so after some hiccups.

One of the outcomes of the development of this crisis had been the recall by Muḥammad 'Alī of all his forces from Arabia and elsewhere for deployment at home in keeping with immediate need, in the face of the impending threat from the Great Powers, until a final settlement.[783]

It has to be said that, Muḥammad 'Alī's persistent desire since around 1225H(1810) for the accquisition of greater Syria (with the inclusion of the Ḥejāz)—particularly after his involvement and losses in the War of Greek Independence (1236H/1821–1244H/1828), had much to do with this crisis. As observed, it had culminated in his advance into Syria during Jamād al-Awwal 1247H(November 1831) and the subsequent conquests of Acre, Damascus, Homs and Konya, all within a calender year, leading to the Agreement of Kutāhiyā in Dhū'l-Ḥijjah 1248H(May 1833). This had embodied the award to him of Syria, Crete, Adana and the Ḥejāz, with his son Ibrāhīm Pāshā placed in charge of the latter two. Still not satisfied, he had then gone on to declare his total independence from his Overlord during Ṣafar 1254H(May 1838), thus precipitating those very events that were ultimately to deprive him of all his hard-won gains. It is somewhat strange to note how he had become oblivious to the various indications in this regard despite his great political acumen and wisdom. In fact, an earlier attempt of his to break away during 1249/50H(1834), had already failed to gain the approval and recognition of the Great Powers.[784]

Then, when the Sublime Porte, stiffened into opposition by the British Ambassador Ponsonby, decided to retreive Syria and contravened the Kutāhiyā Agreement by occupying several villages and congregating 38,000 troops at Niṣībīn, (located between Birejik and Alexandretta and not to be confused with the place of the same name in al-Jazīrah), Ibrāhīm Pāshā was to swiftly manage to assemble and come up with 40,000 troops and after a bloody engagement, to inflict a disastrous defeat on them on 11th Rabī' al-Thānī 1255H (25th June 1839).[785]

This military defeat was to be followed by further disasters of other kinds for the Ottoman State, starting with the death of Sulṭān Maḥmūd II five days later. He was succeeded by the then inexperienced seventeen years old 'Abdal-Majīd I alongside the appointment of Khusro Pāshā as his Grand Wazīr. Unfortunately, the lat-

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Hence, when Aḥmad Fawzī Pāshā, who had been ordered out earlier to face the Egyptian navy, was directed to return to base, instead of obeying the command, he had decided to sail on towards Alexandria and upon his arrival at Rhodes, to offer to hand-over his fleet, then consisting of nine galleons, eleven frigates and five corvettes, with 16,107 marines and 5,000 soldiers aboard, to Muḥammad ʻAlī. This was a gesture, which the latter greatly welcomed, as it was to augment his naval strength to fifty vessels of war equipped with 3,000 guns and around 30,000 marines.[787]

G: (ii) The Treaty of London of 1256H(1840):

These events of course had been followed by the alluded to Treaty of London and the rejection of its terms by Egypt, on the heels of which, recourse had been sought by Muḥammad ʻAlī to composing the matter by a bi-lateral dialogue. However, the Sulṭān's Government, primarily under British influence, was now found to be in no mood to compromise and a 'Firmān' deposing Muḥammad ʻAlī was the immediate outcome.[788]

Not unexpectedly, Muḥammad ʻAlī's reaction upon learning of it on 23rd Rajab 1256H (22nd Septemebr 1840), was to reject it with strong words and to prepare to resist, even as the British Royal Navy and its Austrian counterpart had started assisting the Ottoman forces in the re-occupation of a number of Syrian ports during the next couple of months. It is said that, his famous spirited reply on that occassion to the representatives of the Powers during the course of a personal interview in Alexandria had been: "If the Allied Powers desire to forcibly compel me to obey unwillingly, then let them kindly do the favour of coming, for I am ready to meet them, and if England wants to do that alone by herself, I am even more prepared and willing to face her....". Then turning towards those around him, and referring in particular to this threat, which had been made before him by the British Consul, Colonel Hodges, he was to add: "The English threaten me with landing on Egyptian soil. Let them try. Let them implement their promise. They will discover that we are ready to meet them and verily, even the foetuses in their mothers' wombs will participate in fighting them". The historian also comments that, what had made Muḥammad ʻAlī feel so confident about his ability to oppose any attempts at landing by the British under Sir Charles Napier were the defences he had prepared in case of just such an eventuality coming to pass.[789]

Nevertheless, despite these brave words, the outcome of the Austro-British naval activities along the Syrian coast and their assistance to the Ottoman forces was seriously to affect the communications between the Egyptian forces in Syria and home. Hence, they had to be withdrawn at great sacrifice in terms of life and material, which amounted to no less than 42% of their strength. The losses in terms of support staff and labour were said to be even greater.[790]

In the face of the continuing intransigence from all the parties involved, it was Palmerston who was to break the stalemate by supporting the offer to Muḥammad ʻAlī of hereditary rights over the Pāshālik of Egypt and by getting all the concerned parties during Dhū'l-Qa'dah 1256H (late January 1841) to agree to it in lieu of Egyptian withdrawal from all Syria, Arabia and other overseas conquests barring the Sudān, along with the restoration of the Ottoman fleet to the Sublime Porte.[791] Daḥlān relates that, when the withdrawal from Arabia was to come to effect, Muḥammad ʻAlī had such vast stocks of all kinds of supplies piled up there, such as 23,000 'Irdab' of a specie of lentil alone, that the Ottoman Government was to agree out of regard for him and as a matter of convenience, to allow him to deduct from his annual tribute the value of whatever he was to leave behind.[792]

Later on, one of the demands from Muḥammad ʻAlī as per an Imperial 'Firmān' dated 21st Dhū'l-Qa'dah (13th February 1841) and Article 6 to be precise, was for him to cover the costs of the administration of the Holy Cities, as well as the annual supplies forwarded there from the land's revenue, three quarters of which he was to retain, while transferring the remaining quarter to the Central Exchequer, though this clause was to be reviewed after five years, as also in the case of unusual circumstances that may call for such a course of action.[793]

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ment and disbursement of charity in the Holy Cities. Indeed, his precepts and reforms were to be deemed suitable enough to be maintained and utilised long after he had left the scene by his several successors, as they were found to be in favour of the truly needy and the worthy. This was in no mean part thanks to the fresh lists of data he had ordered to be prepared under his own strict scrutiny and supervision, directing that they be strictly maintained thenceforth in official registers and updated at regular intervals.[794]

While closing this episode, it would be pertinent to point out that, influenced by the rise of nationalist movements in Europe, particularly since the French Revolution of 1203H(1789) and though unquestionably driven by personal ambition in this specific case, it was to be an Albanian, Muḥammad ʻAlī, along with his son Ibrāhīm, who were the first to give expression to a modern concept and boundaries for Arab nationhood and nationalism of sorts. In fact, it was those very borders in the north reached and manned by Ibrāhīm, namely Birejik, ʻAintāb, Marʻash and ʻUrfā, that were later on to form the basis of the territorial northern limits of the geo-political claims of future Arab nationalists. For example, the demands placed by the Arab secret societies and the Sharīf Ḥusayn of Makkah through the offices of the latter during 1333H(1915) before Britain (and France and their allies) as the price for rebellion against the Ottoman Empire and which had come to be known as 'the Damascus Protocol', definitely had more than their roots in this crisis. In support of this contention, it would perhaps suffice to say that, when Ibrāhīm Pāshā was asked during the siege of Acre around 1248H(1833) about where he intended his advance to stop, he is said to have replied: "Where I cannot converse with the local populace in Arabic".[795]

After the dust of the First World War had settled down well, one of Muḥammad ʻAlī's ruling descendants was to commission a General, Weygand, to write a book in French on the military history of his great forebear and that of his soldier sons. In this famous work, the General was to compare Muḥammad ʻAlī with none other than Napoleon. In this regard, it is tempting to say without blushing that, at least as military commanders, the Pāshā and his son Ibrāhīm do tend to stand tall in the company of that Corsican Frenchman. For that matter, so do several of those brilliant desert commanders, who were to square up against them despite the odds and often to distinguish themselves by their tactics and valour.

G: (iii) The International Influence of the 'Daʻwah'

As for the 'Daʻwah' of the Shaykh Muḥammad ibn ʻAbdal-Wahhāb, it could hardly be questioned that, its teachings with their simple, clear-cut emphasis on essentials have continued to this day to educate in particular the bedouin and rural societies about the basic meaning of Islām and its practices and to fight paganism, ignorance and superstition in its many guises that had crept into their way of life. In addition to reforming their outlook, livelihood, mutual dealings, environment and society as well as teaching them the equality of man in universal brotherhood through obedience to God the One Alone, it had also served to acquaint them with the only form of organisation and discipline that they were then prepared to entertain and let enter their lives, including political and administrative obedience, this via the medium of obedience to the 'Imām' cum 'Amīr', as long as he maintained the holy writ in keeping with the guidance and interpretation of the "Ulamā".

However, the call for and emphasis on reform through self-renewal by means of reliance on the Supreme Being and the self and the simple, logical process of selfless yet devoted motivation, conscientious effort and application, dedicated striving and co-operation, patience and lack of concern with worldly reward, all in universal equality and obedience to the Divine Essence in facing all challenges, has seldom failed to stir the intellectual melieu since the very beginning and to this day and several of the great reformist movements in the world of Islām and their founders and stalwarts have been influenced by it considerably.

In the Arabian peninsula, the teachings of the 'Daʻwah' were certainly to display far-reaching effects by playing a role in galvanising forces for the establishment of 'the Third Saʻūdī State' and indeed the constitutional edifice in resonance with which, modern Saʻūdī Arabia was created and is supposed to stand. While on the international plane, some of the names worth mentioning in connection with the founding of reformist religio-social and socio-political movements would be the likes of Shaykh 'Uthmān Dan Fodio of Sokoto (d.1231H/1834), the Imāms Muḥammad al-Shaukānī (d.1250H/1830) and Muḥammad ibn Ismāʻīl al-Ṣanaʻānī of the Yaman (d.1182H/1834), SharīʻatAllāh al-Farā'iḍī of the Senegal (d.1256H/1840), Shaykh Abū'l Thanā al-Ālūsī (d.1270H/1854), also remembered for his great 'Tafsīr' (Qur'ānic Exegesis) titled "Rūḥ

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al-Ma'ānī or "Soul of the Meaning", his son 'AbdAllāh (d.1291H/1874) and grandson Maḥmūd of Baghdād, the Shaykhs 'AbdAllāh al-Ḥassu in al-Moṣul, and Muḥammad Sa'īd al-Shāhirī of Sāmarrā. Some worthy of mention from North Africa are Khayral-dīn al-Tūnisī (d.1308H/1890), 'Abdal-Ḥamīd ibn Muḥammad Bādeis (d.1359H/1940), and the Imām Muḥammad al-Sannūsī al-Jazā'irī (d.1276H/1859), while from China and Turkistān, the great Nūḥ Mākoyāng and Khojandī. A number of other better known modernists mainly associated with Egypt and Syria and influenced by different aspects of this 'Da'wah' would be the Shaykhs Jamālal-dīn al-Afghānī (d.1316H/1898), Muḥammad 'Abduh (d.1323H/1905) and his famous Syrian disciple, Rashīd Riḍā (d.1354H/1935) and then another Damascene, Jamālal-dīn al-Qāsimī (d.1332H/1914).

It cannot be denied however, that, some of these names were also associated, without compromising the principle of 'Tauḥīd' (strict Unitarianism) and adherence to the strict interpretation of the Qur'ān, the 'Sunnah', and the teachings of the authenticated 'Ḥadīth', with what is described as 'al-Zuhd' and is in turn comparable with what may be termed as 'al-Taṣawwuf al-Salafī' (the simple practices of abstinence or self-denial of 'al-Salaf al-Ṣāleḥ' or 'the pious predecessors'—a call of their environment, as opposed to 'al-Taṣawwuf al-Falsafī' (eclectic or philosophical Ṣufism).

Hence, it goes without saying that, 'Salafī' movements such as those that had been labelled as the "Wahhābī Movement" in India and the "Ikhwān al-Muslimīn" ('Muslim Brotherhood') in Egypt, were grossly influenced by the 'Da'wah' upon their inception and continued to remain so in several, if differing ways, with the emphasis changing along with the requirement of the times and the environment. While, as far as the confines of the heartland of Arabia were concerned, it has been witnessed that, Muḥammad 'Alī, despite his violent and destructive methods, was to fail to uproot it.

Another major feature or factor of influence witnessed to be associated with this 'Da'wah' soon after its dawn was, the added political inspiration that it also provided to those Islāmic communities that had been subjugated and were suffering from injustice and tyranny, to take up the cudgels of opposition in defence of their lawful, religio-spiritual, political, and material rights, passively or actively, in keeping with the logical call of the situation and its long-term effects on the interests of the community in question at large, without transgressing the teachings of the faith, that call for

prior recourse to and the exhaustion of all peaceful means and the offer of every concession within reason.

In this vein may be mentioned the movements of the already referred to Shaykh 'Uthmān Dan Fodio, who was to found the State of Sokoto and that of Saiyyid Aḥmad of Rāi Baraylī (martyred in 1246H/1831) in the Indian subcontinent, who was to establish a 'Salafi' State in the Panjāb. The latter, seen as an heir to the heritage of the great WalīAllāh al-Ḥusaynī (d.1176H/1762), and with his movement and its influence spreading fast throughout the land, was to become the father of the "Wahhābī Movement" in India. This Movement had as its mandate not merely the defence of the rights of Muslims against local predatory rulers, but the concept of galvinising the whole of India into unified action in order to expel the British occupiers (actually, a trading company) from its soil.[796]

This Movement's new leader, who after the martyrdom of Saiyyid Aḥmad would refer to himself on his seal as "the 'Nā'ib' ('Deputy') of Saiyyid Aḥmad 'Shahīd' ('the Martyr'), commonly known as Mubāriz al-Dowlah", was styled "Ḥāmī-é-Dīn-é-Mubīn Ra'īs al-Muslimīn" ("Guardian of the Revealed Faith, Leader of the Believers") by the Movement. This had been upon the suggestion of one of its principal adherrents, the Nawāb of Tonk (an Indian principality). Mubāriz al-Dowlah is otherwise recognised in contemporary records for his great courage and independence of spirit since childhood and was known "to excel in the arts of warfare", while enjoying proficiency in Arabic and Persian, in addition to a depth of knowledge in the various Islāmic sciences. He was none other than the third son of the third Niẓām of Ḥaidarābād, Mīr Akbar 'Alī Khān, Sikandar Jāh.[797]

Given the name of Mīr Gauhar 'Alī Khān on birth (1210H/1795), it was to be the destiny of this Prince to adopt this Movement and to suffer spells of incarceration twice in its cause, dying mysteriously while in that state during 1256H(1840). His first imprisonment, lasting for five years, had been for defying British authority on trivial personal grounds and inflicting a military reverse on a British force during the Ramaḍān of 1230H (August 1815).[798] The second term, which was to claim his life shortly following his internment, had been for leading what has been described by the British authoritries in that land then as the "Great Wahhābī Conspiracy". This was a plot aiming to involve all possible sympathetic national and foreign elements in a rising, the objective of which, as

referred to earlier, was the expulsion of the British from India, with Makkah and the Ḥajj serving as a means and the conduit for international contact.[799]

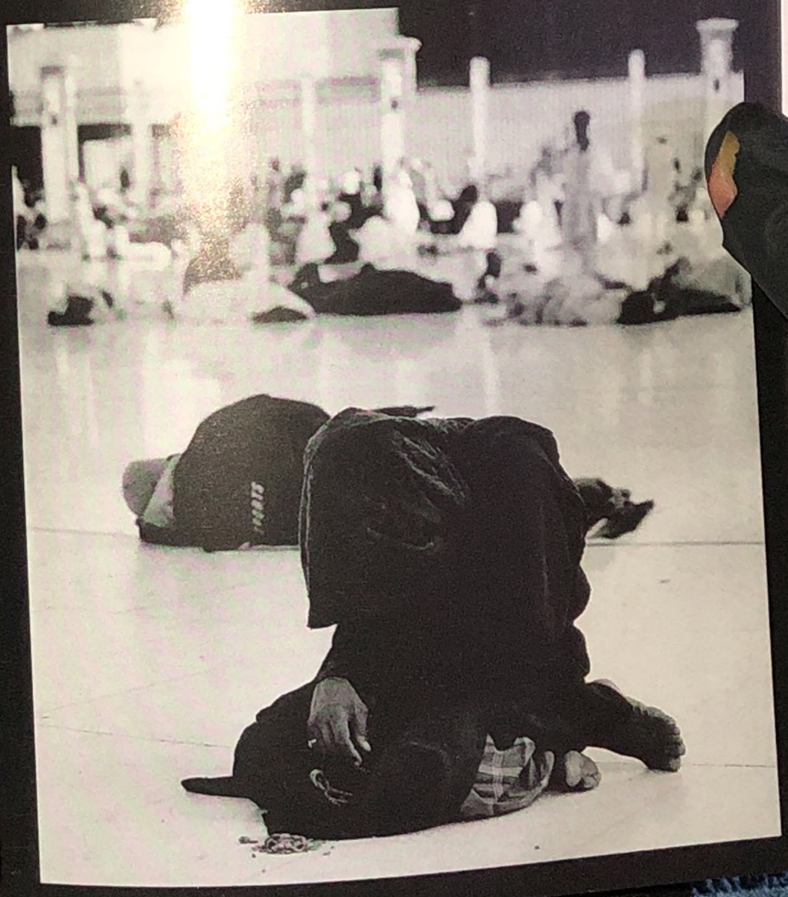
Indeed, it was the premature discovery of this Movement's agenda and its ultimate political goal during Sha'bān 1255H (November 1839) and the cruelty that ensued in attempting to locate and eliminate all possible seeds of opposition to British rule in India, that was to delay India's freedom by well over a hundred years.

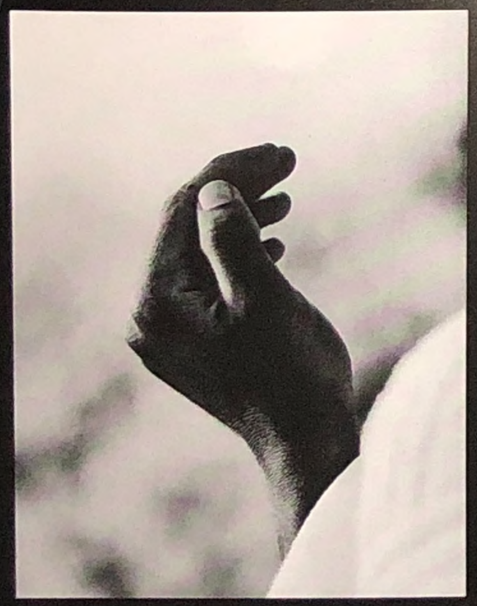
Meanwhile, 'the Second Sa'ūdī State' was destined to go into final oblivion in 1309H(1891), with the Āl Sa'ūd entering a phase of exile until the birth of the next, 'the Third Sa'ūdī State' during 1319H(1902), which eventually was to lead on to the conquest of the Ḥejāz and the formation of the Kingdom of Sa'ūdī Arabia in 1353H(1934), which continues to be administered in accordance with the teachings, spirit and philosophy of Islām as strictly interpreted by the father of the 'Da'wah', the Shaykh Muḥammad ibn 'Abdal-Wahhāb and after him, by his school's successor "Ulamā", several of whom still happen to be his descendants.

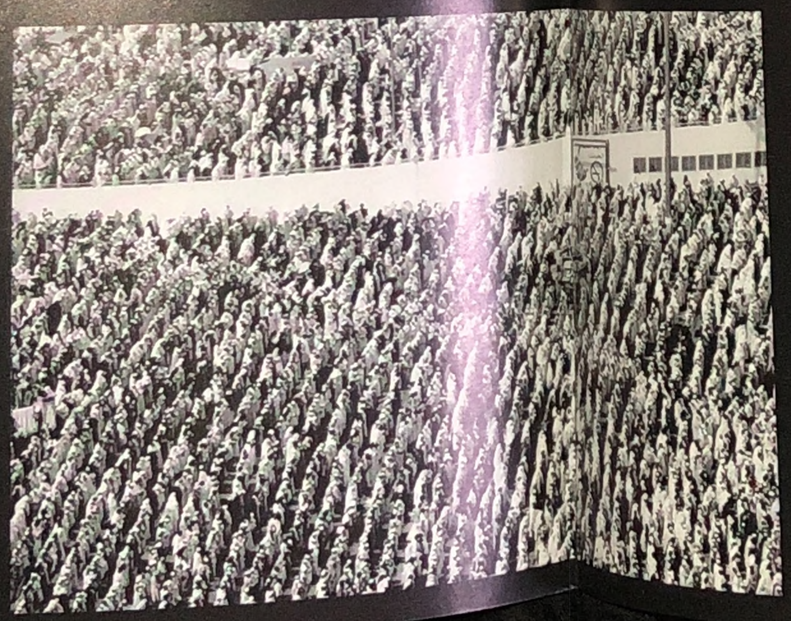


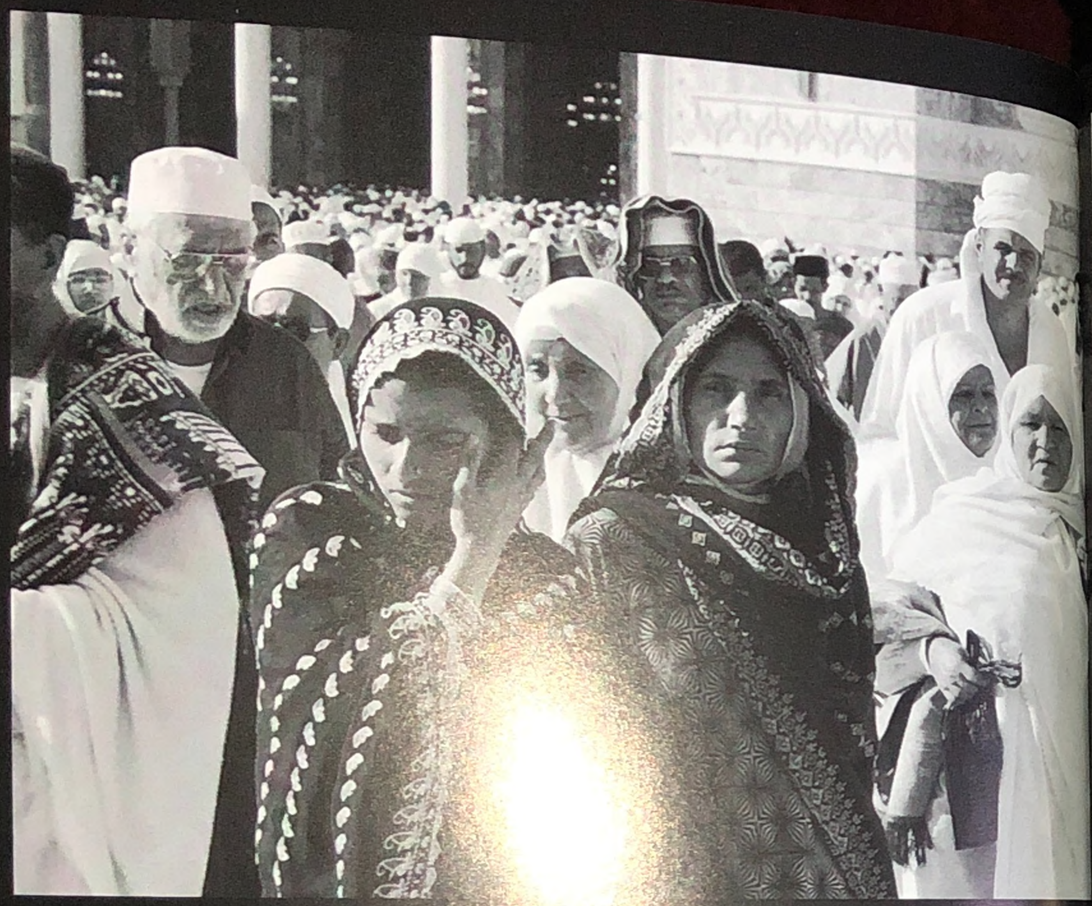


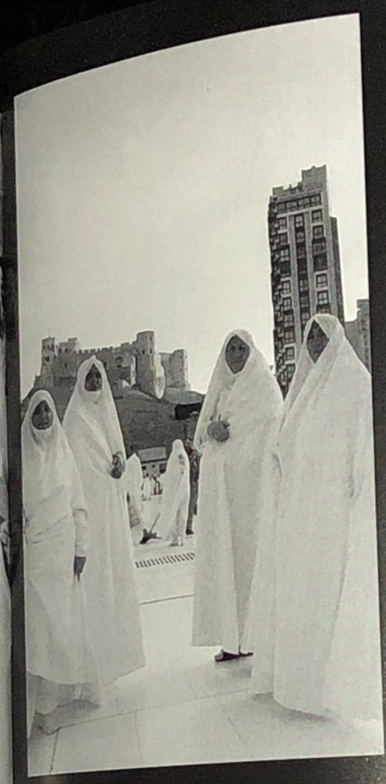




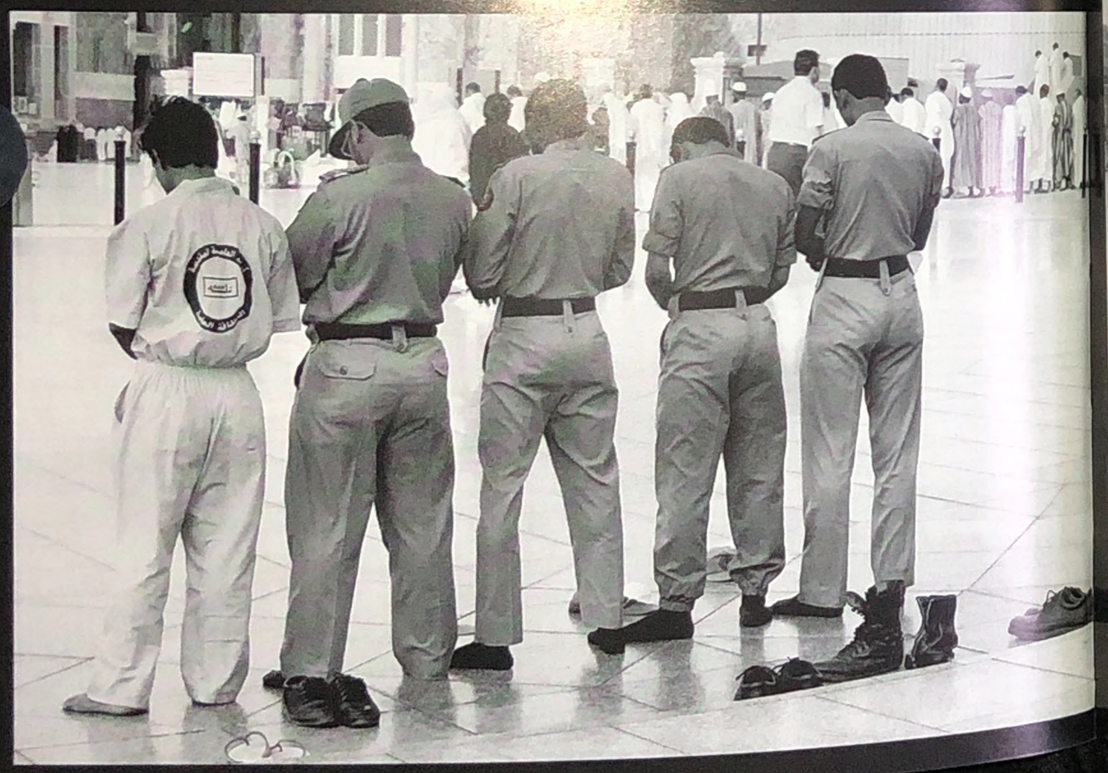


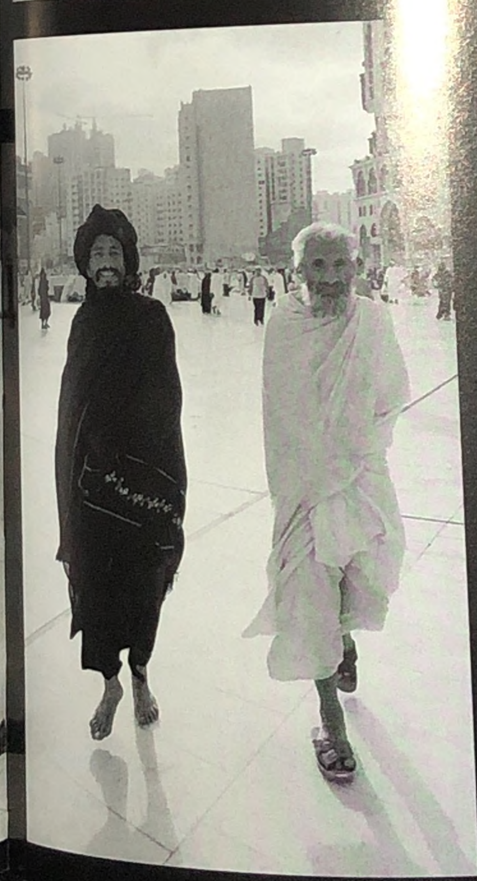


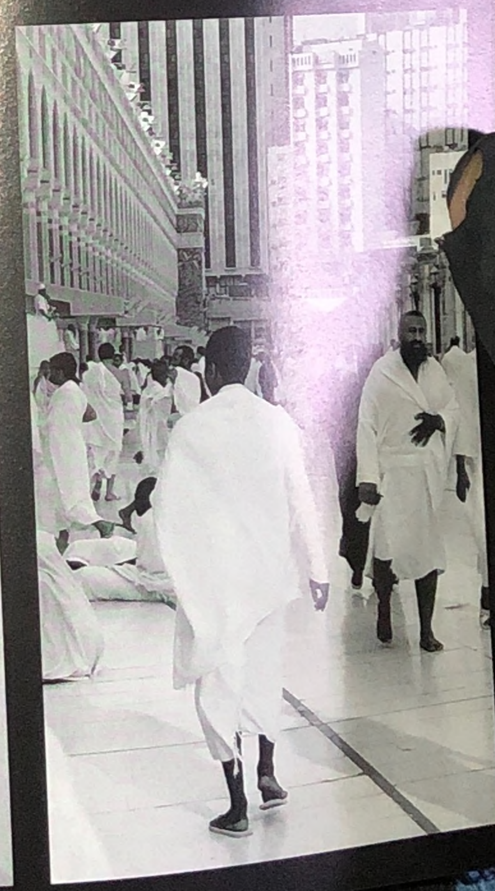


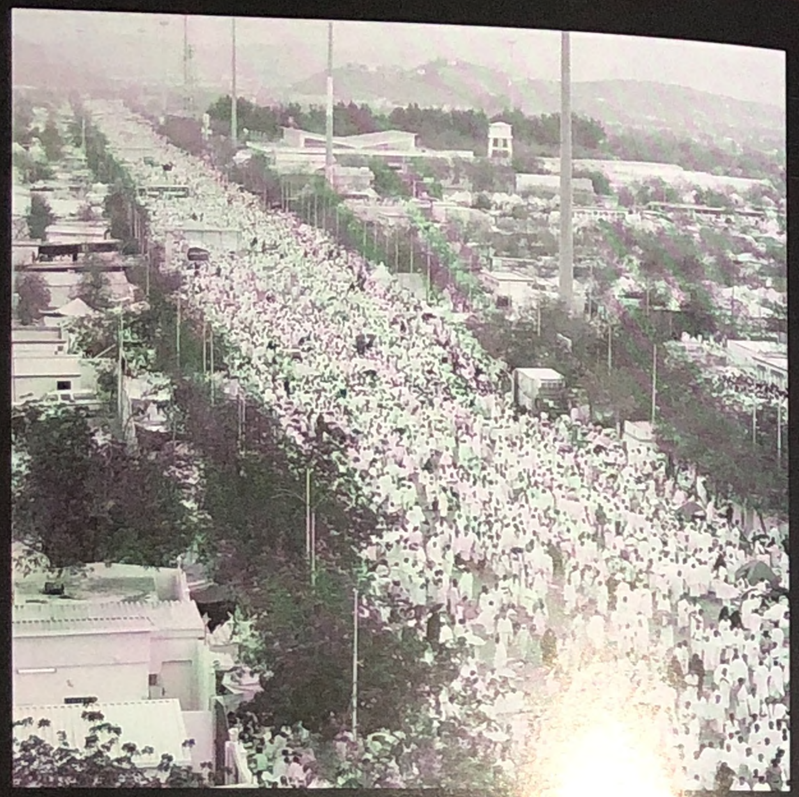


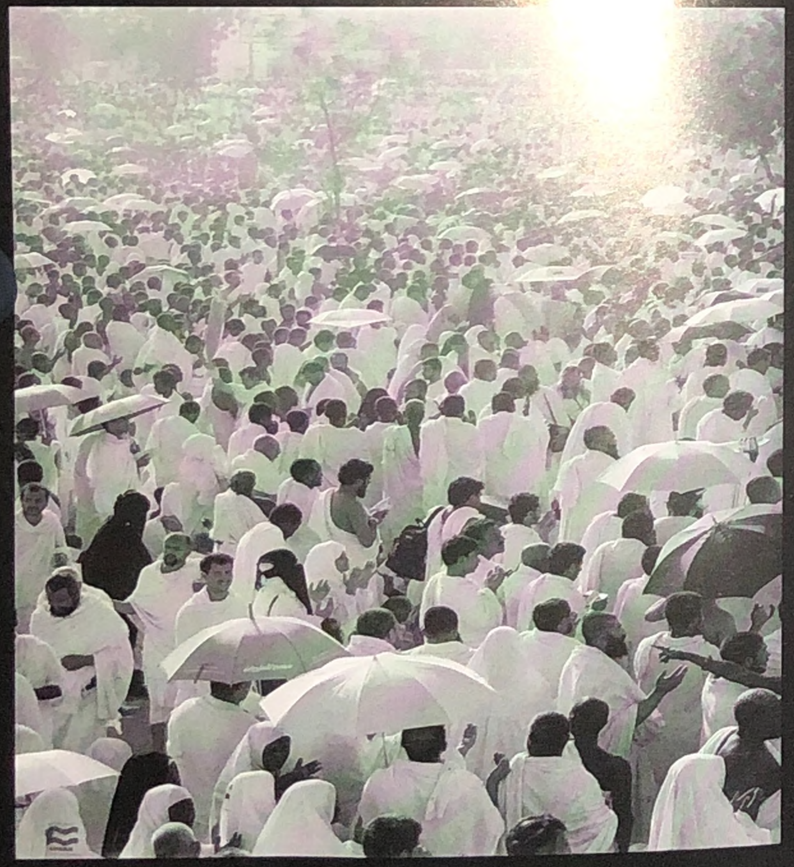




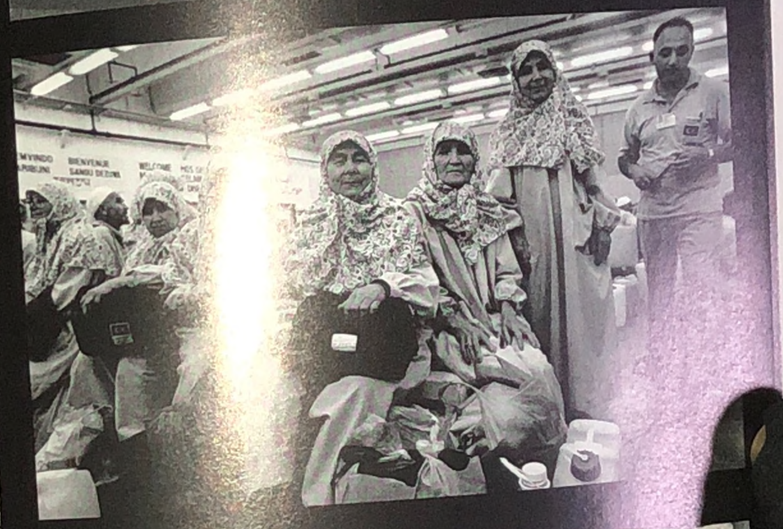


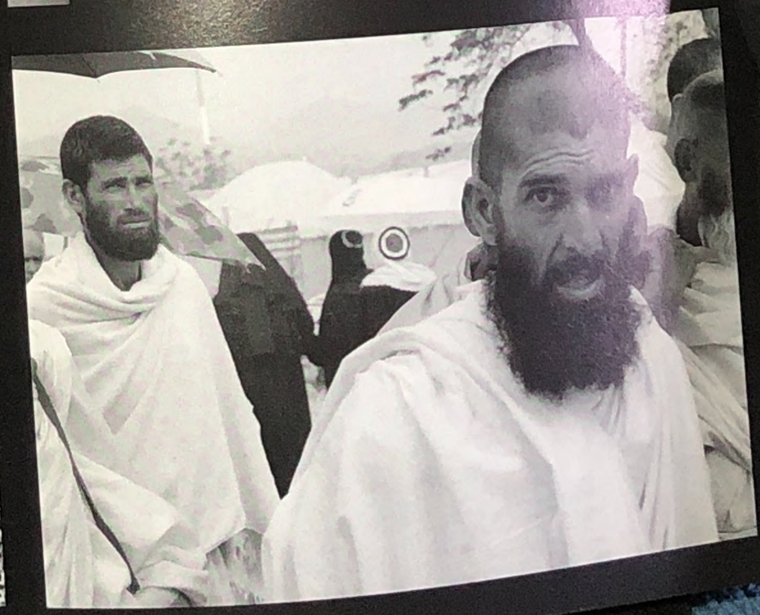


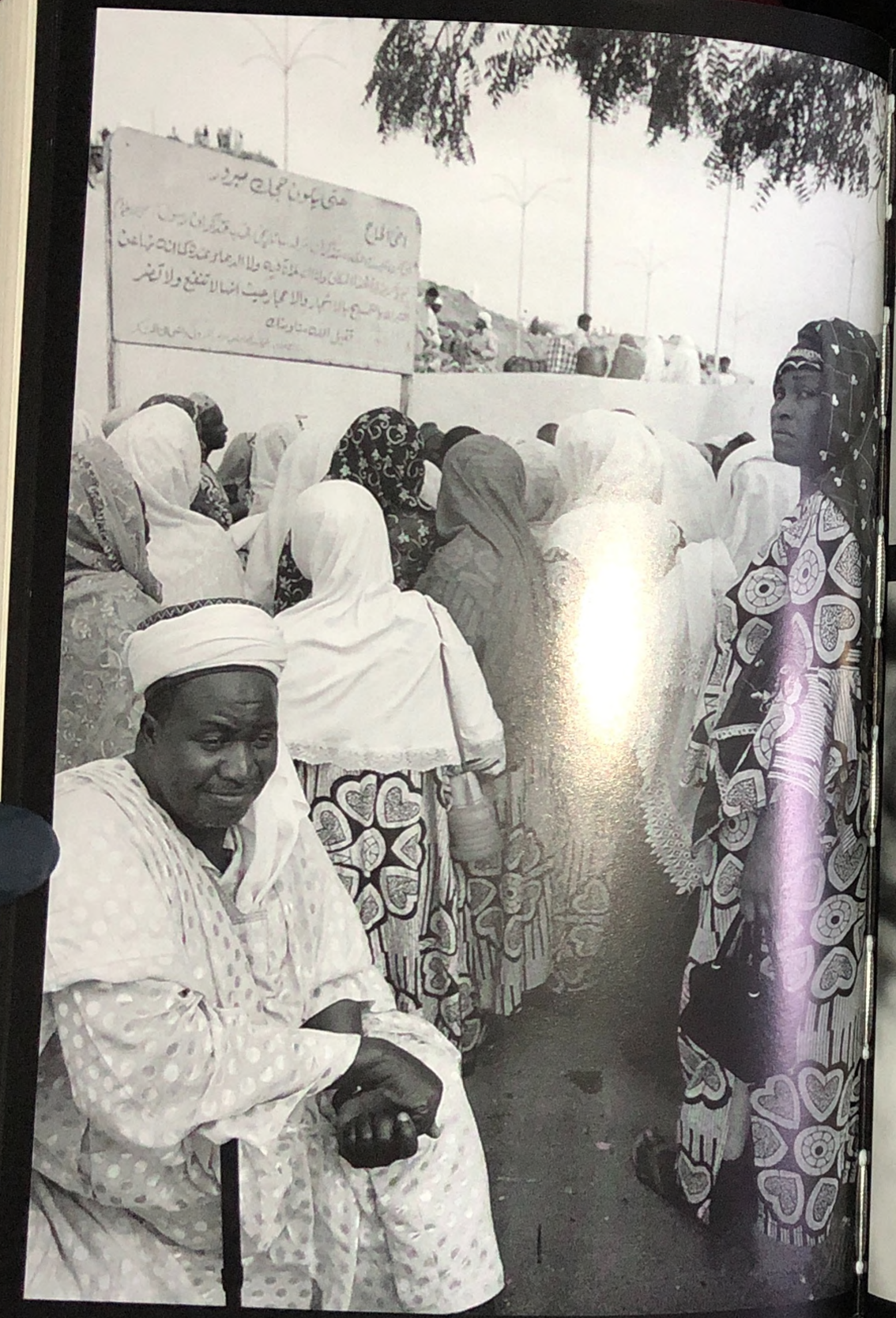


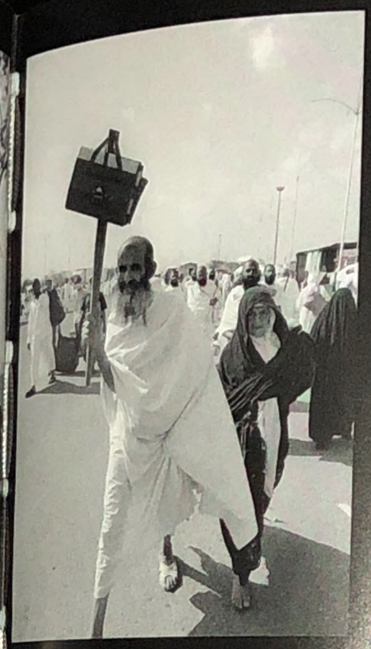




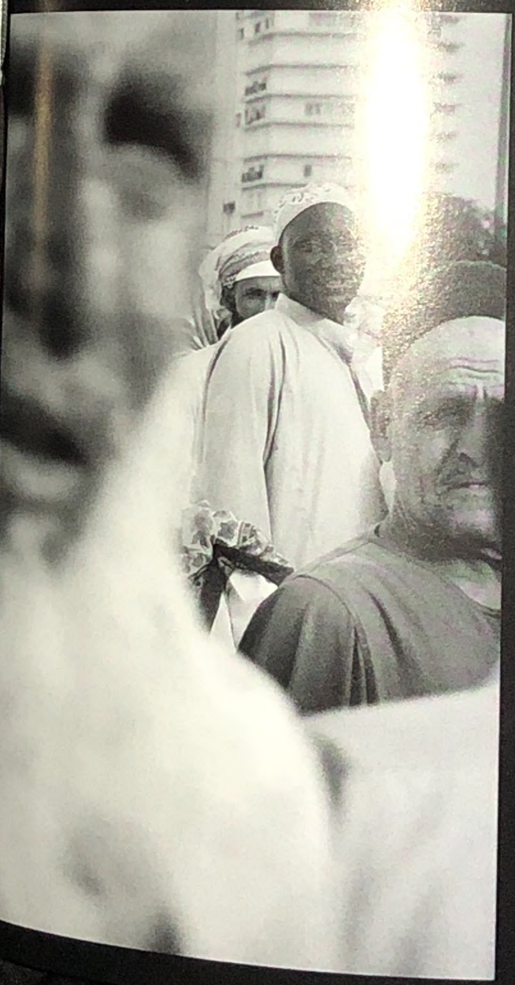


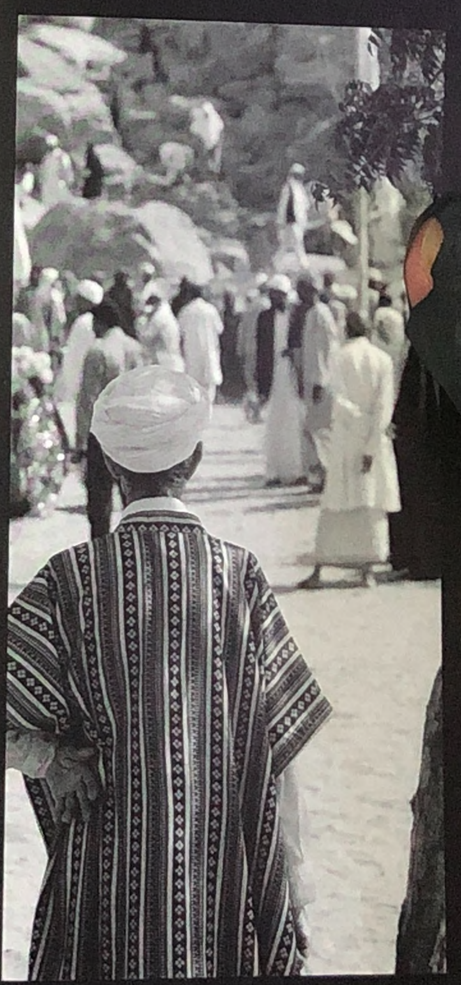


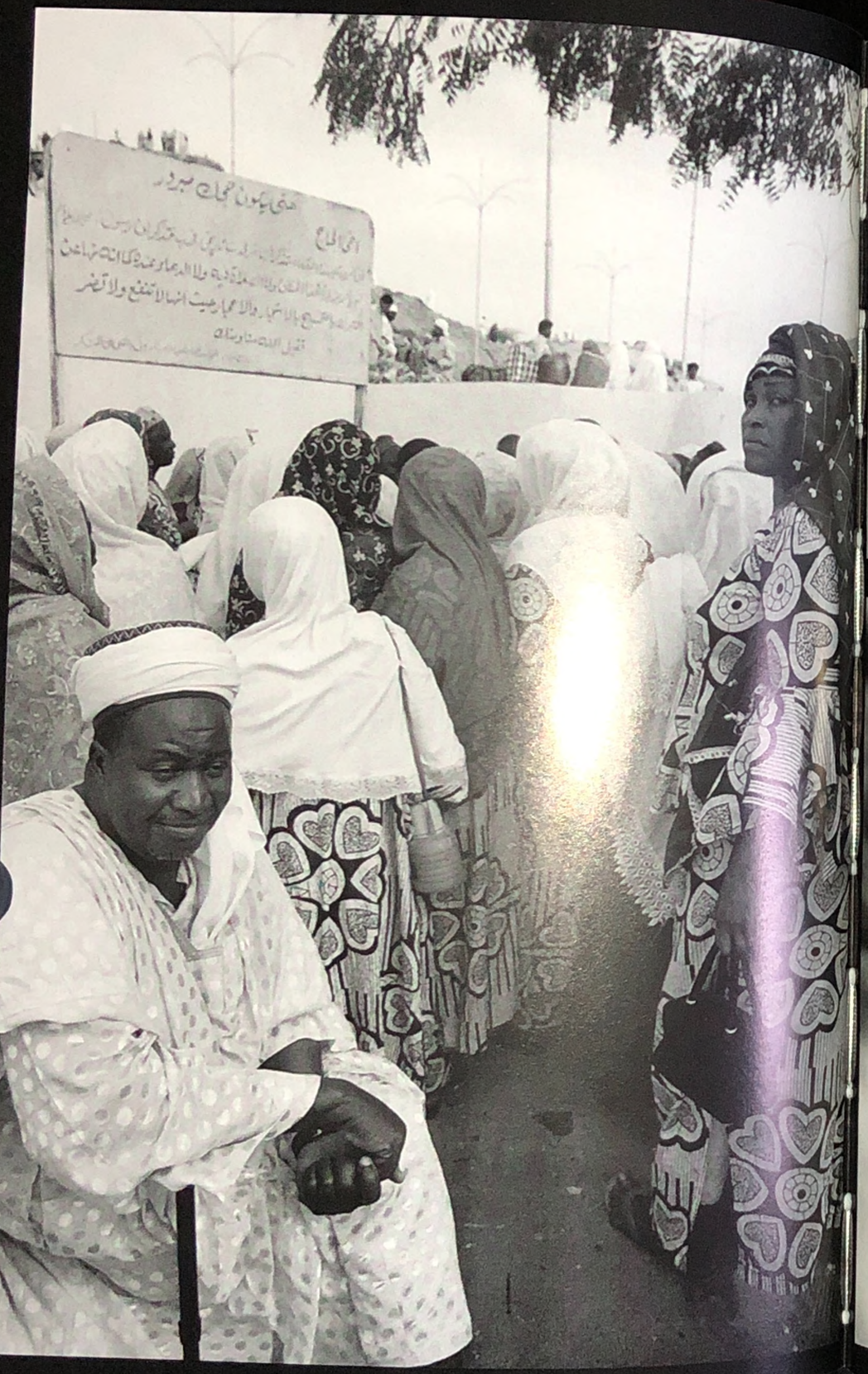


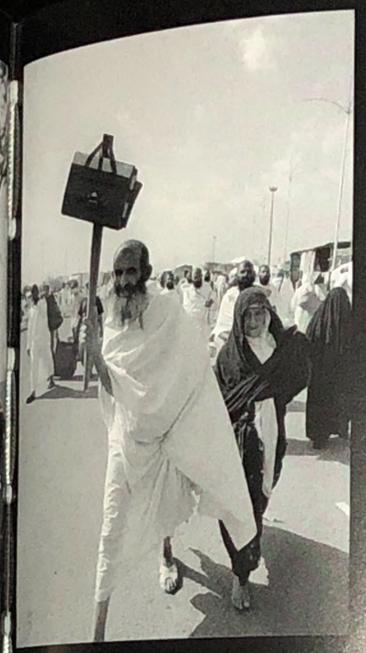




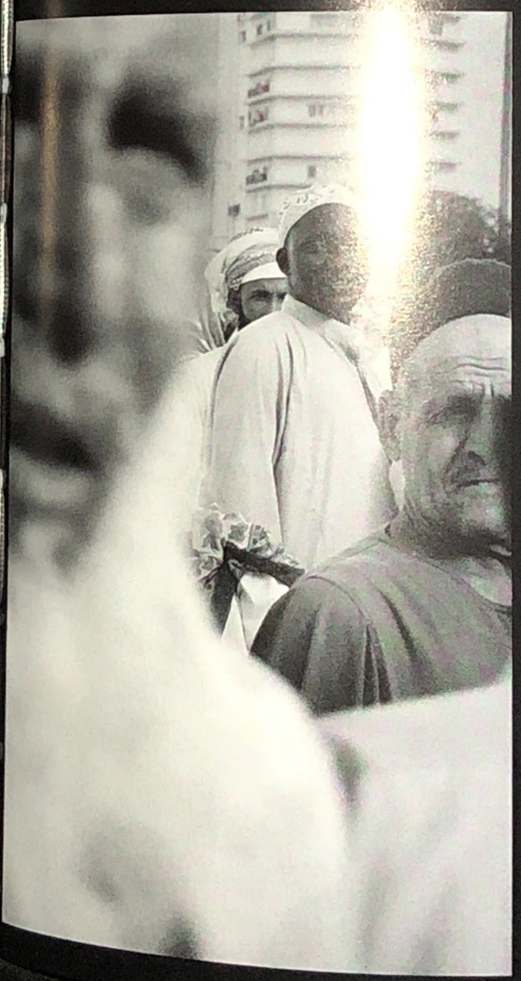


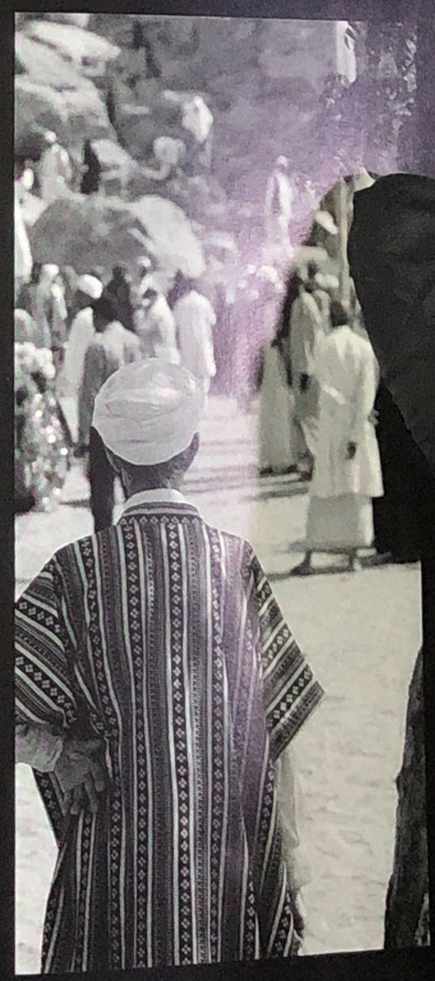




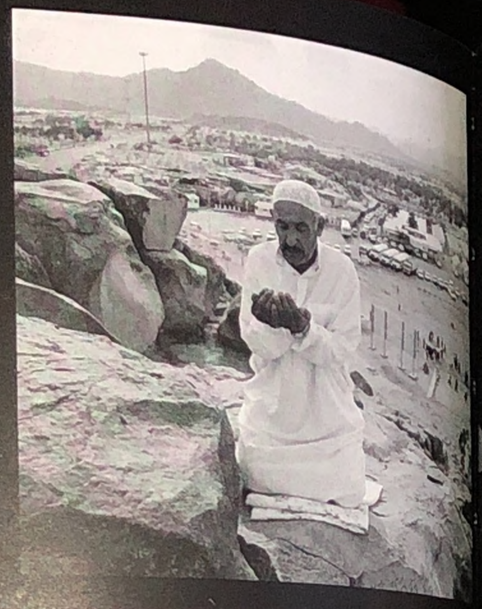


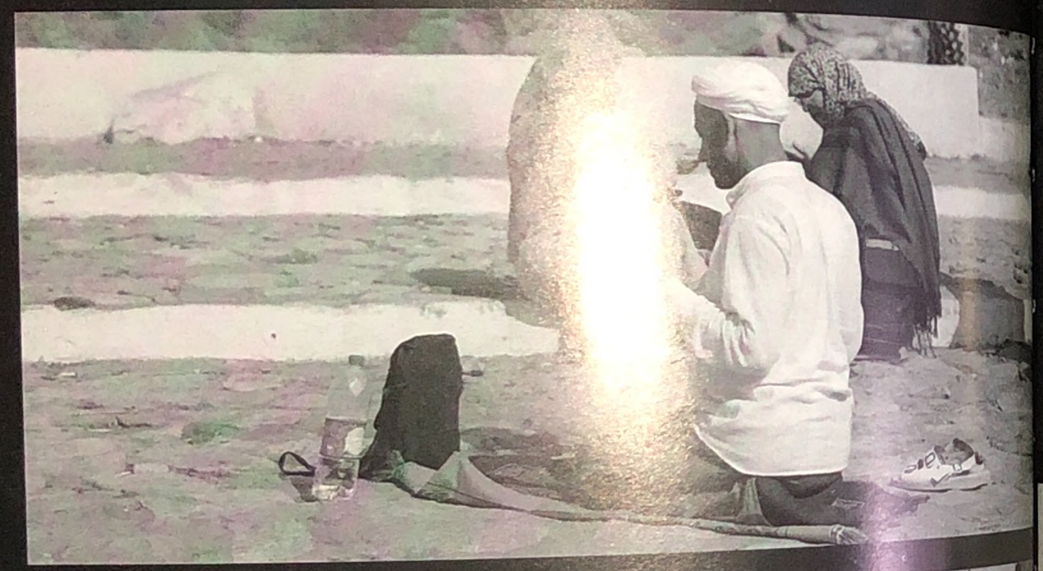


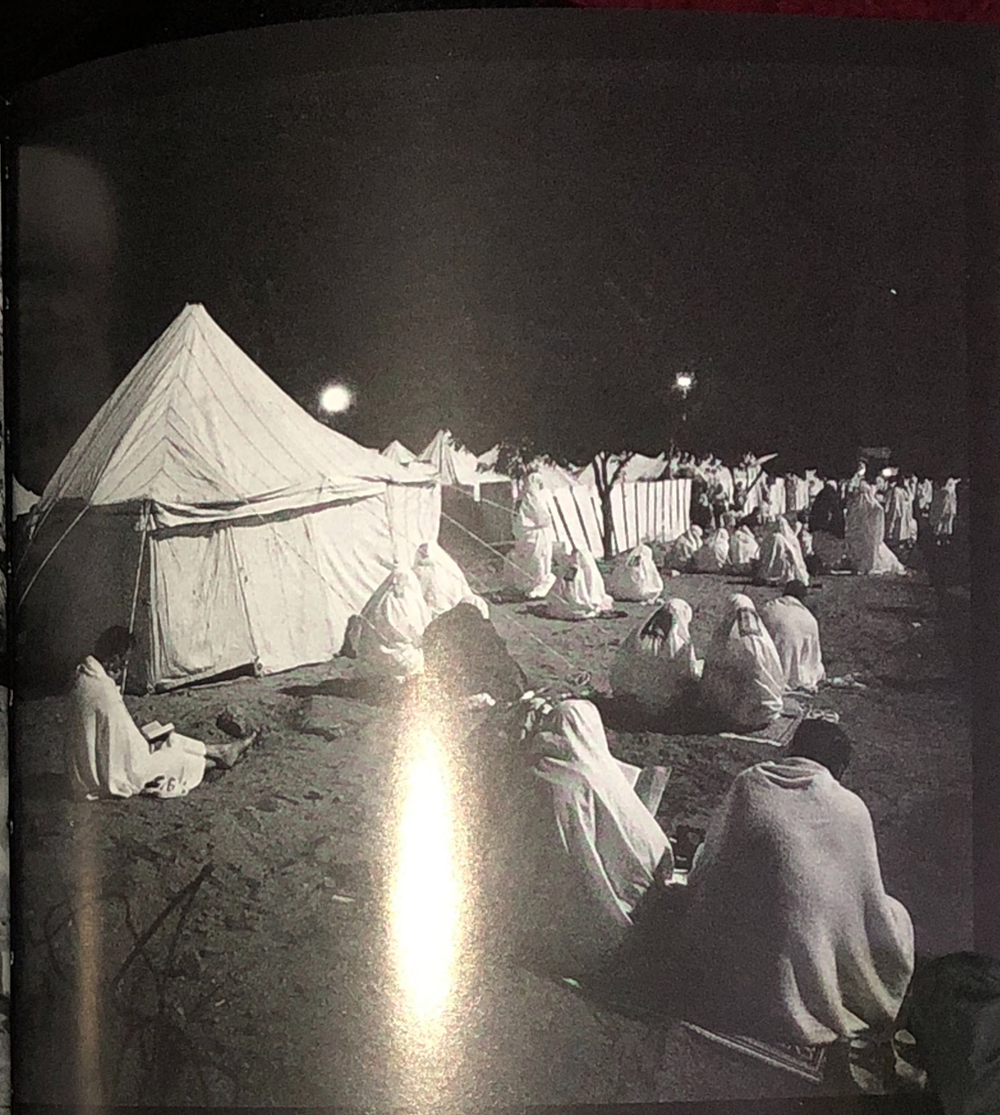




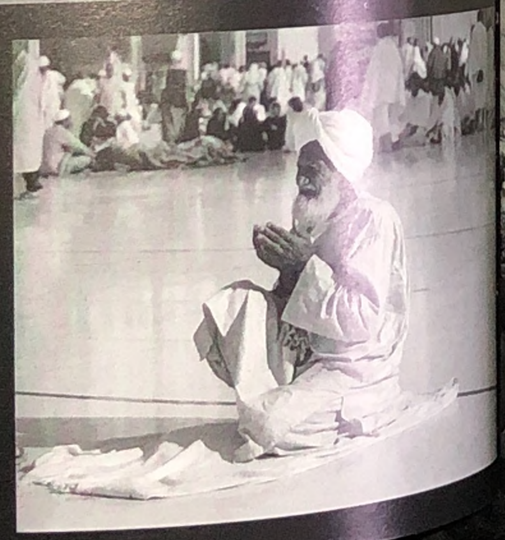


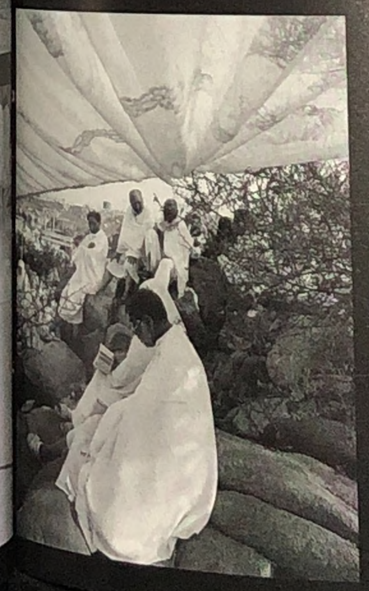




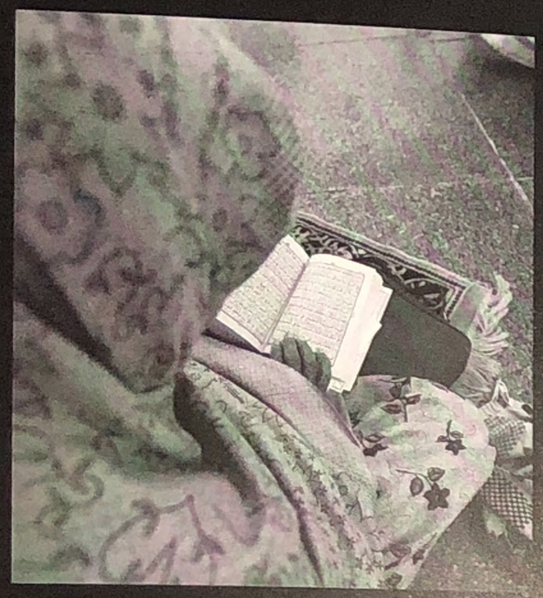


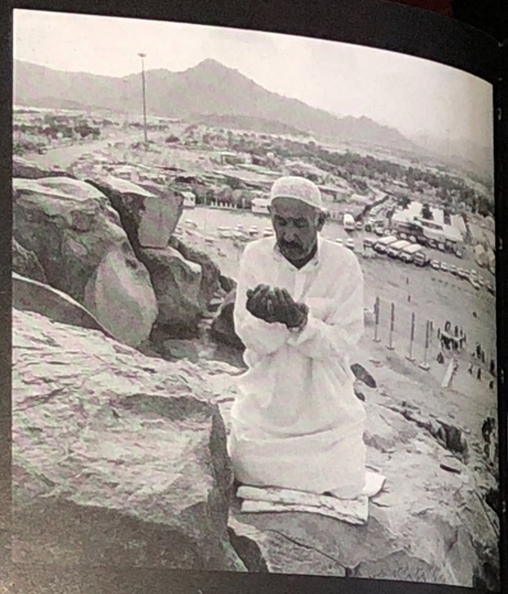


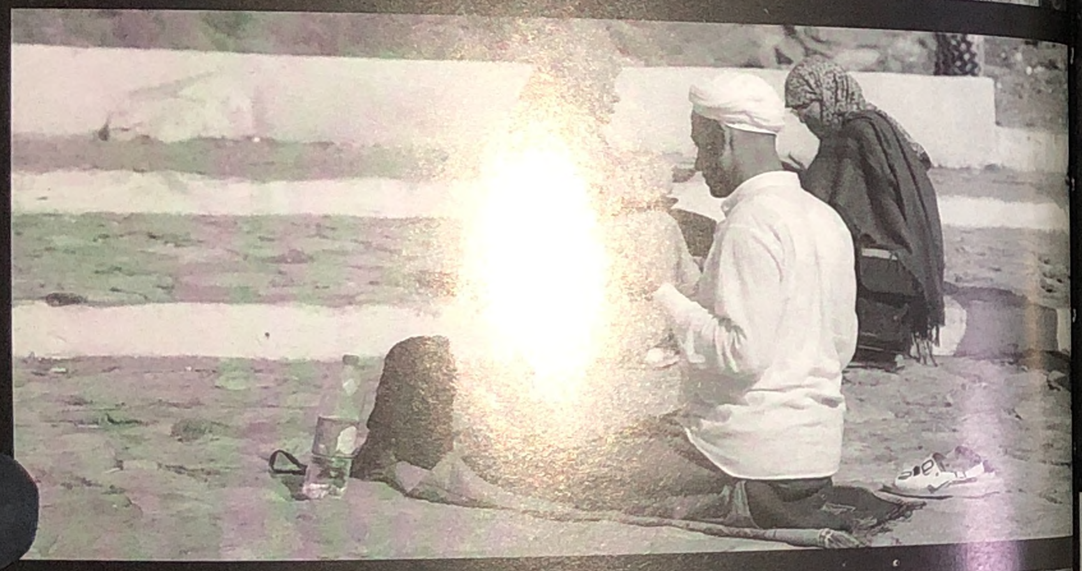


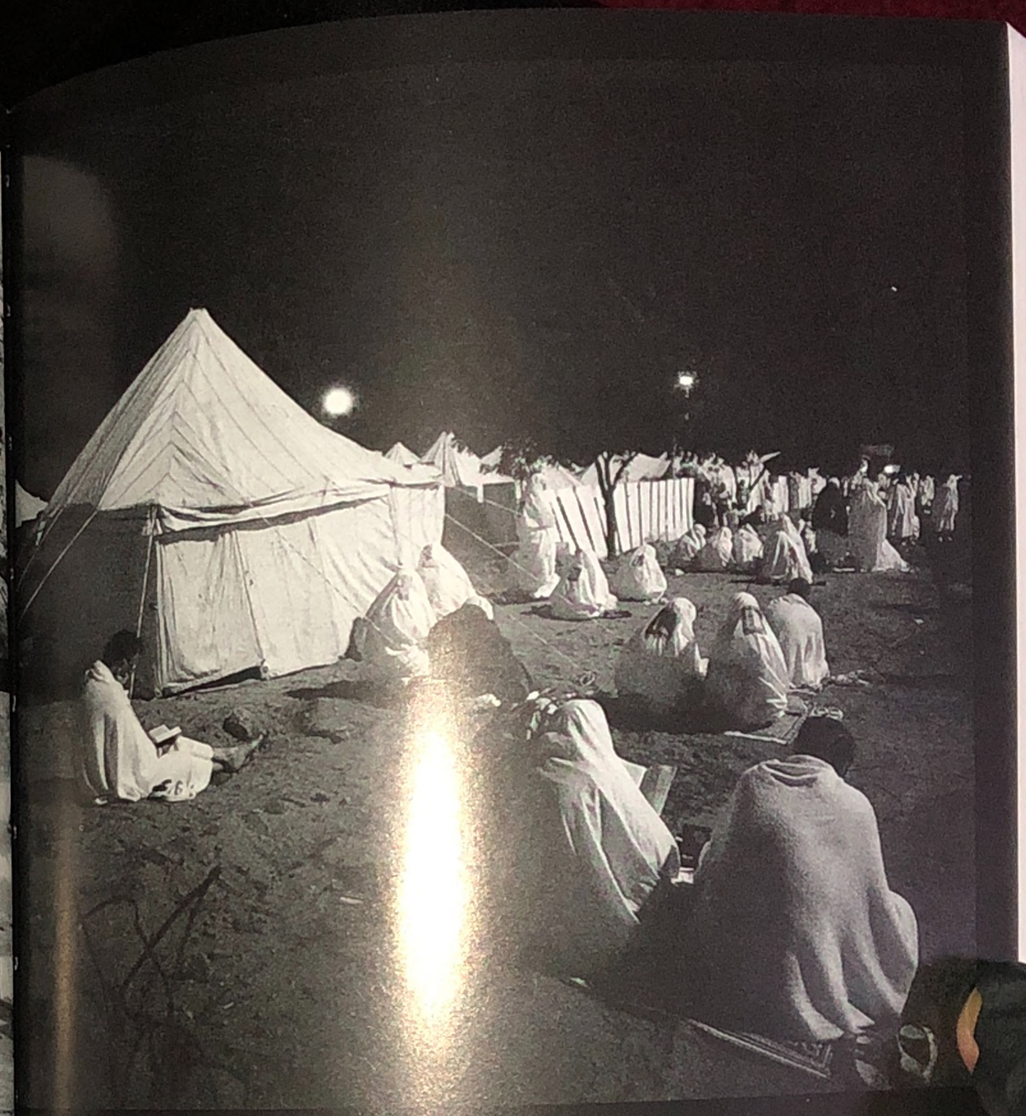


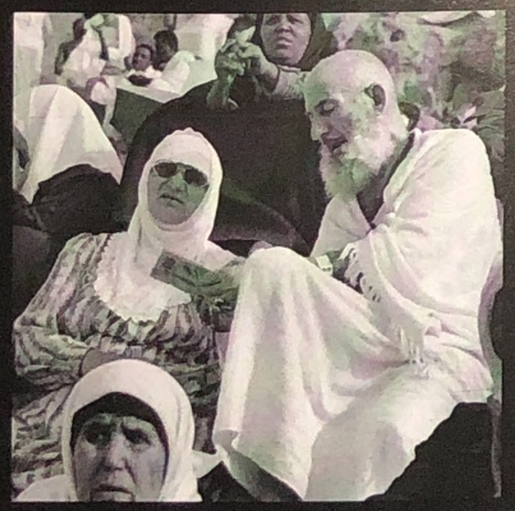


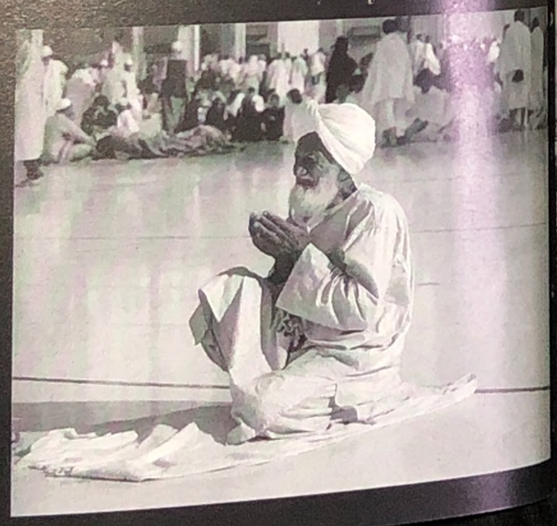


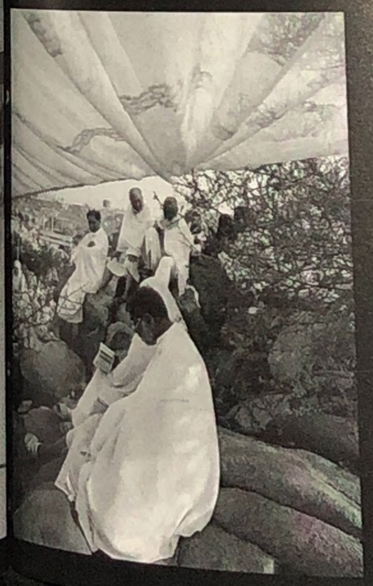


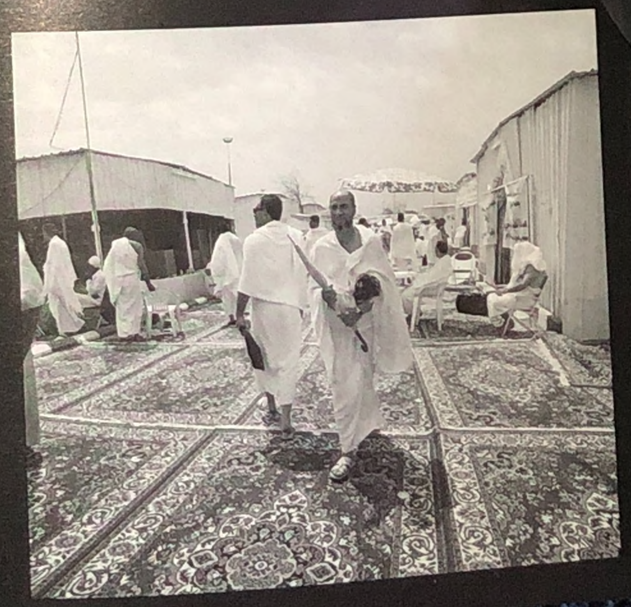


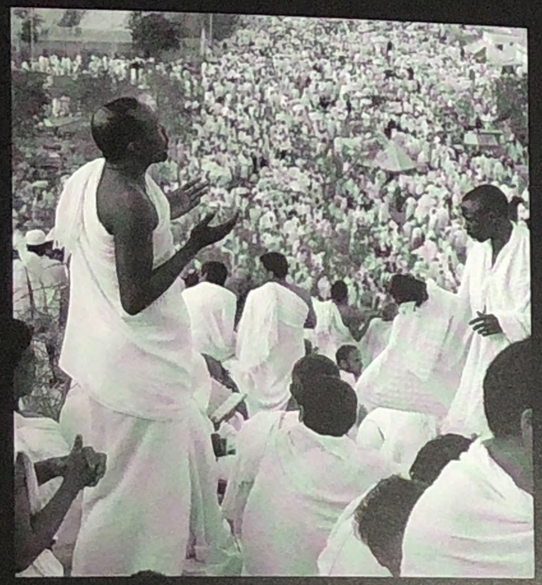


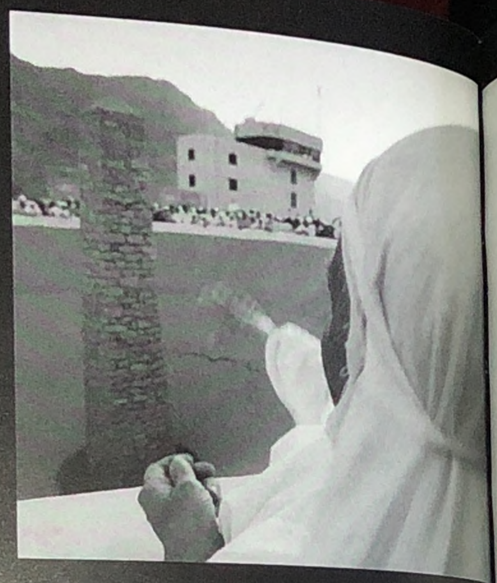






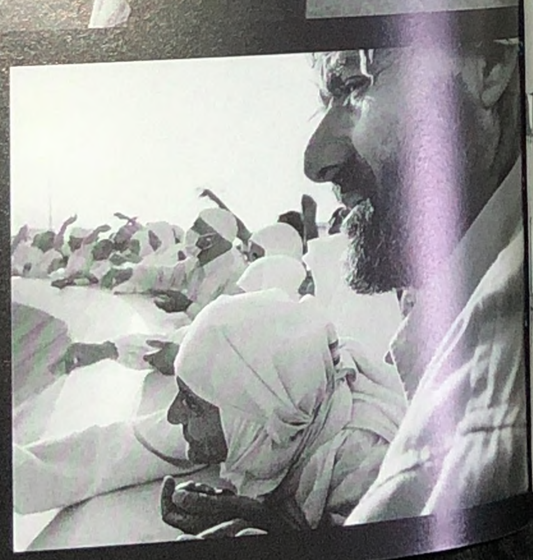










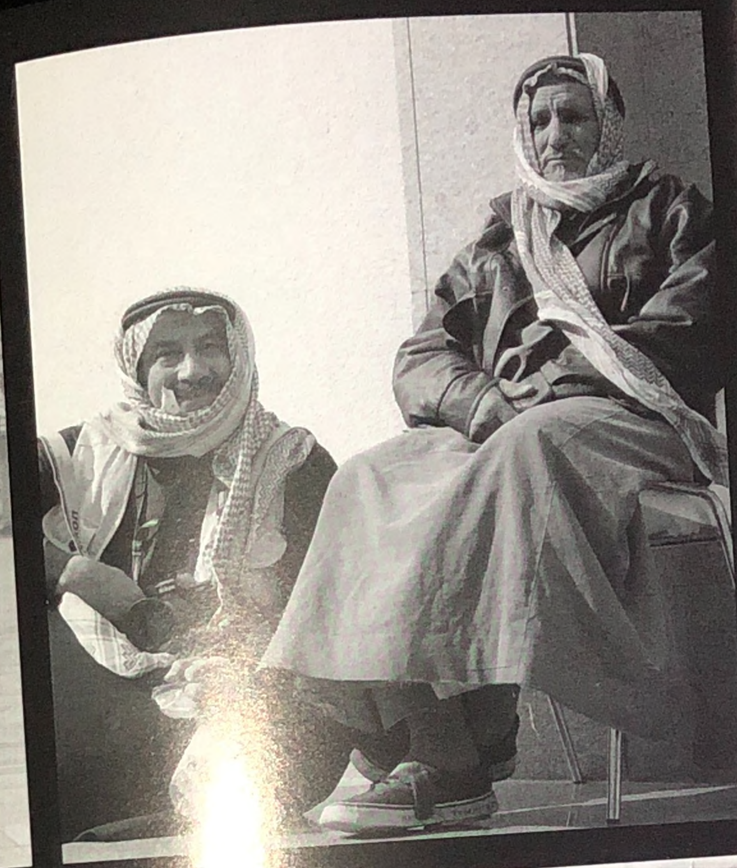






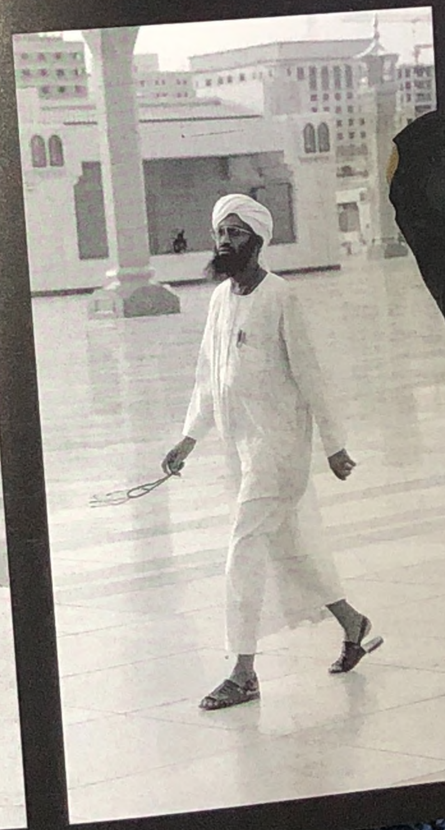


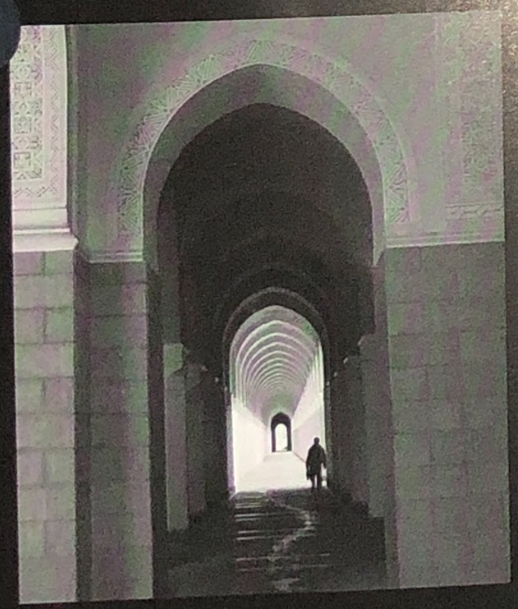


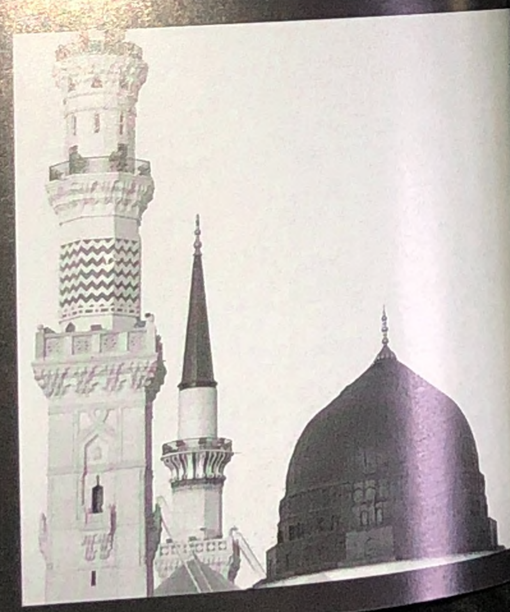


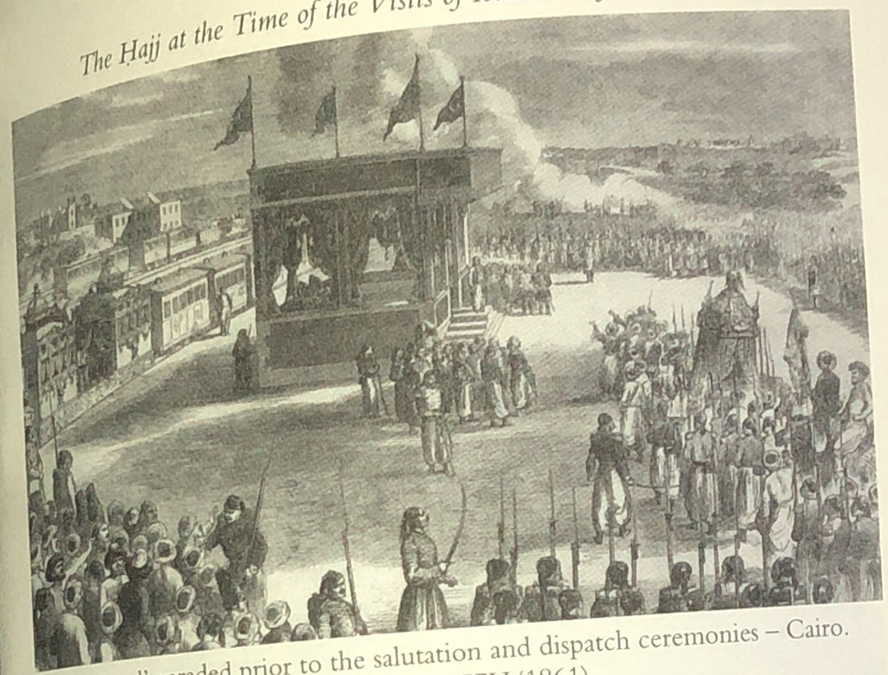




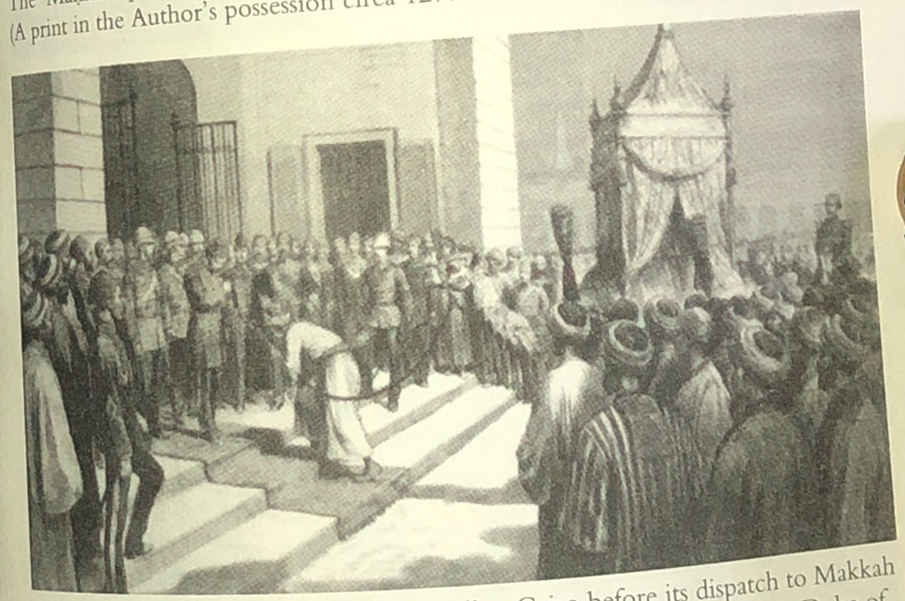




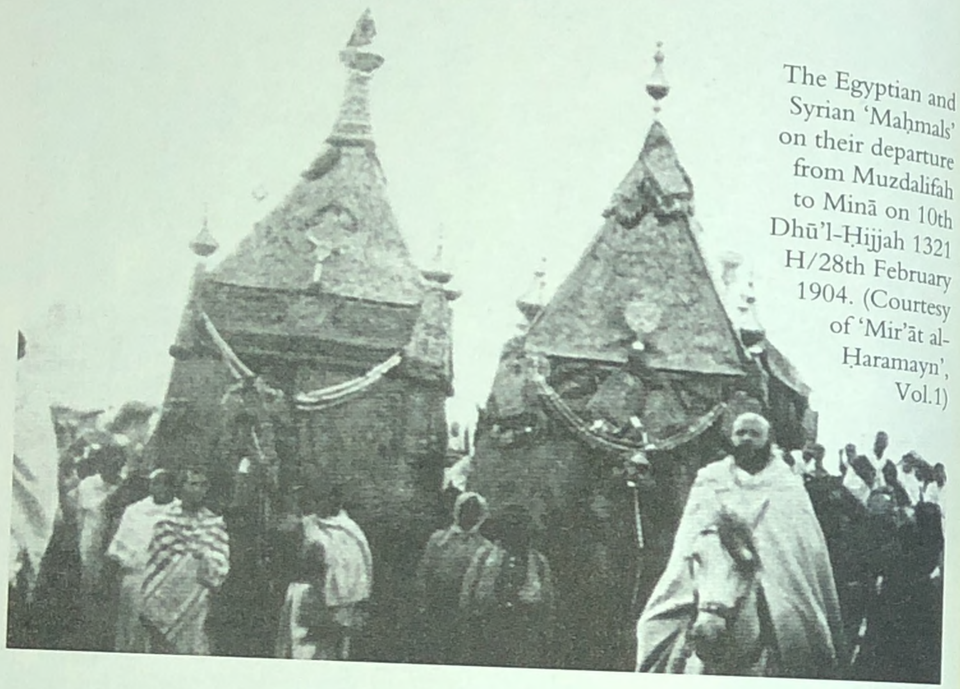




The 'Maḥmal' paraded prior to the salutation and dispatch ceremonies – Cairo. (A print in the Author's possession circa 1277H/1861)



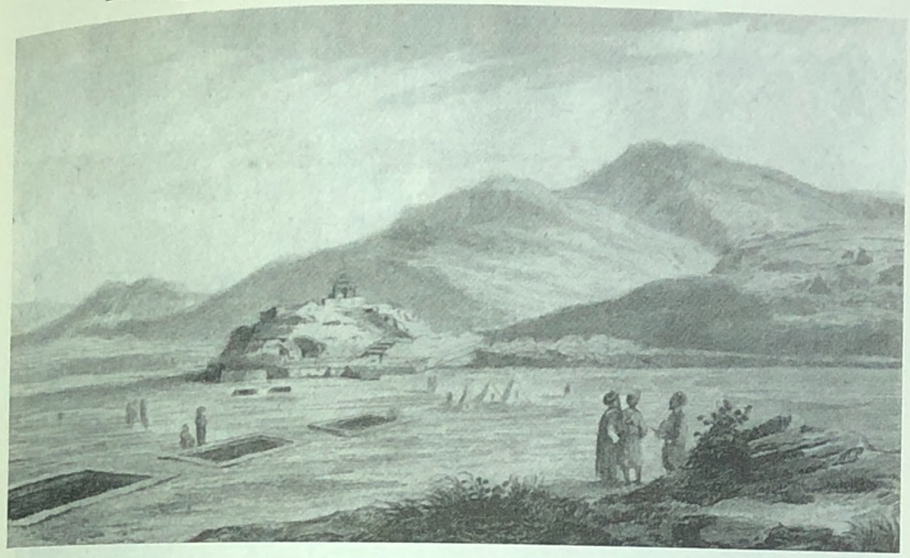
The Khedive Taufiq saluting the 'Maḥmal' at Cairo before its dispatch to Makkah for the Ḥajj of 1299 H/1882) – Amongst the dignitaries present are: the Duke of Connaught (a son of Queen Victoria) and Sir Garnet Wolseley to his left and Sir E. Malet to his right. (An illustration in the Author's possession)



The Egyptian and Syrian 'Maḥmals' on their departure from Muzdalifah to Minā on 10th Dhū'l-Ḥijjah 1321 H/28th February 1904. (Courtesy of 'Mir'āt al-Ḥaramayn', Vol.1)

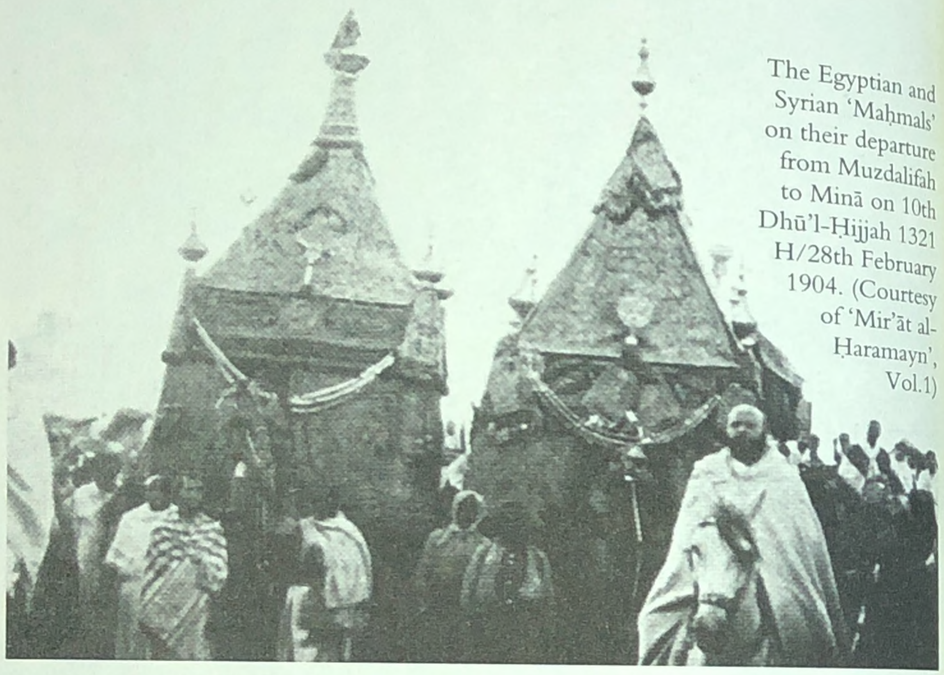


King Fu'ād I of Egypt saluting the 'Maḥmal' before its departure from Cairo.



A late 12th c H (18th c CE) print in the Author's possession of the Plain of 'Arafāt, some 13 miles away from Makkah, with the 'Jabal al-Raḥmah' (the Mount of Mercy) about 340 metres high, in the background. The 'Wuqūf' (Standing) at 'Arafat in supplication on the 9th of Dhū'l-Hijjah is an essential requirement of the Ḥajj. The water cisterns are clearly visible in the foreground.

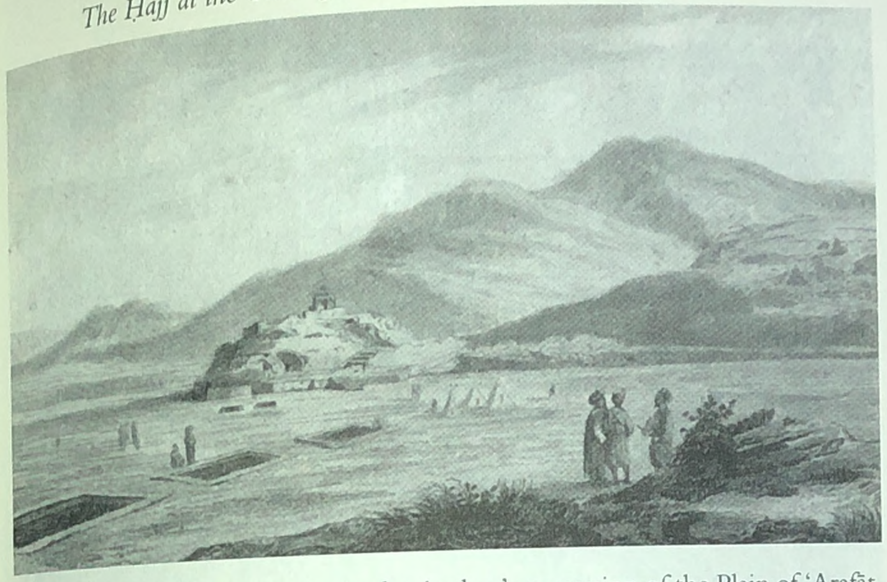




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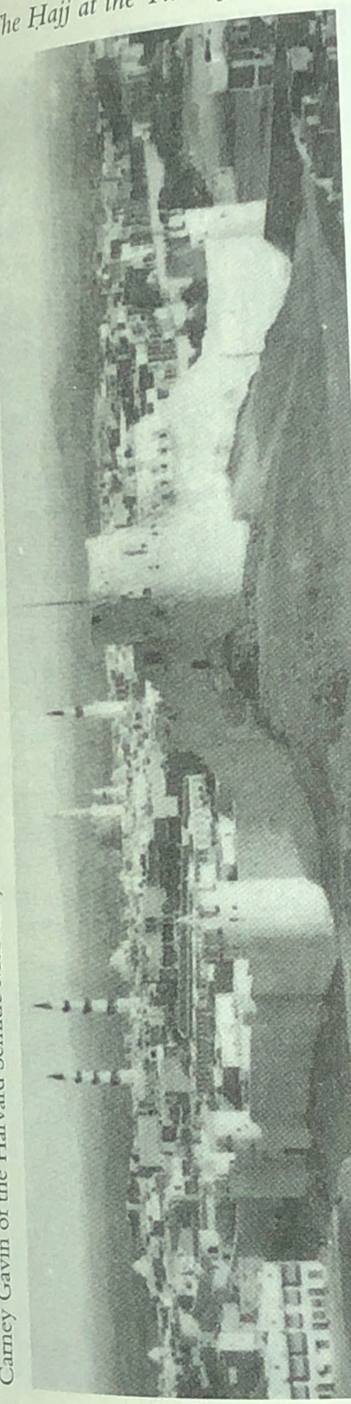


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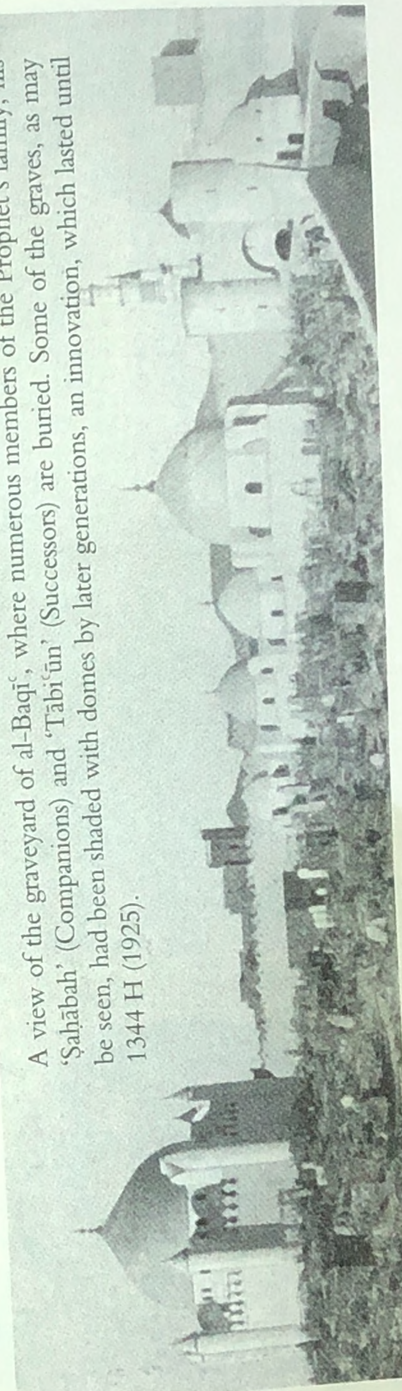




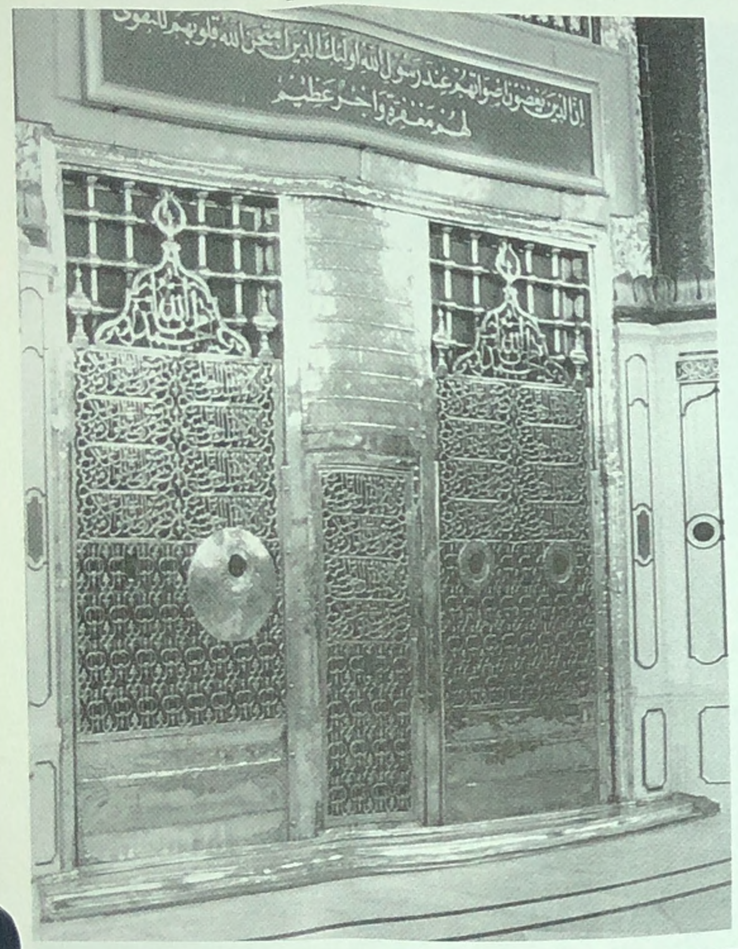
'Al-Multazim' (the Place of Holding) with the Curtain.



The walled city of al-Madīnah – a side view from the northwest – with the minarets and the large green dome of the Prophet's Mosque in the distance – late 13th/early 14th cH (late 19th/early 20th c CE). (A photograph copy gifted to the Author by Father Carney Gavin of the Harvard Semitic Museum)



A view of the graveyard of al-Baqī', where numerous members of the Prophet's family, his 'Ṣaḥābah' (Companions) and 'Tābi'ūn' (Successors) are buried. Some of the graves, as may be seen, had been shaded with domes by later generations, an innovation, which lasted until 1344 H (1925).



The 'Qiblah' facing façade of the Prophet's tomb from where salutations are offered to him (pbuh) and his Compnaions Abū Bakr and 'Umar, resting to his right. (at left)

A group photo of the staff and apprentices of the 'Dār al-Ṣanāʿah', al-Madinah, a charitable institution established during 1352 H (1933), by Sulṭān Ṣāleḥ al-Quʿaiṭī of Ḥaḍramaut and others to teach the citizens to weave cloth for 'Ihrāms', Thobes, Coffin Material and other purposes (below).



A rare photograph of 'al-Ḥajar al-Aswad' (the Black Stone) in fifteen pieces with its silver band (circa 1340s H/1920s).



CHAPTER XII

The Ḥajj at the Time of the Visits of Ibrāhīm Rifʿat Pāshā (Between 1318H/1901 and 1325H/1908)

A: Makkah

Ibrāhīm Rifʿat Pāshā was fortunate enough to perform the Pilgrimage on four occasions, the first time as the Commandant of the 'Maḥmal's' escort and then thrice as the 'Amīr' of the Egyptian Ḥajj Caravan during the course of this period. An outcome of this "blessing" upon him as he proudly maintained was the 'Mir'āt al-Ḥaramayn' ('A Mirror of the Two Holy Sanctuaries') in two beautiful volumes. An impressive feature of these two tomes is that, apart from accurate historical detail about the various aspects of the Ḥajj, the landmarks met with during the course of the Pilgrimage and others encountered 'en route' to the Holy Cities, the General, with the keen eye of a soldier and an observer and a sophisticated cultural product of his time, as clearly illustrated by the expanse of his knowledge, interests (which also included photography) and tastes, has also recorded well in sober and, at times, in amusing language as well as detail, the dangers met with by the common Pilgrim even during the era of his visits, whether as an individual or in a group, alongside his own progress and that of his troop, when escorting the 'Maḥmal'.

One of the events that was to catch his fancy during his first Ḥajj of 1318H(1901) and he felt worth recording in his book, is a brief account of the Sulṭān of al-Mukallā and al-Shiḥr (Ḥaḍramaut) and some of the trials and tribulations that even such eminent figures like him normally had to face while performing the Pilgrimage during those times. Ibrāhīm Rifʿat Pāshā used this Sulṭān's experiences throughout the course of this Ḥajj, to most of which he was an eye-witness, to highlight in an entertaining commentary the experiences likely to be met with by Pilgrims during their performance of this religious obligation and the security situation including the social, political and economic conditions then prevailing in al-Ḥejāz. Some of the passages, found to be of relevant interest, are

given below in translation and supplemented in places by those written by the Grand Muftī of Ḥaḍramaut, 'Abdal-Raḥmān ibn 'Ubaydillāh al-Saqqāf, who also was to refer to some of the Sulṭān's experiences during this Ḥajj of his, in his most invaluable detailed history of his native land, the 'Baḍāyi' al-Tābūt Fī Tārīkh Ḥaḍramaut' ('Rare goods from the Chest on the History of Ḥaḍramaut'), which, sad to say, still remains a manuscript!

Starting this account by saying: "Before we speak of al-Madīnah the Radiant, its features, its landmarks and about its Prophet's Mosque descriptively and historically, we (ought to) mention a word about the Sulṭān of al-Mukallā and al-Sḥiḥr, whose travelling party we accompanied on the journey, and that, which revealed to us the exalted nature of his soul and the nobility and generosity of his disposition, were his gracious deeds…". Then, going on to provide pertinent details about the Sultanate, such as its population, for which he mentions the figure of 200,000; its soldiery, whose strength is given at 6,000 and one of the sources of the Sulṭān's wealth, which he identifies as three large commercial vessels plying the routes in the Indian Ocean, he goes on to state that, 'Awaḍ ibn 'Umar al-Qu'aiṭī was accompanied on this occasion by his younger son, 'Umar ibn 'Awaḍ al-Qu'aiṭī, his elder son Ghālib ibn 'Awaḍ al-Qu'aiṭī having been left behind at home to act as Viceroy, one of his grandsons (Ghālib's younger son) Muḥammad ibn Ghālib al-Qu'aiṭī, a number of ladies, his Minister, Saiyyid Ḥuṣayn ibn Ḥāmid al Miḥḍār, an Indian doctor and some ninety armed retainers bearing Matchlocks ('Dhāt al-Fatīl' or sophisticated Firelocks, also known in the singular as 'Abū Fatīlah' or 'Father of the Wick'). Concerning the latter, he adds: "In their own country, they carry modern rifles of the Henry-Martini brand—(actually 'Martini-Henry' and referred to in Arabic as 'Hartī' in the singular and 'Hurūt' in the plural)—whose entry into Arabia is forbidden by the (Ottoman) State".[800]

Ibrāhīm Rif'at Pāshā then seizes this opportunity to talk about the smuggling of arms into Arabia, which was rife during this period, explaining that, he had seen all types and brands of modern rifles and ammunition of British, French and Italian manufacture with the bedouins and even the 'Dumdum'. This was, as many know and a piece of information for which I am grateful to my ex-soldier friend William Raw-Rees and my son Ṣāleḥ, an expanding bullet. Devised by the British in India in the 1890s (1310sH), it had

been outlawed for use in war by the First Hague Conference of 1899 (1316H). With its metal jacket trimmed back at the nose or left open at the tip, this bullet, unlike normal rounds, would flatten on impact, causing much greater internal damage, while also rendering its lethal effects much harder to tend to medically. These weapons would be transported to landing spots, usually small coves on the Red Sea and the Gulf's Arabian coastline, by native vessels using the sail, and discreetly sneaking out from small ports across the water, like Jibūtī (Djibouti) and Maṣṣawa' on the African coast, to land their contraband merchandise, which would then be sold locally at exorbitant prices. To reflect this last aspect regarding the high profit margins, General Ibrāhīm Rif'at Pāshā then goes on to mention that, the price of a rifle during this period was seldom less than ten British Pounds (gold) and that, the most appreciated present to be given to a bedouin was a rifle with its ammunition, adding, how he was often approached through intermediaries to part with quantities of the latter—a request that he inevitably rejected.[801]

Then, describing the Sulṭān's accompanying retainers or soldiers, he says that, apart from the Matchlocks that they never part with, "they carry the gunpowder and ammunition (shot) in containers (flasks), some of silver and others of brass, shaped like the horn of an animal (powder horns) and on their waists are huge belts in which they place knives, small ('Sikkīn') and large (a 'Janbīyyah' or dagger), in silver scabbards of exquisite workmanship and resplendent appearance". Their dress is described as a loose 'Qamīṣ' or shirt and tight trousers or drawers of cotton, with large turbans on the head and sandals for footwear. Referring to the food consumed by this party on the journey, he says: "They mostly eat rice with mustard seed, chick-peas and meats, and I never saw them touch vegetables and whatever they consume, the Ruler and his family partake of it, save they add to these, sweets like 'al-Harīsah' (a sweet of pounded wheat, 'samn' or melted butter and sugar called "Aṣīd' in Ḥaḍramaut) and European vermicelli".[802]

Then, observing the British and Indian influences on the basis of formal photographs in ceremonial military uniforms presented to him and in the regular attire of the Qu'aiṭī Sulṭān and his son 'Umar and grandson Muḥammad, which were undoubtedly a result of the hegemony of the British-Indian Empire in the southern and other parts of Arabia, Ibrāhīm Rif'at Pāshā proceeds to comment on the dress of their women also thus: "As for their womenfolk, their ex-

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ternal attire is raiments (cloaks) covering the whole body, revealing no form of the body shape… and the slave girls in waiting wear loin-cloths that wrap around the body from the waist to the foot and above those come shirts of white muslin (or gauze), with the head, face and the two arms uncovered…". This no doubt was for the freedom of movement for the arms and for purposes of labour.[803]

General Ibrāhīm Rif'at then explains how and why a close rapport and affinity developed between him and his troop and the Sulṭān and his party and proceeds to record the events that took place on the journey to al-Madīnah from Makkah and the trials and experiences this caravan was put through, with the keen and neutral eye of a diarist of Pepysian stature.

On days in particular, when the Caravan would plan to be on the move before sunrise, Ibrāhīm Rif'at often found the Sulṭān's party to be a little behind schedule with their loading. Hence, he was to see to it as "an act of fitting courtesy due to the camaraderie that had developed between members of the two parties", to appoint two sections of his soldiers to assist them with their efforts. This was to enable them to keep pace with the 'Maḥmal's' troop successfully throughout the journey.

Then, referring to the stragglers from other caravans preceding his own, such as the Syrian 'Maḥmal', or those Pilgrims who had lost their way, he adds: "We used to carry them on our camels in keeping with the obligation of Islāmic brotherhood when we would water our horses and our pack-load would be reduced. However, when their number reached around forty, the Ruler, without any prompting, ordered at once for the hiring of twenty camels. This I did and he immediately paid their dues. We (then) divided these impoverished (way-farers) between them, with each camel bearing two of these afflicted (souls)". Stating that, by the time they had reached al-Madīnah, the number of these stragglers had reached eighty-five—(this without including those found as corpses on the way and needing burial by his men)—and that, the 'Maḥmal' was merely accompanied by some two hundred camels, with another carrying the cable wires, Ibrāhīm Rif'at goes on to explain that, these stragglers were the result of (caravans) moving at too fast a pace and as "the Syrian 'Maḥmal' on this occasion had been eager to do so, about a hundred (of that caravan's) camels had broken down on the way. These we saw with our own eyes and if it (the people in-charge of the 'Maḥmal') had possessed compassion towards man or animal and had proceeded at a comfortable pace, there would neither have been stragglers, nor broken down (animals)". The General ends this episode with the wise old adage now adopted to discourage fast driving, which literally translates as "in haste rests regret and in deliberateness, smooth progress and success".[804]

Before referring to the Qu'aiṭī Sulṭān's experiences in al-Madīnah and in the Prophet's Mosque, where, according to a 'Ḥadīth' recorded by al-Bukhārī and referred to earlier also, a Prayer ('Ṣalāt') offered is better than a thousand offered elsewhere, save in the Sanctuary in Makkah and the 'Further Mosque' in al-Quds (Jerusalem), General Ibrāhīm Rif'at refers to his generosity towards the personnel of the Egyptian 'Maḥmal' thus: "The Ruler had seen the splendid services that we had provided to him. These we had been motivated towards by naught save feelings in our soul and a certain faith, that had planted in our hearts the tree of affection, brotherhood and (the desire to) aid strangers. Hence, he insisted, may Allāh honour him, on rewarding us with valuable presents for what we had extended (to him)". A long list then gives brief descriptions of the presents and the names and ranks of their recipients. The gifts included swords, diamond rings, gold and silver watches and cigarette cases and gold Sovereigns for the officers and the men of the escort and brooches and bracelets for the women accompanying them. The General then mentions that, "upon handing us these rich presents, he (the Sulṭān) expressed to us his gratified delight at the assistance which we had extended to him and his company and we thanked him for his handsome patronage".[805]

However, prior to continuing with the other pitfalls met with on the Ḥajj during this period in the language of General Ibrāhīm Rif'at Pāshā and particularly through the tale of the Ḥajj of 'Awaḍ ibn 'Umar al-Qu'aiṭī, it would be of interest and amusement to insert here some of this Sulṭān's experiences in Makkah in the words of the Grand Muftī of Ḥaḍramaut, al-Saīyyid 'Abdal-Raḥmān ibn 'Ubaydillāh al-Saqqāf, as assigned to the pages of his great and voluminous referred to history.

This abstract takes up the account from the sixth line of page 300 of the manuscript copy I possess, as follows: "and the Sulṭān 'Awaḍ is the one who relieved the populace of al-Mukallā from the hardship they were facing due to the shortage of sweet water and arranged for it to flow from al-Baqarayn in wrought iron pipes to

the centre of al-Mukalla. His benevolence over them in this regard is akin to that of Zubaydah, the daughter of al-Manṣūr (the 'Abbāsid Caliph) over the populace of Makkah".

"He was greatly attached to religion, ever reverential towards its tenets, loving scholars and according them precedence and honour, as well as displaying generosity towards them". This of course was in keeping with the Prophet's 'Tradition' that, the "Ulamā" were the heirs to the heritage of the prophets. "He was always in great awe and fear of God (and His dictates) and during the Ḥajj of 1317H(April 1900), he was to come face to face with many extraordinary events, several of which were related to me by 'the Father' (a term of respectful address in Ḥaḍramaut) Ḥusayn ibn Ḥāmid (the Sulṭān's Wazīr). One of these was that, having entered Makkah 'the Blessed' with the utmost humility, he had lodged himself in nothing more than a modest house. However, he had presented to the Sharīf 'Aun al-Rafiq gifts worth enormous sums, amongst which were a sword embellished with gems and a hundred tins of Du'an (Ḥaḍramī) honey. Upon this, the Sharīf had told 'the Father' Ḥusayn ibn Ḥāmid: 'Were it not that I have precedence over him in honour by virtue of my princely authority over the Sanctuary of Allāh and my descent from His Prophet (God's prayers and peace be upon him and his progeny), I would have hurried forth to welcome him due to what I have smelt in and about him of those pure (noble and ethical) Arab values. However, despite what I have said, I fear ere this (such conduct on my part) should become accepted as a (binding) custom on me to meet in like manner all those great men who visit Makkah and this 'tear' ('opening' or exception made on this occasion) becomes widened! Nevertheless, I would like the Sulṭān to visit me'. So, the Sulṭān did go along to call on the Sharīf".

"After some days, his (the Sharīf's) emissary arrived to inform the Qu'aiṭī Sulṭān, that, he would be arriving to return the visit. So, he (the Sulṭān) delayed him enough in order to be able to lease a suitable, spacious house, upon which he hastily lavished over twenty thousand Riyāls (Maria Theresa Thalers) in furnishings. 'The Father' Ḥusayn ibn Ḥāmid then had gone on to relate that, 'no sooner had the Sharīf settled in the 'Majlis' (Salon) of the Sulṭān than he was seized by an epileptic fit. The Sulṭān was greatly disturbed by this, assuming it to be a sign of death and became alarmed, lest he

be accused of poisoning him, until the Sharīf's party put him at ease by informing that, he was prone to having them (such fits)".

"Saiyyid Ḥusayn also mentioned that, 'the Sulṭān used to perform the 'Ṭawāf' manifold times every night and cry much at 'al-Multazim' ('the Place of Holding'), repeatedly imploring and repenting in earnest truth and sincerity (for and from everything), that is, save from (his desire to possess) Ḥajar (that fertile region with agricultural and mineral prospects) and from Ḥaḍramaut (the remaining eastern part of the Wādī popularly known locally by that name, which would have unified the land for the first time in centuries into a single polity)....".

Little did the 'Wazīr' and his master know then that, this supplication of the Sulṭān concerning Ḥajar was shortly to be answered due to the exertions of his elder son and Viceroy Ghālib, thanks in particular to his generous and humane disposition, which would often help turn his bitterest adversaries into sincere, reliable friends.

"He (Saiyyid Ḥusayn) also goes on to state that, he (the Sulṭān) used to hate to have any 'Muṭawwaf' leading him (in the performance of the 'Ṭawāf' around the Ka'bah, as is normally the custom, though not a religious requirement) and would say: 'I do not like there to be any intermediary between me and my Lord save from the Prophet's progeny and you are sufficient for my purpose due to what you have in you (of him); for I do not look at you but (through you) at your Grand-father (prayers of God and peace be upon him and his progeny)'".[806]

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A: (i) Supplications to be Recited in Performing the 'Ṭawāf'

The prayers usually recited by those circumambulating the Ka'bah in 'Ṭawāf' are as follows, with the standard supplication given below, being repeated during all the Seven Circuits, between the Yamānī Corner ('Rukn') and the Black Stone. Alternatively however, any Qur'ānic Verses, other supplications or 'Dhikr' (invocations) in Praise of Allāh, may also be recited during the 'Ṭawāf'. The same applies to the 'Sa'ī'.

('Al-Nīyyah' or 'Declaration of Intent' for the 'Ṭawāf')

('In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful').
"O' God, I desire to perform the 'Ṭawāf' around Thy Sanctified House,
Make it easy for me, and receive from me, the 'Seven Circuits'".

(The Opening Supplication of the 'Ṭawāf')

In the Name of God! God is Most Great! And unto God, Praise!
O' God, by my belief in Thee,
And believing in Thy Book, and fulfilling Thy Command
And following the Traditions of the Prophet Muḥammad —
On whom be peace and blessings…

(The First Circuit)

Praise be to God, and unto God, Praise!
There is no deity except God! And God is Most Great!
There is no power nor strength
Except that from God, the Most High, the Most Mighty!
Blessings and peace to the Messenger of God,
On whom be God's peace and blessings.
O' God, by my belief in Thee,
And believing in Thy Book, and fulfilling Thy Command
And following the Traditions of Thy Prophet Muḥammad —
On whom be peace and blessings…
O' God, truly I ask Thy forgiveness, and health,
And everlasting soundness in Religion
And in this world and in the Hereafter,
And that I be granted Paradise,
And freed from the Fire.

(The Supplication to be Recited between the 'Yamānī Corner' and the Black Stone in each Circuit)

Our Lord, grant us good in this world, and good in the Hereafter,
And save us from the torments of the Fire.
And allow us to enter Paradise in the company of the virtuous,
O' Glorious, O' All-Forgiving, O' Lord of the Universe!

(To be followed by this Acclamation upon passing the Black Stone in every Circuit — hands raised in 'Takbīr' or Glorification).

In the Name of God! God is Most Great! and unto God, Praise!

(The Second Circuit)

O' God, this House is Thy House,
And this Sanctuary is Thy Sanctuary,
And this Security is Thy Security,
And this slave is Thy Slave.
I am Thy Slave and the son (or daughter) of Thy Slave.
And in this place of those who take refuge with Thee, from the Fire,
Forbid our flesh and our bodies to the Fire.
O' God, make us love the Faith, and adorn it in our hearts,
And make us abhor disbelief, And wickedness, and transgression,
And make us to be among those who are guided.
O' God, protect us from Thy punishment
On the Day when You resurrect Your slaves.
O' God, grant that we may be of those, who unexamined, enter Paradise!

(The Third Circuit)

O' God, truly I take refuge in Thee,
From doubt, and idolatory, and discord,
And hypocrisy, and immorality, and the evil eye.
And the perversion that is the worship of worldly things:
Wealth, family, or offspring.
O' God, truly I ask that Thou be pleased with me,
and grant me Paradise.
And I take refuge in Thee, from Thy displeasure, and the Fire.
O' God, truly I take refuge in Thee, from the examination in the grave,
And I take refuge in Thee, from the trials of life and death.

(The Fourth Circuit)

O' God, make this Pilgrimage to be accepted,
And this endeavour rewarded,
And my sins forgiven, and my good deeds approved —
Merchandise that shall not perish;
O' Thou who knoweth all that is in our hearts,
Take me, O' God, out of Darkness and into light!
O' God, truly I ask Thee that I be worthy of Thy Mercy,
And that, my deeds make certain my forgiveness,
And absolution and redemption from all sin —
And that I be rewarded for all acts of piety,
And gain Paradise, and escape the Fire.
Lord, make me content
With what Thou hast bestowed upon me.
And with whatever Thou bestoweth
Let me be blessed.
And concerning that which I lack —
Let my compensation be Thy Favour!

(The Fifth Circuit)

O' God, shade me in the shadow of Thy Throne
On the Day when there shall be no shadow,

And no face, except Thine.
And may I be offered a drink from the well
Of Thy Prophet, our Master Muḥammad,
On whom be peace and blessings,
A drink so pleasant that it will quench our thirst for all Eternity.
O' God, truly I ask Thee the best of that
Which Thy Prophet, our Master Muḥammad,
On whom be peace and blessings, asked of Thee.
And I take refuge in Thee from the evils
From which Thy Prophet, our Master Muḥammad,
On whom be peace and blessings, took refuge in Thee.
O'God, truly I beseech Thee to grant me Paradise,
And its delights,
And whatever may bring it nearer to me by word, or act, or deed.

(The Sixth Circuit)

O' God, Thou hast many claims on me
For what is between Thee and me,
And there are many claims against me
In my relation to the world of Thy Creation.
O' God, release me of that owed to Thee
And bear for me that which is between me and Thy Creation.
Make me content with what Thou hast made lawful,
Instead of that which is forbidden by Thee;
Submissive to Thee, instead of disobedient (to Thee),
Knowing Thy Favour above all others,
O' Most Forgiving!
O' God, verily Thy House is Glorious,
Thy Countenance, Benign,
And Thou art Clement, and Giving,
Noble and Oft-Forgiving — so forgive me.

(The Seventh Circuit)

O' God, I ask of Thee:
Perfect faith and true conviction, and Thy Boundless

Bounty,
And a God-fearing heart, and a tongue praising Thy Name,
And lawful joys, and lasting repentance,
And repentance before death, and tranquillity in death,
And forgiveness and mercy after death,
And pardon on the Day of Reckoning,
And that I be rewarded with Paradise,
And salvation from the Fire,
By Thy Mercy, O' Glorious, O' Oft-Forgiving!
My Lord, increase my understanding,
And let me be among the virtuous.

A: (ii) Supplications offered after the 'Ṭawāf' at (1) 'al-Multazim', (2) 'Maqām Ibrāhīm' and (3) 'Ḥijr Ismā'īl':

(ii) (1) ('Al-Multazim' or 'the Place of Holding')

O' God, Lord of this Ancient House,
Free our necks and those of our fathers, and mothers,
And brothers, and children,
From the Fire.
O' Thou who art Beneficent, and Benign, and Most Gracious,
And Favour-Granting, and Oft-Bestowing, and Best.
O' God, let the consequences of all works be for good;
And keep from us the afflictions of this world,
And the torments of the Last Day.
O' God, I am Thy Slave and the son (or daughter) of Thy Slave,
Standing beneath Thy Door,
At Thy Thresold, humbly before Thee,
Hoping for Thy favour and fearing Thy punishment,
O' Eternally Beneficent!
O' God, truly I ask Thee, to raise my praises of Thee,
And to relieve me of my burden,
And to make successful my affairs
And to purify my heart
And to let there be light in my grave
And forgive my sins!

And I beseech of Thee high places in Paradise —
'Āmīn'.

(ii) (2) (The 'Station' of or 'Maqām Ibrāhīm')

O' God, truly Thou knowest that which I keep secret
And what I reveal,
So hear my appeal for forgiveness,
And as Thou knowest my need, so grant me what I ask;
And as Thou knowest what is in my soul, so forgive my sins.
O' God, truly I ask Thee for faith which will content my heart,
And true conviction, that I may realise that naught can befall me,
Except what Thou hast decreed for me,
Apportioned at Thy pleasure.
Thou art my Master in this world and in the Hereafter.
Make me die a Muslim, and make me join with those who are virtuous.
O' God, let it not transpire that in this place,
Any of our sins go unforgiven,
Or that any anxiety goes undispelled by Thee,
Or any need goes unheeded or unrequited by Thee;
And make our affairs to prosper,
And lighten our breasts, and illuminate our hearts,
And place the seal of virtue on our every action.
O' God, make us die as Muslims, and, make us live as Muslims,
And make us join with those who are virtuous,
Without affliction, and not with those who are tempted—
'Āmīn'.

(The text of these Supplications has been adapted with modifications in translation from Aḥmad Kamāl's 'Sacred Journey').

(ii) (3) (The 'Enclosure' or 'Ḥijr Ismā'īl')

O' Allāh! Thou art my Lord, there is no God but Thee. Thou hast created me and I am Thy Slave. I keep the vow I made to Thee as best as I can. I seek refuge in Thee from the evil deeds I did, I

express my gratitude for Thee and confess my sins, so that Thou may forgive me, for none remits sins save Thee.

O' Allāh! I ask Thee to bestow upon me from the best that Thy righteous Slaves have asked Thee. I seek refuge in Thee in (all) that they have sought refuge from in Thee.

O' Allāh! In Thy Most Beautiful Names and Thy Most Exalted Attributes, we ask Thee to purify our hearts from all that may keep us away from Thee, or estrange us from Thy love. Make us not die save as those who followed the Traditions of Thy Prophet, and Those who longed to meet Thee. Thou art Mighty and Glorious.

O' Allāh! Enlighten my heart with Thy knowledge; enjoin me in Thy obedience, deliver my conscience from wicked thoughts, occupy my mind with good thinking, protect me from the temptation of Satan and keep him away from me, so that he may not exercise any influence over me.

Our Lord! We believe in Thee, remit for us evil deeds, and guard us from the punishment of Fire — 'Āmīn'.

(This text has been adapted from a regular Prayer Book circulated amongst Pilgrims in Sa'ūdī Arabia with modifications in translation).

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Saiyyid 'Abdal-Raḥmān then goes on to add to his account that, "the humility of the Sulṭān 'Awaḍ in the Sanctuary of Allāh reminded me of two stories". Narrating one of them, he refers to the famous letter written by the great theologian, Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazzālī (d.504H/1111) to the mighty Saljūq ruler, Malik Shāh (r.465H/1072 till 485H/1092), in which he describes a scene from one of the eight Pilgrimages of the 'Abbāsid Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, during which he was beheld by a dignitary at 'Arafāt, bare-headed, bare-footed and standing on the sun-baked ground, with his hands held high in supplication, as he repeated: 'Thou art Thou and I am I. My habit is to persist in disobedience and Thine (is) to forgive'. Upon witnessing this, the dignitary had asked his companions to observe 'how the mighty one of the earth humbles himself before the Omnipresent One of the firmament'.

Al-Ghazzālī was known in his day as "Ḥujjat al-Islām" ("The Proof of Islām") and lectured at the great 'Madrasah' (College) of 'al-Niẓāmīyyah', founded in Baghdād during 459H(1067), while some say merely adopted and patronised since that date, by the famous Saljūq Minister, Niẓām al-Mulk al-Ṭūsī, who was assassinated by the Ismā'īlīs in 485H(1092). However, by then, he had already founded similar institutions in Nayṣābūr, Balkh, al-Moṣul, Herāt and Merv, thus adding a catalyst to a trend that was to spread rapidly in the lands of Islām and to provide him with a lasting reputation even loftier than that to be awarded to the peerless Aiyyūbid Sulṭān Ṣalāḥal-dīn in this regard, generally also esteemed as the great founder of such institutions of learning. Meanwhile, his mighty and able master, the Saljūq Sulṭān, Malik Shāh, the son of Alp Arslān (r.455H/1063 till 465H/1072), whose daughter was married to the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Muqtadī (r.467H/1075 till 487H/1094), was also himself to die a little later of poisoning, the same year as his illustrious Wazīr al-Ṭūsī, that is 485H(1092), as just indicated above.

Saiyyid 'Abd al-Raḥmān's other story concerns a man, who once beheld a haughty person riding a horse in splendour in the area of the 'Mas'ā' in the Makkan 'Ḥaram', with the police clearing the way before him. After some time, the same man saw in al-'Irāq a person in tatters, who caught his eye because of his resemblence to the proud individual he had once seen performing the 'Sa'ī' in that grand manner, and could not desist from approching him and enquiring if he was indeed that same dignitary. Upon being spoken to, the latter was to confirm that he was indeed that person, adding: 'I was haughty in a place where people seek recourse to humility. So, God has placed me in a location where people display their pride'.[807]

Although any Qur'ānic Verses, other supplications or invocations in Praise of Allāh may also be recited during the 'Sa'ī', as well as 'al-Wuqūf' ('Standing') at 'Arafāt, a translation of the two supplications commonly used, one during the 'Sa'ī' in 'al-Iḥrām' to mark the end of the "Umrah', and the other on 'the Day of Standing' ('al-Wuqūf') at 'Arafāt, read thus:

A: (iii) (Prayer to be Recited at the Mount of al-Ṣafā' before the 'Sa'ī'—the ritual in commemoration of Hājir's experience, the Completion of which, after the 'Ṭawāf', constitutes the end of the "Umrah' or 'the Lesser Pilgrimage')

I begin with what Allāh and His Messenger didst begin with. Lo! al-Ṣafā' and al-Marwah are among the symbols of Allāh, it is therefore no sin for him who is on Pilgrimage to the House (of God) or visiteth it, to go around between them, and he who doeth good of his own accord, (for him) Allāh is verily Responsive, Aware.

(The 'Nīyyah' or 'Intent' of 'al-Sa'ī')

In the Name of Allāh. O' Allāh! I intend to run between al-Ṣafā' and al-Marwah seven times in performance of the 'Sa'ī' of the 'Umrah' / Ḥajj (in offer) to Allāh, the Most Glorious, the Most High. O' Lord of Mankind.

(After the 'Niyyah', this Acclamation is recited)

Allāh is Most Great, Allāh is Most Great, Allāh is Most Great and Praise be to Allāh.

(The 'Du'ā'' that may be recited during the 'Sa'ī' between al Ṣafā' and al-Marwah) —

(The First Length)

Allāh is Most Great, Allāh is Most Great, Allāh is Most Great, Allāh the Most Great is the Greatest (indeed).

Praise be to Allāh in Abundance and Glory be unto Him, the Mighty in the morn and the evening, and worship Him (a portion) of the night, and glorify Him long through it (the night). There is no God but Allāh, alone. He did fulfil His promise, and brought Victory to His slave and did Vanquish the Clans, all alone. Naught precedeth Him nor cometh after Him. It is He, Who gives life and death (unto His slaves) and Who is ever alive and dieth not. In His hand is the good and unto Him is our destined progress. Lo! He is able to do all things.

My Lord! Grant us Pardon and Mercy and Forgive us and Be Kind and Overlook that which Thou Knowest; for Thou Knowest that

which we know not. Verily, Thou art Allāh, the Mightiest, the Most Generous.

Our Lord ! Save us from the punishment of Fire, unblemished and Make us win, rejoice and be optimistic, along with Thy righteous slaves, and with those whom Thou, O' Allāh, hast Blest of the Prophets, the truthful, the martyrs, and the devout, and who are the best to keep company with. That is a favour from Allāh (unto His slaves) and it suffices that Allāh is Aware.

There is no God but Allāh, this is the undisputable truth; There is no God but Allāh, Who alone deserveth to be worshipped. There is no God but Allāh and we worship none but Him, keeping religion pure for Him, whether the disbelivers like it or not.

Lo! al-Ṣafā' and al-Marwah are among the symbols of Allāh. It is therefore no sin for him who is on Pilgrimage to the House (of God) or visiteth it, to go around between them. And he who doeth good of his own accord, (for him) — Lo! Allāh is truly Responsive, Aware.

(The Second Length)

Allāh is Most Great, Allāh is Most Great, Allāh is Most Great and Praise to be Allāh.

There is no God but Allāh, the One, the Unique, the Eternally Besought of all, Who never didst take a spouse, nor a son, nor has He a partner in Dominion, nor a superior associate above Him. Praise be to Allāh.

O' Allāh! Thou hast said in Thy Revealed Book: 'Pray unto Me and I will answer your supplication'.

Our Lord! we didst cry unto Thee. So Forgive us as Thou hast Enjoined upon us, for Thou never breaketh Thy Promise.

Our Lord! We have heard a crier calling unto the Faith: 'Believe ye in your Lord'. So, we have believed. Our Lord, Forgive us our sins,

and Remit from us all our evil deeds and Make us die the death of the righteous.

Our Lord! Give us that which Thou hast promised to us by Thy messengers. Confound us not upon the Day of Resurrection. Lo! Thou breakest not the trust. Our Lord! On Thee we depend and to Thee we depute (surrender) and unto Thee is our return.

Our Lord! Forgive us and our brethren who have believed in Thee before us and Free our hearts from grudge for the believers. Our Lord! Thou art Forgiving and Merciful.

My Lord! Grant us Pardon and Mercy, and Forgive and Be Kind and Overlook that which Thou Knowest; for Thou Knowest that which we know not. For verily, Thou art Allāh, The Mightiest, the Most Generous.

Lo! al-Ṣafā' and al-Marwah are among the symbols of Allāh. It is therefore no sin for him who is on Pilgrimage to the House (of God) or visiteth it, to go around between them. And he who doeth good of his own accord, (for him) — Lo! Allāh is truly Responsive, Aware.

(The Third Length)

Allāh is Most Great, Allāh is Most Great, Allāh is Most Great and Praise be to Allāh.

Our Lord! Complete for us our light (of faith) and Forgive our sins. Thou art able to do all things.

O' Allāh! I beseech Thee to bestow upon me all the good there is, immediate and delayed. I ask Thee to remit for me my sins, and beg Thy Mercy, O' Most Merciful.

My Lord! Grant us Pardon and Mercy and Forgive and Be Kind and Overlook that which Thou Knowest; for Thou Knowest that which we know not. Verily, Thou art Allāh, the Mightiest the Most Generous.

Our Lord! Increase me in knowledge; cause not my heart to stray after Thou hast guided me and Bestow upon me mercy from Thy presence. Lo, Thou art the Bestower.

O' Allāh! Bestow upon me healthy eyes and ears. There is no God but Thee.

O' Allāh! I seek refuge in Thee from the punishment of the grave. There is no God but Thee, be Thou praised, I myself wast one of the wrong-doers.

O' Allāh! I seek Thy refuge from disbelief and destitution.

O' Allāh! I seek refuge in Thy good pleasure from Thy wrath, and in Thy forgiveness from Thy punishment, and I seek refuge from Thee in Thee. Never can I reckon praise unto Thee as Thou hast praised Thyself. Praise be to Thee as is due, to win Thy good pleasure.

Lo! al-Ṣafā' and al-Marwah are among the symbols of Allāh. It is therefore no sin for him who is on Pilgrimage to the House (of God) or visiteth it, to go around between them. And he who doeth good of his own accord, (for him) — Lo! Allāh is truly Responsive, Aware.

(The Fourth Length)

Allāh is Most Great, Allāh is Most Great, Allāh is Most Great and Praise be to Allāh.

My Lord, I beseech of Thee the best of all that Thou Knowest and I seek protection in Thee from the evil of all that Thou Knowest. Thou (alone) Knowest the unseen.

There is no God but Allāh, the King, the Evident Truth. Muḥammad is the Messenger of Allāh, the true to his promise and trustworthy.

O' Lord! I beseech Thee, as Thou hast beckoned me to join Islām, not to put out its light in my heart until Thou hast decreed me to die and as a Muslim. O' Lord! Instill the light of guidance in my heart, my ears, and my eyes.

O' Lord! Expand Thou my breast and Ease my affair for me. I seek refuge in Thee from the evil of the whispers of the heart, and the disruption of the affair and the trial of the grave.

My Lord! I seek refuge in Thee from all evil, by night and by day, and from what is blown by winds. O' 'Most Compassionate'. Glory be unto Thee. Never have we worshipped Thee as we truly ought to O' God! Glory be unto Thee. Never have we repeated in remembrance Thy praise as Thou deservest.

O' My Lord! Grant us Pardon and Mercy and Forgive and Be Kind and Overlook that which Thou Knowest; for Thou Knowest that which we know not. Verily, Thou art Allāh, The Mightiest, the Most Generous.

Lo! al-Ṣafā' and al-Marwah are among the symbols of Allāh. It is therefore no sin for him who is on Pilgrimage to the House of God or visiteth it, to go around between them. And he who doeth good of his own accord, (for him)—Lo! Allāh is truly Responsive, Aware.

(The Fifth Length)

Allāh is Most Great, Allāh is Most Great, Allāh is Most Great and Praise be to Allāh.

Glory be unto Thee! Never have we thanked Thee as Thou deservest. O' Allāh, Glory be to Thee, how lofty is Thy Status and Station O' Allāh!

O' Allāh! Endear the Faith in our hearts and Embellish it to us in the depths of our hearts and Make us loathe disbelief, contumacy and disobedience, and Make us of those who are rightly guided.

My Lord! Grant us Pardon and Mercy and Be Kind and Overlook that which Thou Knowest; for Thou Knowest what we know not. Verily, Thou art Allāh the Mightiest, the Most Generous.

My Lord! Save me from Thy punishment on the Day Thou Resurrecteth Thy Creation.

O' Lord! Guide me rightly, Purify my soul with piety, and Forgive me in this life and in the hereafter.

O' Lord! Bestow upon us Thy Blessings, Thy Mercy and Thy Grace, as well as Thy Bounty.

O' Lord! I beseech from Thee eternal bliss that never changeth, nor diminisheth and ceaseth.

O' Lord! Instill the light of guidance in my heart, my ears, my eyes and my tongue, and let there be light on my right and above me and Instill it in my soul and Magnify its importance for me. My Lord! Expand Thou my breast and Ease Thou my affair for me.

Lo! al-Ṣafā' and al-Marwah are among the symbols of Allāh. It is therefore no sin for him who is on Pilgrimage to the House of God or visiteth it, to go around between them. And he who doeth good of his own accord, for him — Lo! Allāh is truly Responsive, Aware.

(The Sixth Length)

Allāh is Most Great! Allāh is Most Great! Allāh is Most Great and Praise be to Allāh.

There is no God but Allāh and Him alone who hath fulfilled His Promise, Brought Victory to His slave, and Vanquished the clans by Himself. There is no God but Allāh and we sincerely worship none but Him. To Him alone is religion, even if the disbelievers hate it.

O' Lord! From Thee I beseech guidance, piety in faith, chastity and affluence. O' Lord! Praise be unto Thee, as we say and better than

how we say (it). O' Lord! I address myself unto Thee, to beg Thy acceptance and Paradise, and seek refuge in Thee from Thy anger and Hell-Fire and that which draweth me nigh unto it in terms of word, action or deed.

O' Lord! By Thy Light have we been guided (up the straight path); By Thy Bounty have we become carefree of want. And in Thy Care, Thy Grace, Thy Bestowal and Thy Beneficence do we pass day and night. Thou art the Foremost, preceded by none; Thou art the Utmost, succeeded by none. Thou art the Omnipotent, unequalled; and Thou art the 'All Knowing'. Naught is possible without Thee. We seek refuge in Thee from bankruptcy and laziness, and from the torment of the grave, and the temptation of wealth. We beg Thee to attain Paradise.

My Lord! Grant us Pardon and Mercy and Forgive and Be Kind and Overlook that which Thou Knowest; for Thou Knowest, that which we know not. Verily, Thou art Allāh, The Mightiest, the Most Generous.

Lo! al-Ṣafā' and al-Marwah are among the symbols of Allāh. It is therefore no sin for him who is on Pilgrimage to the House of God or visiteth it, to go around between them. And he who doeth good of his own accord, (for him) — Lo! Allāh is truly Responsive, Aware.

(The Seventh Length)

Allāh is Most Great, Allāh is Most Great, Allāh is Most Great and Praise be to Allāh.

O' Lord! Endear to me my Faith and Embellish it in my heart. Make me loathe disbelief, contumacy and insubordination and Make me of those who are rightly-guided.

My Lord! Grant us Pardon and Mercy and Forgive and Be Kind and Overlook that which Thou Knowest, for Thou Knowest that which we know not. Verily, Thou art Allāh, the Mightiest, the Most Generous.

O' Lord! Let our last deeds be the best of our deeds. Enable us with Thy Help to achieve our aspirations and Pave the way for us to gain Thy satisfaction and Promote at all events our deeds.

O' Lord! Saviour of the drowning, Redeemer of the perishing, Witness of all whisperings and the Ultimate Goal of all our complaints; O' Benefactor of Old, O' Eternally Beneficent, O' Thou, who art indispensable and the Source of everything, O' Thou, on whom all creatures depend for their livelihood and towards Whom everything's eternal journey lies; O' Lord! I seek refuge in Thee from the evil or all Thou hast Given us and all that, from which Thou hast Forbidden us.

O' Lord! Enable us to die as Muslims, and Gather us with the good, neither ashamed nor besotten.

My Lord! Ease our task and Complicate it not. My Lord, Provide a sound conclusion.

Lo! al-Ṣafā' and al-Marwah are among the symbols of Allāh. It is therefore no sin for him who is on Pilgrimage to the House of God or visiteth it, to go around between them. And he who doeth good of his own accord (for him) — Lo! Allāh is truly Responsive, Aware.

(The 'Du'ā" for Reciting upon the Completion of the 'Sa'ī')

Our Lord! Accept Thou from us our prayers, Keep us in good health and forgive us. Help us to obey and thank Thee. Enable us to depend on Thee alone and in complete faith and submission take us unto Thyself, whenst Thou art satisfied with us.

O' Lord! Have mercy on me by ridding me of all disobedient acts for as long as it is Thy will to keep me alive.

O' Lord! Have mercy on me by Enabling me to leave aside all that does not concern me and Bestow on me the fairness of sight to

behold all that which gains Thy Satisfaction for me, O' Most Merciful and Compassionate — 'Āmīn'.

(The text of these Supplications has been adapted and modified in translation from a regular Prayer Book.).

A: (iv) Supplications to be read or recited upon beholding 'Arafāt and then during the 'Wuqūf' (Standing):

(A 'Du'ā'' for Pilgrims to recite upon 'Arafāt approaching into their view)

O' God, forgive me and aid me in my repentance,
And grant me all that I beseech of Thee,
And wherever I turn, let me meet good works,
God be Praised! Glory unto God!
There is no deity except God!
And God is Most Great!

(The 'Du'ā' al-Wuqūf'—the Supplication for 'the Ritual of Standing')

There is no deity except God, the One, without companion!
For Him is the Kingdom and the Praise. He Maketh to live, and to die,
And He Liveth — but dieth not! In His hand is goodness, and He is All Powerful!

Our Lord, Thou hast granted that we may stand here,
And brought us here. Give us a favourable wind,
Until Thou hadst delivered us by Thy benignity, into the Presence of Thy House,
And the Stand ('al-Wuqūf') at this great and sacred Place,
Following the path of 'Thy friend' (Ibrāhīm),
And following the footprints of Thy chosen from all Thy creatures,
Our Master and Prophet Muḥammad, upon whom be peace and blessings.

Truly, in Thee there is for every guest, hospitality, and for all who come, a reward;
And for every visitor, Thy bounty, and for every petitioner, a gift,
And for all who hope, fulfillment, and for the supplicant, a requiting,
And for all who implore, a place near Thee, a favour.
We stand at this great and sacred Place hoping for Thy favour.
Do not make us disappointed, our Lord!
Our hope is in Thee, our Master, our King!
O' Thou, to Whom all things do submit because of Thy glory —
And before Whom all faces are anxious, knowing Thy supremacy.

Our Lord, to Thee we approach, dismounted in Thy open place;
And to Thee alone do we look, and for Thy favour we pray,
And for Thy beneficence we make petition, and for Thy compassion we hope,
And from Thy punishment we ask pity,
And to Thy Sacred House we make Pilgrimage.
O' Thou, Keeper of all that is needed by Thy supplicants,
And Who Knoweth the thoughts of the silent;
O' Thou, other than whom there is no lord to be worshiped, no deity to be looked to,
And beyond whom, there is no other creator to be feared,
And no 'Wazīr' to hear an appeal, and no Chamberlain to be ingratiated;
Who respondeth not except with bounty and excellence,
And to the need of mankind — provideth but with charity;
O Thou, before Whom voices cry in languages,
Beseeching Thee to hear their wants,
Tears pouring down, weeping and sighing, importuning Thee and petitioning.

And my neeed of Thee, Our Lord, is Thy forgiveness,
And that Thou art pleased with me, after which there can be no anger;
And guidance, after which there can be no error; and a good end;
And liberation from the Fire, and reward with Paradise;
And to be remembered by Thee when I am in misfortune.
When the mortals of the world forget me, and the earth covers,
And I am parted from my loved ones, and all is severed.
O' Most Glorious! O' Bestower! O' Most Merciful of those who show mercy!

O' God, truly Thou seest my place, and hearest my words,
And knowest my secrets as well as what I reveal,
And none of my affairs is concealed from Thee.
I am miserable and poverty-stricken, a supplicant imploring succour,
Apprehensive and fearful, lamenting and confessing and knowing my sins.
I seek from Thee as the humble seek.
And I implore of Thee with the supplication of an abject sinner,
And I pray to Thee the prayer of a blind and frightened man,
The prayer of him who submits his neck to Thee,
And weeps to Thee, and is prostrate before Thee.
Do not make me to be wretched, O' my Lord;
And be merciful and compassionate toward me,
O' Best of those who hear supplications, and Best of those who bestow.
Lord, guide us with a true guidance, and adorn us with piety,
And forgive us in the Hereafter — and the present.

Our Lord, create in my heart light, in my ears light;
In my eyes light, in my tongue light;

At my right light, above me light;
And create light in my soul — and for me glorify light!
O' God, open my heart and make my affairs easy!

O' God, truly I ask of Thee guidance, and piety, and chastity, and plenty!
O' God, for Thee is Praise as Thou sayest, and the best of what Thou sayest!

O' God, truly I seek of Thee Thy pleasure, and Paradise;
And I take refuge in Thee, from Thy Wrath, and the Fire,
And from whatever draweth me nearer to it, whether by word, or deed, or action!

Our Lord, make this Pilgrimage to be accepted, and my sins forgiven,
And my deeds righteous and approved.
Our Lord, give us good in this world, and good in the Hereafter,
And save us from the torments of the Fire.

My God, I have no strength against Thy wrath,
And no endurance to withstand Thy punishment,
And I cannot be without Thy favour,
Without which, I have no power against misfortune,
And no force in me for the struggle!
I seek refuge in Thy pleasure, from Thy wrath,
And from the terrible overthrow heralding Thy punishment,
O' my Hope and my only Hope! O' Best of those who are called upon!
O' Most Excellent Giver! O' Thou, Whose mercy exceedeth His anger!
O' my Lord and my King! O' my Confidence! And my Hope! And my Trust!
O' God, Who in hearing one is not prevented from hearing another,
And Whom countless voices have no power to distract,

And for Whom many appeals bring no confusion,
And for Whom languages make no difference,
Who art never vexed by the importuning of those who importune,
And Who art ever able to answer the supplications of those who supplicate,
Allow us to know the coolness of Thy pardon,
And the sweetness of Thy forgiveness,
O' Most Merciful of those who show mercy!

O' God, I have come to Thee and halted before Thee, at this holy place,
Hoping for that which is with Thee —
So, make it not that I be disappointed in this visit to Thee on this day;
Honour me with Paradise, and favour me with Thy forgiveness, and security,
And save me from the Fire, and part me from any evil of Thy creatures.

Make it to be that, I place my hopes in none excepting Thee,
For all doors are closed excepting Thine!
And make me never to depend on other than Thee,
In religion as well as worldly matters, even for the twinkling of an eye…
And raise me from the baseness of disobedience to the glory of submission,
And illuminate my heart, and my grave,
And protect me from all evil, and gather for me all that is good,
O' Most Generous of those who are petitioned,
And Most Excellent of those who bestow!

O' God, by Thy light we wish to be guided, and by Thy favour to be sufficed,
In Thy guardianship, and Thy grace, and Thy kindness, and Thy beneficence,
In the morning and in the evening.

Thou art the First — and there are none before Thee!
Thou art the Last — and there are none after Thee!
Thou art the Visible — and there is nothing above Thee!
Thou art the Hidden — and nothing exists below Thee!
We take refuge in Thee, from indigence, and slothfulness, and the torments of the grave, and the temptation of riches.
I ask Thee the causes of Thy favour and certain forgiveness,
And abounding good fortune for my pious deeds, and salvation from all sin,
And to be granted Paradise, and escape from the Fire.

O' God, O' Knower of secrets, O' Hearer of all voices,
O' raiser of the dead, O' Answerer of prayers!
O' Fulfiller of the necessities, O' Creator of the earth and the heavens —
Thou art God! other than Thee, there is none —
the One and Only, the Solitary, to Whom all resort;
The Bestower, the Unstinting, the Clement, Who doth not hesitate;
There is no withstanding Thy decree, and no arguing Thy judgement!
Lord of all, and King of all, and Predestinator of all —

I pray to Thee to grant me:
Wholesome knowledge, and virtuous deeds, and real Faith!
And grant that we may experience:
The repentance of the Faithful, the submission of the submissive,
And the deeds of the virtuous, and the conviction of those who are convinced,
The felicity of the God-fearing, and the High Degree of the successful!
O' Most Excellent of those to whom we appeal,
And Most Generous of those we entreat,
And Most Patient of those who give.

How patient Thou art to those who disobey Thee!
And how near Thou art to those who seek Thee!
And how compassionate Thou art toward those who ask of Thee!
None are guided except those guided by Thee,
And none err except those who are made to err by Thee,
And none can be rich except those made rich by Thee,
And none can be poor except those made poor by Thee,
And none can be blameless except those made blameless by Thee,
And none are concealed except those concealed by Thee.

I pray Thee to grant us much favour, and the joy of meeting with Thee,
And Thy increased blessings, and benefits from Thee,
And that, Thou createst for us:
Light in our life,
And light at our assembly after death, and light in our graves,
And light with which we may seek mediation with Thee —
And light with which to achieve Thy approval…
O' God, make the end of my life the best of my life!
And the best of my deeds, its conclusion!
And the best of my days, the day on which I shall meet Thee!

O' God, enable me to hold fast to Thy commands, and support me with Thine aid,
And provide for me from Thy bounty, and liberate me from Thy punishment —
On the day, when Thou shalt resurrect Thy slaves.
I have come to Thee, hoping for Thy compassion, and I am far from my land,
And I am performing my devotions, and fulfilling Thy precepts,
And reading Thy Book, and praying to Thee,
And lamenting the obstinacy of my heart, and fearing my sins —
And the wrong I have committed against my soul, and knowing my guilt.
This is the prayer of one whose shortcomings are multitude,

And whose sins are many, and from whom hope is severed,
And whose faults remain, and whose tears fall, and whose time is terminated:
And this is the prayer of one unable to discover any forgiver, except Thee;
And for whose hopes for good there is no bestower, except Thee;
And for whose broken bones there is no joiner, except Thee,
O' Most Merciful of those who show mercy!
There is no strength and no power, except from God,
The Most Exalted, and the Supreme!

Our God, deliver me not into Thy punishment,
And keep me not where I will encounter temptation.
My King, I am here, praying to Thee, and turning my face to Thee in supplication;
And I place my cheek (on the ground) for Thee in humility and trepidation,
So accept Thou my prayer and make right my spoilt affair,
And sever from me my worldly desires and needs,
And make me to desire that which is Thine,
And turn me toward the place of turning of those who mention Thy Name,
Whose prayers are accepted, and arguments upstanding;
Whose sins are forgiven and their Pilgrimage accepted;
Whose faults are remitted, mistakes erased, and affairs guided;
The place of turning of those who in no thing disobey Thee,
And who do not sin again, and never again bear any burden of sin;
The place of turning of those whose tongues are honoured,
By the utterance of Thy Name,
And whose bodies are cleansed of any uncleanness,
And whose hearts are directed,
And whose very being is opened to Islām;
And whose eyes are soothed by Thy pleasure and forgiveness before death,

And whose vision Thou tearest from evil,
And whose souls Thou employest in Thy Sacred Way!
And I ask Thee not to make me the most miserable and sinful of Thy creatures,
And that I not be the most disappointed of those who hope before Thee,
And not the most empty-handed of those who seek Thy favour,
And not the most lost — of all those who return from this Great 'Place of Standing',
My King, Lord of the Universe!

O' God, I have prayed to Thee with the prayer Thou hast taught me,
So do not cut short what hope Thou hast given me,
O' Thou to Whom our obedience is not gain,
And for Whom our disobedience inflicts no loss.
And whatsoever Thou bestoweth upon me — That I desire!
Make it to aid me in the way Thou willest, and make it best for me.
Make me love submission to Thee, and the practice of it,
As Thou hast led Thy Favourites to love it, until they saw its rewards.
And as Thou hast led me to Islām, so take it not from me —
Until Thou takest me to Thee, still embracing it.

O' God, make me love the Faith, and adorn it in my heart,
And make me abhor disbelief, and wickedness, and disobedience,
And make me to be one of those who are rightly guided.

O' God, make our lives to have a good conclusion,
And make it come to pass that our desires know Thy favour,
And make our way easy, that we may achieve Thy pleasure,
And in every matter, make our deeds to be excellent.

O' Rescuer of the Drowned! O' Saviour of the Lost!
O' Witness of every secret thought! O' End of all lamentation!
O' Thou Whose beneficence is without beginning or end!
O' Thou Whose goodness is Eternal!
O' Thou of Whom all things are in need —
And without Whom none can exist!
O' Thou Who hath provision for all — and to Whom all return!
O' Thou, to Whom the hands of those who supplicate are lifted,
And toward Whom worshipers yearn!
We ask Thee to place us in Thy protection, and Thy generosity,
And in Thy guardianship, and Thy refuge, and Thy shelter, and Thy security!

O' God, truly we take refuge in Thee from extremity,
And from the depths of despondency, and the mocking of foes,
And from becoming an evil sight;
And keep us from unhappiness in our dwelling:
In wealth, and as concerns our children.

O' God, let it not transpire that in this place any sin go unforgiven by Thee,
Or that any anguish go uneased by Thee,
And no obligation continue unsettled by Thee,
And no enemy but that is made impotent against us by Thee,
And no wickedness but that is corrected by Thee,
And none who ail but that they be healed by Thee,
And no void but that is filled by Thee,
And no worldly need — or need in the Hereafter,
In which there is Thy pleasure, and our benefit,
But that is provided by Thee;
Truly, Thou guidest the way, and joineth the broken, and maketh rich the poor!

O' God, we cannot escape from appearing before Thee,
So grant that our arguments be accepted, and our sins forgiven,
And that our knowledge be increased, and our efforts worthy;
I approach, my mortal lips imploring Thy immortal countenance's protection,
O' Possessor of Glory and Might!

O' God, none may keep me from Thee if Thou acceptest me —
And none can aid me if Thou refuseth me,
So reject me not because of my small gratitude,
And abandon me not because of my small patience.
O' God, make death the best of those things we choose not, but await;
And the grave the best dwelling in which we shall dwell —
And, than death, make best that which follows death.
My Lord, forgive me, and my parents,
And my children, and my brothers,
And my family, and my descendants,
And the Faithful: male and female,
Those who live with us and those who are dead.

O' God, I ask of Thee Faith to occupy my heart, and true conviction,
That I may know that, naught can befall me save what Thou hast destined for me;
And make me to be content in Thy judgments, and aid me on this earth,
That I may abstain from that which is unlawful;
And that I be content, and in religion submissive;
And cleanse my tongue from falsehoods, and my heart from hypocrisy,
And my deeds from falseness, and my sight from perfidy —
For Thou knowest the treachery of the eyes and what the heart concealeth!

O' God, have mercy when I fall in death and am lonely in my grave,
And when I stand between Thy hands,
For I have been a stranger in this world.
O' God, Thou art Peace — and from Thee emanates peace —
Thou art Blessed and Most High,
O' Possessor of Majesty and Glory!

O' God, Thou art King,
There is no deity except Thee! and I am Thy Slave!
I have committed wrongs against my soul,
And I confess my guilt—so forgive my trespasses;
Truly, none forgives sin except Thee;
And guide me to the best conduct, for none can direct the way except Thee;
And turn from me that which is evil, for none can avert it from me, save Thee!
What is Thy Command? I am here, O' God!
Happiness attend Thee!
And all good is in Thy hands, and I repent unto Thee! —
'Āmīn'.

(This text has been adapted with modifications in translation from the 'Sacred Journey' by Aḥmad Kamāl).

B: Al-Madīnah

In 'al-Masjid' or 'al-Ḥaram al-Nabawī' (the Prophet's Mosque), the normal 'Salām' or salutation offered by the visitor upon coming by the tomb of the Prophet ﷺ and facing his blessed countenance, pointed in the direction of the Ka'bah, could read thus, followed by the salutations to his 'Khalīfah' (Successor) Abū Bakr and then the latter's successor 'Umar. It may be borne in mind here that, the Prophet ﷺ had once said: "For the one who visits my grave, my intercession (with Allāh) on his accord becomes obligatory". He had also said: "A visit to me after my death is akin to a visit to me during my life-time".

B: (i) Offer of the Salutation of Peace to the Prophet ﷺ

" O' Prophet! Peace be unto thee and Allāh's Mercy and Blessings.
Prayers and Peace be unto thee, O' Messenger of Allāh our Master;
Prayers and Peace be upon thee, O' Prophet of Allāh;
Prayers and Peace be upon thee, O' best of Allāh's Creation;
Prayers and Peace be unto thee, O' thou whom Allāh has sent as a mercy unto all mankind.
Prayers and Peace be unto thee, O' thou who art raised in degree above all Messengers and art the seal of all Prophets; the 'Imām' (leader) of the righteous, and the Commander of the unique.

Peace be unto thee O' thou whom Allāh describeth: 'And verily thou art of a noble nature', 'compassionate and merciful unto the Believers'.

Peace be upon thee and upon all the Prophets and Messengers and upon the members of thy household — goodly, chaste and pure and upon thy wives, chaste and pure — the 'Mothers of the Believers'.

Peace upon thee and all thy Companions and the pious and goodly of God's worshippers!

I bear witness that there is no God but Allāh, He Alone, with no associate unto Him; And I bear witness that our Master Muḥammad is his slave and Messenger.

I bear witness that thou, O' Messenger of Allāh didst convey the Divine Message, fulfil the trust thou wast charged with, and converted mankind and called it to thy Lord's path with wisdom and good counsel, and worshipped thy Lord until certainty was established and doubt dissipated, so that, Allāh bestowed on thee manifold times, the best, most complete and choicest of prayers ever conferred on any of all His Creation.

O' Allāh! Bestow on our Prophet and on our behalf, the best of rewards ever conferred on any of the Prophets and Messengers.

O' Allāh! Grant him intercession with Thee and merit and send him forth Thou, to a lofty station, that, which Thou hath Promised him.

O' Allāh! Bestow Thou Prayers on Muḥammad and the family of Muḥammad, as Thou didst Bestow them on Ibrāhīm and the family of Ibrāhīm; Thou truly art Praised and Glorious.

Our Lord! We believe in what Thou hast revealed (unto Muḥammad) and followed Thy Messenger. So, enlist us Thou amongst those who have borne witness to the truth. And Praise be to Allāh, the Lord of Mankind".

B: (ii) Salutation to the first Caliph Abū Bakr 'al-Ṣiddīq' (resting a little to the Prophet's right)

"Peace be upon thee, Caliph of the Messenger of Allāh, Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq ('the Veracious'). Peace be upon thee, O' One, to whom the Prophet (prayers and peace be upon him) had said: 'O' Abū Bakr, Thou art considered immune by Allāh from fire'. Peace be upon thee, O' Companion of the Messenger of Allāh and the second of the two when they were in the cave… Peace upon thee, O' One, who didst spend all his wealth in the love of Allāh and the love of His Messenger, until left with naught save a cloak. Allāh reward thee on behalf of the 'Ummah' of the Messenger of Allāh with the best of rewards. O' Allāh! Be Thou satisfied with him and raise his degree and honour his station, and Be Thou most open-handed in bestowing Thy reward in merit and virtue upon him, by Thy Grace and Generosity" — 'Āmīn'.

B: (iii) Salutation to the second Caliph 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb 'al-Fārūq' (resting to Abū Bakr's right)

"Peace be upon thee, O' Commander of the Believers, 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. Peace be upon thee, O' One, of whom the Messenger of Allāh (prayers and peace be upon him) had said: "Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb is the lamp of the people of Paradise' and also: 'The sun has never risen over a person better than 'Umar'. Peace be upon thee,

O' One, who always spoke equitably (in justice) and rightly (in truth). Peace be upon thee O' Father of the destitute, the weak, the widowed and the orphaned. May Allāh reward thee on behalf of the 'Ummah' of the Messenger of Allāh with the best of rewards. O' Allāh! Be Thou satisfied with him and raise his degree and honour his station, and Be Thou most open-handed in bestowing Thy reward in merit and virtue upon him, by Thy Grace and Generosity" — 'Āmīn'.

(Translated from a Prayer Book)

B: (iv) The Graveyard of 'al-Baqī' al-Gharqad'

A Supplication to be recited at the graveyard of 'al-Baqī' al-Gharqad' in al-Madīnah, where around ten thousand of the Prophet's 'Ṣaḥābah' (Companions) and innumerable 'Tābi'īn' (Successors following in the pious and meritorious footsteps of their predecessors) are buried, is given below. Till the end of the Ottoman era and the Sharīfian interlude, there were some sixteen domed structures, great and small, shading a number of these graves, either individually or in groups. The most eminent of these were of the third 'Rightly Guided' Caliph, 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān, a number of the Prophet's wives, his son Ibrāhīm and daughters Fāṭimah, Ruqaiyyah and Umm Kulthūm, his uncle 'Abbās, his foster mother Ḥalīmah al-Sa'dīyyah, his grandson al-Ḥasan, his aunts and from amongst the 'Successors', the likes of Imām Ja'far al-Ṣādiq and the Imām Mālik (of the Mālikite School of Jurisprudence). The area of the Graveyard at this time was some 55,000 Sq. Metres.

B: (v) A Supplication to be recited at 'al-Baqī' al-Gharqad'

"Peace be upon Ye, habitation of a nation of Believers, we, by the will of Allāh, will join ye. Ye art the forerunners and we wilt follow soon. May Allāh Forgive us and ye, and have Mercy upon those of ye who have preceded and those of us who wilt come later. O' Allāh, deny us not the same reward in merit Thou hast given them and after them, cause no rift among us, and grant forgiveness to us and them. O' Allāh! forgive the people buried in 'al-Baqī' al-Gharqad'"'—'Āmīn'.

B: (vi) Salutation to the third Caliph 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān 'Dhū'l Nūrayn' (buried in a corner of 'al- Baqī')

"Peace be upon thee, O' 'Dhū'l Nūrayn' ('Possessor of the Two Lights') 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān. Peace be upon thee, O' third of the 'Well-Guided' Caliphs. Peace be upon thee O' One, who did equip the army of the impoverished with specie and kind and did collect the 'Recitation' (al-Qur'ān) and assemble it between two covers. May Allāh reward thee on behalf of the 'Ummah' of the Messenger of Allāh (prayers and peace upon him) with the best of rewards. O' Allāh! Be Thou satisfied with him and raise his degree and honour his station and Be Thou most open-handed in bestowing Thy reward in merit and virtue upon him by Thy Grace and Generosity" — 'Āmīn'.

B: (vii) The Salutation of Farewell upon departing from al-Madīnah

"Farewell O' Messenger of Allāh. Adieu O' Prophet of Allāh, peace and immunity (on you) O' Beloved of Allāh. O' Allāh! Make not this visit to be a last visit to this noble place. Grant that I may come here again, sound in health and well-being and untroubled and secure. If I live 'Inshā Allāh-u-Ta'ālā' (God the Most High Willing), I shall return; And were it that I should die, I entrust to your care my 'Shahādah' (testimony), my deposition (in trust), my oath and my covenant, from this day of ours till the Day of Resurrection, that, I bear witness there is no deity save Allāh, He alone, without a companion unto Him, and I bear witness that, Muḥammad is His slave and His Messenger. Glorified be thy Lord, Lord of Majesty, from that which they (the disbelievers) attribute unto Him and peace upon all His Messengers and Praise unto God, Lord of the Universe".

(Translated from a regular Prayer Book)

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Now to return to the subject of the Qu'aiṭī Sulṭān's experiences in al-Madīnah that Ḥajj season in the words of Ibrāhīm Rif'at: "When the Shaykhs of Yanbu' and its bedouins, as well as those of other places (in the vicinity or 'en route') learnt of the Ruler's ('Awaḍ ibn 'Umar's) arrival in al-Madīnah, they began to visit him without pause, each deputation desirous of coming to terms with him over

O' One, who always spoke equitably (in justice) and rightly (in truth). Peace be upon thee O' Father of the destitute, the weak, the widowed and the orphaned. May Allāh reward thee on behalf of the 'Ummah' of the Messenger of Allāh with the best of rewards. O' Allāh! Be Thou satisfied with him and raise his degree and honour his station, and Be Thou most open-handed in bestowing Thy reward in merit and virtue upon him, by Thy Grace and Generosity" — 'Āmīn'.

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undertaking the preparations for the journey and (providing) the riding camels; and each time he agreed with one party, another would come to spoil it for the one preceding it.... and all of them wanted naught out of this, save to be accompanied by the Ruler, in order for his baggage to be plundered (by them) on the way. The owners of the camels he had hired in Makkah and paid fully in advance to take him to al-Madīnah and then to Jiddah, had fled upon learning that he now intended to go to Yanbu‘ or al-Wajh. The owners of other camels he had hired in al-Madīnah and again paid for in advance, had also done the same".

"Eventually, one of the senior Sharīfs suggested to him that he distribute two thousand pounds (gold) amongst the Shaykhs enroute if he had them with him, in order to be able to travel in safety and security.... When he heard this, he bit his fingers in regret at the rich gifts and the valuables in abundance that he had presented to the Sharīf of Makkah and its (Ottoman) 'Wālī' in the hope that, his care and safety would constitute a part of their precautionary security arrangements until (his) arrival back at Jiddah".

"He then addressed the Governor of al-Madīnah, requesting that he send with him a section of his soldiers to Yanbu‘ or to Jiddah, promising to bear their expenses to either destination and back (to al-Madīnah) fully. However, the request could not be complied with, as the Governor's authority did not allow him to send his soldiers outside al-Madīnah to any distance exceeding a three hour journey without the prior permission of 'al-Daulah' (the Ottoman Administration)".

"So, he next dispatched telegrams to the Sharīf and the 'Wālī' (in Makkah) for authorisation that, some soldiers from the garrison in al-Madīnah be permitted to accompany him as escort to Jiddah and waited for a week without receiving any response. Another telegram to the Khedival Shipping Company with the object of chartering a ship from al-Wajh to Jiddah and then to 'Adan, also produced no result". Concerning this surprising lack of response and particularly from a bona fide shipping concern of repute, Ibrāhīm Rif‘at Pāshā offers the following explanation: "It would seem that the Signal (Message) was detained in the Telegram Office, as it did not agree with the inclination of the Ottoman Administration, or

perhaps, the employees failed to deliver to him the response to the Signal, as is their habit".

He then also goes on to provide this highly intriguing piece of information that, in those days, even "a Signal sent from al-Madīnah to Makkah would first be transmitted to Syria (Damascus) then to Suez, followed by Suākin, then Jiddah and finally Makkah, and this, by the English company, 'Eastern'".

Following this, Ibrāhīm Rif‘at Pāshā adds: "I suggested to the Ruler — (for I used to frequent him in order to get to know the tricks and games being played by the bedouin and to discover from their say what they had decided upon in their hearts) — that, he accompany back the 'Maḥmal' and to seek recourse to no other alternative, for I had read signs of evil on the countenances of those 'contenders'. His opinion concurred with this (suggestion of mine) and he and his company came along with us, save a few". As sufficient camels could not be found to take the whole of his party, "he was forced to send many of his servants and slaves to Yanbu‘ overland, then to Jiddah by sea in sail ships".[808]

Ibrāhīm Rif‘at Pāshā ends narrating the tale of the Sulṭān 'Awaḍ's travails on this journey thus in his own words: "The treatment of this Ruler by the bedouins has reminded me of (some) verses (once) cited y a Moroccan Scholar on the Arabs (Bedouins) of the Ḥejāz, when he performed the Ḥajj in the year 1270H(1854). He had said:

> 'Whoever desires to get acquainted with the distress of grief,
> Should come by the doors of the Arabs (Bedouins).
> He will find camels, goats and wood
> And tents of hair and pegs, wherever he turns.
> They are the biggest of thieves by inheritance of old
> And the most loathsome of people and the vilest of those who rob'.

Now when the bedouins heard these verses, they made up their minds to kill him. However, Allāh protected him and he modified them (through a clever play on vowel signs and letters) into a panegyric in praise of the Shaykh Aḥmad al-Jamāl, a scholar of al-Azhar (in Cairo) and said:

'Whoever desires to cast away the distress of grief,
Should come by the oaths and alliances of the Arabs (Bedouins);
He will find beauty, majesty and noble descent
And poetry and stringed (musical) instruments wherever he turns.
They are the most honourable of peoples by inheritance of old
And the most magnanimous and rewarding of those who bestow'."[809]

It would not be out of place to mention here at the end of this episode that, when donations were solicited by the Sublime Porte for financing the construction of the Ḥejaz Railway, with his personal experience fresh in mined, 'Awaḍ ibn 'Umar was found to be a leading donor amongst his peers and Harry St. John ('AbdAllāh) Philby, well known for his critical nature and views, as well as his meanness with praise, save perhaps where it concerned his own few rare and select heroes, describes him in his book, 'Sheba's Daughters' as "a Monarch of outstanding ability and distinction".[810]

Many accounts mention that 'Awaḍ's father "al-Ḥāj" 'Umar ibn 'Awaḍ ibn 'AbdAllāh has set off from these Holy places of Islām for India, to seek his fortune in distant climes after performing the Pilgrimage and taking advantage of the availability during the Ḥajj season, of more frequent shipping from Jiddah towards his destination. This could possibly have been in 1207H(1793), but more probably was during 1228H(1813), as he died in 1282H(1865).[811]

Fortified by this great spiritual experience before he set sail for foreign shores, he was to start discovering soon enough after arrival at his destination that, destiny was to treat him with much greater consideration than most others like him in that alien land. Hence, long before his death, he was to find himself one of the two senior-most holders of military command over irregular Arab troops, the mainstay of local Indian armies then, at the court of India's premier ruler, the Niẓām of Ḥaidarābād and ultimately to bear witness to his own vessels powered by sail and steam, plying the Arabian Sea and the Red Sea routes, transporting Pilgrims from the Indian and the Arabian ports to the Holy Land and conveying them back.[812]

Many of 'Umar ibn 'Awaḍ's descendants were also to be blessed with the unique honour of visiting the Holy Sanctuaries and performing the 'Ḥajj', having been received in the Holy Cities with great consideration, honour and kindness. In addition to the manner in which his son 'Awaḍ, his grandson 'Umar and his great-grandson Muḥammad had performed the Ḥajj and which has already been described, this grandson ('Umar ibn 'Awaḍ ibn 'Umar) was again to perform it as Sulṭān in 1348H(1930). The latter's nephew and successor (the son of his elder brother Ghālib) Ṣāleḥ ibn Ghālib ibn 'Awaḍ was also to become a 'Ḥāj' (a Pilgrim who has fulfilled this religious obligation) during the 'Ḥajj' season of 1349H(1931) and his (Ṣāleḥ's) second cousin and brother-in-law Muḥammad ibn Ṣalāḥ ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Umar was also to share the honour with him, this as per religious interpretation, for he was destined to die in Makkah after having arrived there with the intention of performing the 'Ḥajj' during the Season of 1351H(1933). All of them had actually been received upon arrival on board the vessels that had transported them, by no less a person than the great founder of the Sa'ūdi monarchy and Philby's hero, King 'Abdal-'Azīz ibn 'Abdal-Raḥmān Āl Sa'ūd himself as I have come to learn from Ḥaḍramīs who claimed to have been eye-witnesses. Again, like Sulṭān 'Awaḍ ibn 'Umar and his party, his younger son, Sulṭān 'Umar and grandson Sulṭān Ṣāleḥ had both enjoyed the highly rare honour of having the Prophet's blessed 'Ḥujrah' (Chamber) in al-Madīnah opened for them.[813] It is interesting to note here that, this latter piece of information had been provided to me by the late Sulṭān Ḥuṣayn ibn 'Alī al-Kathīrī of Sai'ūn, whose own father had also passed away while performing the 'Ḥajj'.

Something may also be added here of Sulṭān Ṣāleḥ, who has already been introduced earlier in connection with that project in al-Madīnah for the manufacture of the 'Iḥrām' cloth. This scheme also deserves to be elaborated upon a little, because of a number of simple, yet unique features inherent in its conception and in some other aspects of its application. Besides, Sulṭān Ṣāleḥ too, despite his many rare gifts and qualities amongst his peers of the day, has remained surprisingly unrecognised, though often enough described by those who came into contact with him—Arabs and Europeans—as one of the most distinguished and outstanding personalities they had encountered, as an individual, as well as a ruler. Dubbed "the Father and Pioneer of Ḥaḍramaut's Resurgence" by those con-

temporaries who have written about that period of Ḥaḍramī history, such as Ṣalāh al-Bakrī and Sa'īd Bāwazīr, he must have been one of the earliest princes from the Arabian Peninsula to visit Europe during the early fourteenth century 'Ḥijrī' (20th c CE). This he did during 1324H(1906), in order to negotiate amongst others, an oil concession with the famous British firm, Eastern Syndicate Ltd. This was the second earliest such agreement to be negotiated by, or on behalf of an Arabian ruler. It was to be followed in its wake somewhat later on by one with King 'Abdal-'Azīz Āl Sa'ūd and unfortunately with the same negative result as in the case of the former.[814] This was partly because as supply during that era well exceeded demand, their policy then was to acquire rights and pay royalties and rent, but leave all heavy exploration activity to suit their future convenience.

Ṣāleḥ's range of interests was not merely wide, but also founded on a genuine intellectual curiosity and went deep indeed, just as his concern for his fellow beings and the "have-nots" did.

Regarding the lighter side of some the Sulṭān's interests, the famous British writer James (later on, Jan) Morris in his book—'The Hashemite Kings', mentions for example that, he knew of the former having dubbed amongst others, a Charlie Chaplin film into Arabic.[815] Then, it is, or was also well-known, at least in his day that, he had written the script for a comedy titled "'Abth al-Mushīb" ('Tomfoolery of the Aged') and shot it with local actors. The great and versatile Ḥaḍramī scholar and poet Saiyyid Abū Bakr ibn Shihāb, who had been to Constantinople to praise the Sulṭān 'Abdal-Ḥamīd II and had been rewarded amongst other things with a decoration as already mentioned, was to refer in a poem to Ṣāleḥ's shooting skills and sporting prowess earlier on in his youth, in the following versified words in Arabic: "In the presence of one used to hunting eight tigers in a single day! How may ordinary mortals stand!".[816]

On his interest in gardening and its result, Philby is found reporting in 'Sheba's Daughters': "I had already heard enthusiastic accounts of the Sulṭān's gardens at Ghayl, but I was by no means prepared for what I saw. I cannot say more than that it is by far the best garden I have ever seen anywhere in Arabia". "It was indeed a marvelous garden—a paradise for birds, green pigeons and Bulbuls, Rufous Warblers, a kind of Pratincole and everywhere… the old nests of the Weaver-bird".[817]

As an intellectual, Sulṭān Ṣāleḥ was a recognised authority in several fields, with many published and unpublished works to his credit. These range from heavy tomes on topics such as jurisprudence, to manuals on mathematics, electricity, mechanics, engineering and even nautical navigation. Works relating to the former topic of 'Fiqh' have been praised by the then Grand Muftī of Ḥaḍramaut, the already introduced, erudite 'Abdal-Raḥmān ibn 'Ubaydillāh, in such terms as "high in value, research and freshness of expression…" and that, "the tongue of praise turns heavy through exhaustion (due to the lengths it will have to go to) whilst reporting on (the merits of these works), after (their) detailed examination".[818]

On the international, cultural and philanthropic scene, he was intimately involved for example in a project and as a patron to establish a university in Ḥaidarābād, styled "Jāmi'at Dār al-'Irfān" ("the University of the House of Knowledge"), primarily for the propagation of Arabic and Islāmic education. Sadly though, this project was not destined to travel far after its birth due to a large number of political upheavals in the region.[819]

Another, almost allied project of major significance that he was associated with as patron was the "Hei'at Nashr al-Thaqāfah al-'Arabīyyah" ("Organisation for the Propogation of Arabic"), the purpose of which was to work at planting institutions for teaching Arabic and nurturing the inherent love for it in the hearts of all Muslims as the language of the Qur'ān, and in all the non-Arabic speaking parts of the world where Muslims exist, right from the very basic grass roots to the highest professional level, till it would rightly take its due place as the 'Lingua Franca' of all Muslim peoples of the world!—This scheme had the full backing of scholars, officialdom and the nobility in both, Egypt and India. For example in Egypt, it had the moral and material backing of such literary figures of those times as, al-Shaykh Ṭanṭāwī al-Jauharī, Muṣṭafā Pāshā 'Abdal-Razzāq (Rector of al-Azhar), 'Abdal-Wahhāb 'Azzām, Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, Aḥmad Amīn, Manṣūr Riḍā Fahmī (Director of the Egyptian University), Muḥammad al-'Arabī al-Marākeshī, al-Shaykh al-Ṣāwī al-Sha'lān, al-Shaykh 'Abdal-Raḥīm al-Mufassir and the great and indefatigable Pan-Islāmist 'Abdal-Raḥmān Pāshā 'Azzām. Some great Indian scholars, two of whom had studied at al-Azhar, Muḥammad Ḥasan al-A'ẓamī and 'Abdal-Mu'īd Khān and the Grand Muftī 'Abdal-Qādir al-Badāyūnī were amongst the more notable names from Ḥaidarābād.[820]

However, this project also lamentably was to become a victim of the changes wrought the world over by the aftermath of the Second World War, when Pan-Islāmism was replaced by petty nationalist movements. Nevertheless, vestiges of it have continued to survive at least in Ḥaidarābād to this day and Certificates and Diplomas devised for it are still presented to those who have followed the curricula and satisfied the examiners at the various required levels.

Another of Sulṭān Ṣāleḥ's interesting philanthropic schemes, which has already been touched upon earlier, was the one associated with the welfare and economic upliftment of the people of the Ḥejāz, starting with al-Madīnah. The organisation established to manage this important charity was originally named: "The Advisory Council of the Two Holy Sanctuaries for Hand-Made Cloth".

When Sulṭān Ṣāleḥ had performed the Ḥajj in 1349H(1931) while heir and acting regent for his uncle Sulṭān 'Umar, he was much affected by the economic conditions prevailing in the Holy Cities, suffering at the time from the negative global economic trends of the post-War era, worsened further by the effects of a number of droughts due to lack of rain and the recently concluded struggles between the various rivals, such as the Ottomans and the Sharīfs and then the latter and the Sulṭān 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd of Najd. This was before the discovery of oil and the Ḥejāz was known to experience such travails from time to time for those periodical lapses of nature. Hence, he had thus struck upon the idea of establishing, starting with al-Madīnah, a "Dār al-Ṣanā'ah" ("House of Industry"), for the making of the 'Iḥrām'—the set of the two pieces of unstitched cloth (usually cotton), which the Pilgrims don when entering the state of consecration for performing the "Umrah' (the lesser Pilgrimage) and the Ḥajj.

He had rightly seen that, the demand for it, at least locally to start with, was certainly there and many countries from where large numbers of Muslims arrived for either of the two Pilgrimages could also be induced to import any surplus quantities of the material for use by their own Pilgrims on their way to Makkah. Cotton cloth for the long shirt—the 'Thobe' and the plain white coffin sheets ('al-Kafan') used by Muslims could also be made by these units, with room for further diversification later on.

Since the genesis of this idea was in attempting to help the people of the Ḥejāz to assist themselves in improving their own

economic well-being, it was decided initially to send some experts over to them from abroad in order that they may provide on the job training to their brethren, with the further possibility of sending selected personnel from the Ḥejāz to centres of the cotton industry in India, Egypt and elsewhere later on, to enable them to acquire further sophistication and experience. For the purpose of managing this Charity, Sulṭān Ṣāleḥ was to set up a committee based in Ḥaidarābād, then a major source of charity for Islāmic causes throughout the lands inhabited by the 'Ummah', himself making sufficient donations in cash and property there—(no less than six prime pieces of real estate with handsome rents)—for its initial financing and ongoing expenditure. He had also in the meantime proceeded to secure a Charter for the purpose in hand from King 'Abdal-'Azīz ibn 'Abdal-Raḥmān Āl Sa'ūd. This was granted without delay on the condition that, the Charity ought to ensure that it strictly adhered to the purpose for which the mandate was sought. Following this, suitable premises were rapidly acquired in al-Madīnah and appropriately named the "Dār al-Ṣanā'ah".

By 1352H(1933), the first set of 'Iḥrām' (Cloth) to be manufactured locally was presented to the delighted King 'Abdal-'Azīz in Makkah. This 'Dar al-Ṣanā'ah', undoubtedly the very first 'self-help' venture of its kind to be set up in the newly established Sa'ūdī Kingdom's history, was destined to flourish for some years, training several batches of local personnel in spinning and weaving. However, as mentioned earlier, the discovery and exploitation in the Kingdom of large quantities of oil, soon began to over-shadow the activity and importance of the 'Dar al-Ṣanā'ah' and other grave political events in the region, such as the declaration of the Second World War, that followed its establishement and the other dramatic events that ensued later on, were to render this Project and the 'rationale' behind it, unattractive, despite its genuine economic viability where such factors as continuing growth in demand, employment and profitability were concerned, tied as these would also have been to the increase in population and the numbers of Pilgrims each year.

Nevertheless, such is al-Madīnah's esteem in the hearts of all Muslims, that, though Sulṭān Ṣāleḥ left Ḥaidarābād just before its political incorporation into the newly formed Indian Union in September 1948(1367H) and passed away in 1375H(1956), the endowments he had made in Ḥaidarābād still continue to be associ-

ated with the blessed name of the Prophet's beloved City, and support a number of modern educational institutions administered along progressive lines in that major Indian City—particularly as the promotion of education was a matter very close to his heart. As a touching, albeit inadequate reminder of his role, a portrait of him as that body's generous founder and patron, still hangs in the office of the Charity's Director, along with photographs of its first Secretary, the premises of the 'Dār al-Ṣanā'ah' in al-Madīnah with its staff and employees, as well as of the original Charter granted by King 'Abdal-'Azīz Āl Sa'ūd to it for the purpose outlined above.

Presently, this Council operates all its charity establishments and institutions, currently limited to Ḥaiḍarābād and its environs, under the banner of "Al-Madīna". For example, while its Centre and Head Office is known as "Bait al-Madīna" ("Al-Madīnah House"), the institutions it manages have such names as: "Madina Public School", "Madina Junior College", "Madina Technical College", "Madina Education Centre" and so on, with finalised plans and designs for the further expansion of its activities into teaching Medicine and Engineering awaiting grant of permission by the local Government authorities—but that is another story.[821]

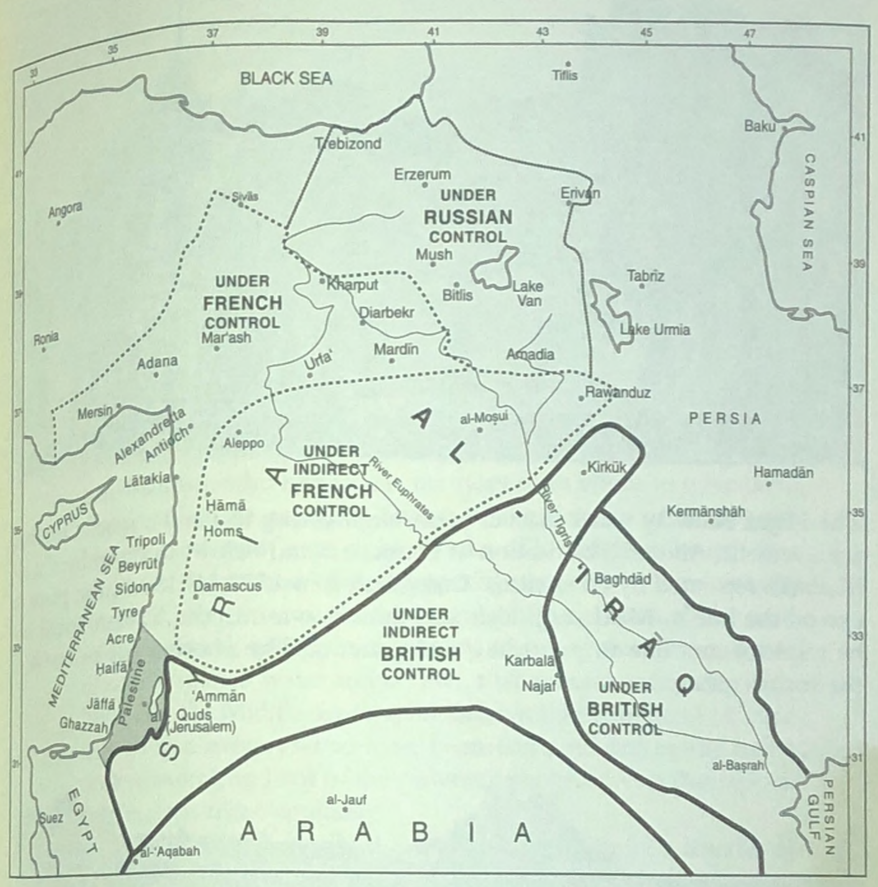


Copy of a German map regards the Ḥejāz Railway Project and its status during 1906 (1324 H) as forwarded to the British Ambassador in Constantinople alongside a report by the Vice-Consul in Mersin. At the time of its inauguaration during 1326 H (1908), only the distance between Damascus and al-Madīnah (1302 Km) had been built. This ceremony was to coincide with the introduction of electricity into al-Madīnah and on that occasion, Field Marshal Kāẓim Pāshā (Director-General of the Railway Project), its Chief Engineer Mukhtār Bey and several of the City's dignitaries were raised by the populace on their shoulders and paraded through the City in joy. The Line's final terminus via Makkah and Jiddah was ultimately to be al-Ḥudaydah in the Yaman. However, due to grave political events, the Project was sadly not destined to proceed further.



The shaded area represents in approximation the area for which the Sharīf Husayn had initially sought the guarantee of independence from Britain in return for his support and the Arab Revolt in his letter of 11th Ramaḍān 1333 H (14th July 1915) to the High Commissioner in Cairo, Sir Henry McMahon. These demands were based on the 'Damascus Protocol' drafted earlier that year by the Arab Secret Societies and pronounced several decades earlier before it, by Ibrāhīm Pāshā, the son of Muḥammad ʿAlī.

(Based on George Antonius' 'The Arab Awakening')

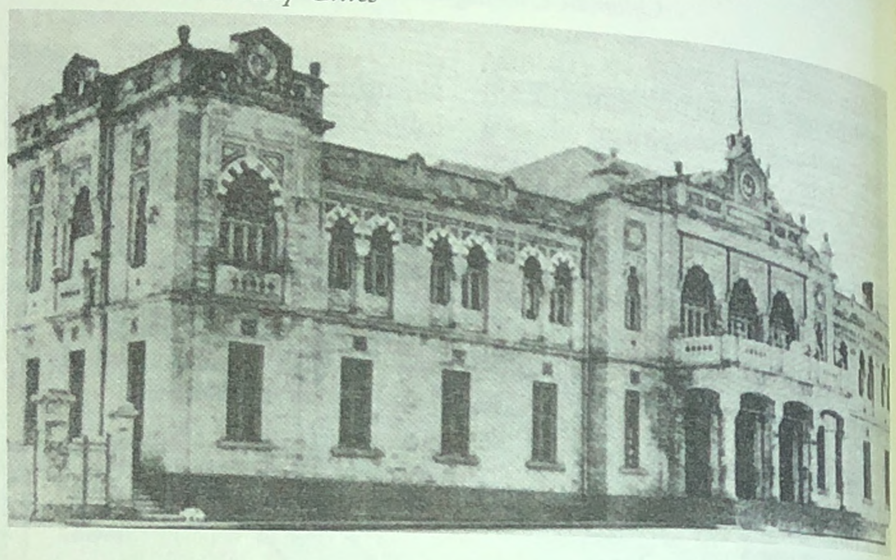


BRITISH — — — — — FRENCH ——— RUSSIAN

The Proposed Partition of Greater Syria and Al-'Irāq as Devised by Sykes, Picot and Sazanov in their Agreement of 1334H (1916), Known Since by their Names.

The Shaded Portion of Palestine as indicated was to be under a British Mandate with special privileges and rights for the French and the Russians.

(Based on George Antonius' "The Arab Awakening").



The Ḥejāz Railway was a marvel of an engineering feat and a great Ottoman achievement. Above: The Station at Damascus and below, the terminus at al-Madināh separated by 75 stations. Inaugurated in 1326 H (1908), the plans to extend the line to Makkah, Jiddah and then down into the Yaman could not be implemented due to political developments. The photograph below is of the station restored.



CHAPTER XIII

Ottoman Disintegration and Withdrawal from the Ḥejāz

A: 'The Eastern Question', 'the Great Game', the 'Young Turks' and the Global Conflict

The Ottoman Empire has often been maligned as most great empires of its day on two major counts, maladministration and exploitation. Indigenous nationalists hailing from its former provinces have often been found at the head of those leading this charge and the pan-Islāmists, who respect the memory of its efforts to serve Islām, discovered to be acting in favour of the defence of its integrity. Nevertheless, with over eight decades of hindsight to benefit from since the destruction of that imperial state and its administrative structure, very few would dare question that, almost all the unresolved political, geo-political issues and others that govern natural resources such as water and oil etc., that are met with today in the Near and the Middle-Eastern region, would be found to be traceable to that event and to have been compounded by the lack of understanding and wit of the powers or governments that replaced it to address them equitably.

Though this is hardly the appropriate forum for a lengthy debate over this issue, yet, it can hardly be denied that, the Ottoman Empire did go through long phases of mal-administration once its early vigour had been exhausted, with corruption in several of its guises rife and rampant at many levels. Nevertheless, even in its weakest moments, the Ottoman State never appears to have lost its sense of political integrity and its awareness of the prime cardinal pillars, upon the defence of which, the security of the edifice of the Ottoman Caliphate and its rationale stood.

Rightly or otherwise, and particularly since the tenth Hijrī century (sixteenth century CE) following the conquest of the Mamlūk dominions and the acquisition of the custodianship of the Holy Sanctuaries of Islām, the Ottoman Empire was beheld by the vast majority of that religion's followers as the champion and guardian of their faith's interests. That it faithfully made a very serious at-

tempt throughout its history to measure up to that role, also goes without saying, with the well-being and the defence of the Holy Sanctuaries against all challenges and threats being perceived by Ottoman officialdom, as by the majority of the Islāmic peoples, as one of that State's major responsibilities. Indeed, the following excerpt from a dispatch dated 19th November 1902 (Sha'bān 1320H) by the British Consul at Damascus, may serve to sum up and emphasise Ottoman attitude in this regard best. It reads: "The Sulṭān would rather lose all the rest of the Empire put together than forfeit his right to the guardianship of the holy cities on which his claim to the title of the Commander of the Faithful (Emir-el-Mumenin)—(So held, though erroneously, by the general public) largely depended".[822] Reminding all that, the administration of the Ḥejāz and the Ḥajj "was for the Turks an always thankless task", Harry St. John Philby, then a British official and no known admirer of the Ottoman State, further records amidst his impressions following a visit to the Ḥejāz, that: " it is generally believed that the departure of the Turks was hailed with delight by the people of the Ḥejāz, but that is far from the truth".[823]

Few people realise even today that, the great European empires of that era had many more Muslim subjects in their fold than the Ottoman Empire's twenty-two odd million adherents to Islām. For example, while the Netherlands may have laid claim to thrice as many, the British Empire boasted of over five-fold the number in India and Africa alone. This, in addition to making it the largest Muslim empire of this era, would also have rendered it the most interested of these colonial powers in all issues and developments affecting Islām and the Muslims the globe over, as well as sensitive to them, as these inevitably happened to reflect on its own political concerns. They certainly also applied to the other empires with Muslim populations, but in a degree in keeping with their own sizes and the strength of their Muslim subjects. At this stage and considered on its own, the Turkish element in the Ottoman Empire's population of some thirty million, happened to represent a mere seven and a half million. This, for reasons of comparison, may be cited to be about two-thirds that of India's largest principality then, Ḥaidarābād, ruled at the time by the Muslim Niẓāms, the hereditary Viceroys of the Mughals, until the disappearance of the latter dynasty in 1274H(1857) following the great Indian Rebellion or "the Sepoy Mutiny" (as the British preferred to call it). The Arabs

in the Ottoman dominions, at ten and a half million souls, then well exceeded the Turks and almost equaled that Indian State's population at the dawn of the fourteenth century of the 'Hijrah' (twentieth century CE), although only around fifteen percent in this latter case were Muslims.

For a variety of reasons, ever since Britain had gained the upper hand in the politics of India, it had willy-nilly found itself on the side of the Ottoman Empire. Perhaps one of the most important of reasons for this was the role that the latter played as a buffer in the face of Russia's determined drive southwards towards India's borders and other British interests. Another equally significant, if not more important factor had been the potential ability of the Sulṭān as the generally recognised "Khalīfah of the Muslims" to call upon the emotional loyalty of large numbers of this religion's followers, with those belonging to the dominions of other empires proving no exception. These important factors, for all too obvious reasons, had made the continuing survival of the Ottoman State, though not necessarily always the territorial integrity of its empire, a sensitive issue and a major cause for concern for British policy-makers, one to which they devoted great time and effort. It is for this reason that, throughout the thirteenth century Hijrī (nineteenth century) and up till the beginning of the First World War, British policy towards the Ottoman Empire may be viewed as a continuing attempt, as stressed by Lord Palmerston and albeit in furtherance of its own interests, to keep "the sick man alive", but without ever allowing him to get sufficiently well. Though the propagation of the use of the term "sick man" in reference to the Ottoman State owes much to Palmerston, nevertheless, it is said to have first been used by the Czar Nicholas I in 1260H(1844) during an audience granted by him to the British envoy Sir Hamilton Seymour.[824] For example, as late as August 1914(1332H), on the eve of the declaration of the First World War, the British Prime Minister Asquith was to go on record stressing his strong opposition to any aggressive action against Turkey which would excite "our Mussulmans in India and Egypt".[825]

If additional and earlier practical proof of adherence to this policy was needed, then the Crimean War (1269H/1853 till 1272H/1856) against Russia, and British and French support for the Ottoman Empire, amply furnishes it. Furthermore, it was after this War that Western interests in the Ottoman world, official and commercial,

and at all levels were to multiply. The Ottoman decision makers also well understood these political and strategic factors at play. In fact, leading members of the Committee of Union and Progress ('Ittiḥād wa Taraqqī' in Arabic, 'Ittihad ve Terakki' in Turkish and C.U.P in abbreviation and of which more later)—who were gathering strength by the day in Ottoman affairs since the coup of 1326H(1908) against the Sulṭān's autocratic authority, had genuinely felt that, the Ottoman Government needed a formal treaty with a great power like Britain, France or Germany, in order for its integrity to be guaranteed and particularly from Russian ambitions.[826] This, it was felt, would provide it with the much needed opportunity to successfully carry out reforms, develop and build its own strength along modern lines. Indeed, during 1896(1314H), the Russian Ambassador to the Sublime Porte, Nelidov, had tried harder than ever to convince his young master Nicholas II and a Crown Council of the feasibility and benefits of a plan he had been proposing since some four years, for a surprise lightning assault on the Straits in order to "turn the Bosphorus into a Russian Gibraltar".[827]

In pursuance of this vehemently aspired towards goal, senior members of the C.U.P Government had approached all these major powers, one after another, well before the clouds of a global conflict had started to gather on the horizons, only to be rebuffed. For example, as early as 1911(1329H), the British had rejected the approaches of the pro-British Ottoman Finance Minister, Muḥammad Jāvid (Cavid).[828]

Meanwhile, between May and the end of the third week of July 1914(1332H), the French alike, though sympathetic, had politely refused to entertain the approaches of the Francophone Minister of the Marine, Aḥmad Jamāl (Çemal) Pāshā out of consideration for Russian sensitivities. This was when upon being invited to attend naval manoeuvres due to be held during July that year, he had attempted to emphasise before the French Foreign Ministry representatives the Political and Economic advantages of an official "rapprochement" between the Ottoman Empire and France.[829]

Then, in a sombre mood, matching no less than near despair, the powerful Minister of the Interior Muḥammad Ṭal'āt Pāshā had even unbelievably decided to turn to the Russians. His hope was to strike a reasonable deal with them by exploiting their mounting concern over rapid actual and prospective German economic and political advances and gains, not to mention their growing military

presence on the Straits. Though he was actually received by the Czar Nicholas II at Livadia in the Crimea in May 1914(1332H), and officially did put forward proposals for an alliance to the Russian Foreign Minister, Sazanov, his attempts were finally doomed to failure, as, according to the basic Russian manner of thinking and policy governing their relations with the Ottoman Empire, the latter's loss was always inadvertently interpreted as an inevitable Russian gain.[830]

Following this failure, Anwar Pāshā (Minister of War) was next asked to approach the Germans, with whom was enjoyed cordial relations. When he did so, they too were to turn him down. This was as late as 22nd July 1914 (around the 'Īd al-Fiṭr of 1332H). However, the declaration of the World War was to change all that soon enough.[831]

In fact, following Muḥammad Jāvid's approaches to the British government during 1911(1332H), Winston Churchill, then a member of the British Cabinet, had somewhat prophetically written to his colleague, the Foreign Secretary, that Turkey could prove "the greatest land weapon the Germans could use against us".[832] His assessment however, had not been appreciated at the time, implying what in actual fact amounts to a negation and reversal of a principle of foreign policy, that had avidly been pursued by successive British governments for almost a hundred years in protection of their imperial interests.

At about this time, it would appear that the Kaiser Wilhelm II and his High, Command had also come around to holding similar views to Churchill regarding the advantages of an alliance with the Ottoman Empire. Indeed, he must have recalled what Napoleon before him had realised, that, since Britain was a small island nation whose prosperity and power were derived from trade, therefore, the best way to reduce her would be to threaten her colonies which provided her with raw materials, as well as ready markets for her products, along with the inter-linking supply routes, whose control enabled her to do so with such facility. In the conception of such a strategy, the value to Germany of an alliance with the Ottoman Empire whose influence and dominions sprawl across three continents, could hardly be overlooked. Consequently, with the inevitability of the onslaught of the War, the Kaiser was to over-rule the low opinion of the Ottoman Empire as a potential military ally that was held by a number of his ministers, advisers and generals and

which had been, instrumental earlier on in the articulation of their refusal to this proposal. On another note, it is said that, like Napoleon before him, the Kaiser was also romantically and intellectually attracted to Islām, if his correspondence is anything to go by. In a private letter dated 9th November 1898(1316H), to his cousin the Czar Nicholas II following his highly publicised and successful visit to al-Quds (Jerusalem), he was to write: "If I had gone there without any Religion at all, I certainly would have turned Mahometan".[833]

Thus, when the Ottoman Empire, the natural and traditional former ally of Britain due to the shared aspects of their political interests and goals and their mutual antagonism towards Czarist Russia's expansionism, formally entered the Great War on the side of Germany and Austria-Hungary, the British and to a lesser extent the French, had to search for and devise means to protect their imperial interests in lands inhabited by Muslims, where the inevitable call by the Caliph of Islām for a "Jehād" against the enemies of the 'Ummah' (Muslim Community) would have serious consequences of several sorts. The most immediate and serious of these at the time would have been the negative effect this was going to have on the loyalty and support of their Muslims subjects, particularly so the soldiers, as Muslims hailing from different martial backgrounds, constituted an important segment of manpower in the British, French and Dutch imperial or colonial forces. For example, during the Second World War, the regiments of India were to end up the greater recipients of all the British and Colonial forces of Britain's highest award for confirmed exceptional display of valour in action, the 'VC' (Victoria Cross). Concerning the prelude to the Ottoman entry into this War on the side of the Central European Powers, it may be added that, even almost on the eve of the signing of the alliance treaty (due to expire at the end of 1918 or Rabī' al-Awwal 1337H), the government of the Committee of Union and Progress was seriously divided over the issue. Anwar Pāshā (Minister of War) was its only staunch supporter, with Ṭal'at, Jamāl and Khalil Bey (President of the Chamber of Deputies) only falling into line reluctantly, as their own endeavours in other directions had failed to produce any tangible results. In actual fact, even at that stage, Prince Sa'īd Ḥalīm Pāshā, out of regard for his government's weak financial status and lack of preparedness, particularly for an impending conflict of global magnitude, was in favour of observing strict, if

not practical neutrality and this thinking seems to have enjoyed considerable support amongst many, if not the majority of his colleagues in government.[834]

Why, Jamāl Pāshā in his 'Memories' even stresses that, while only an essential few in the Cabinet had been 'initiated' into the secret of the conclusion of this alliance with the Central European Powers and this mostly after the actual event, as had been in his case, this news, even at the time and for quite a while later on, was to be concealed from several of the other members. In fact, when Prince Sa'īd Ḥalīm Pāshā (a grandson of Muḥammad 'Alī and then Grand Wazīr and Foreign Minister), had first informed Jamāl of it and asked for his opinion, all he could muster in response under the weight of the surprise was an old Arabic saying, which translates as: "May the best rest in what has transpired".[835] It is also of interest to reveal here that, due to the political sensitivity of the Treaty and the feared opposition to it, a secrecy clause against its proclamation had been included in its Article 8, particularly as there were said to be strong signs of resentment in the ranks of the Ottoman officer corps also against German high-handedness in inter-relations between the two forces and especially in matters involving training.[836] However, as far as the Ottomans were concerned, the Treaty in substance and according to their way of thinking, had primarily and formally been directed against Russian ambitions at the expense of the Ottoman Empire's territorial integrity.

Furthermore, to add to the completion of the portrayal of the contradicting scenario generally prevailing in Turkey at this time, it may be observed that, just as a German mission under Field Marshal von der Goltz, to be followed in office by General Otto Liman von Sanders was helping the Ottoman army modernise itself, nearly as large a British mission under Admiral Sir Arthur Limpus was assisting the Ottoman navy to attain similar goals. In addition, two major British firms, Vickers and Armstrong Whitworth were also then busy improving Constantinople's docking facilities for super large and heavy vessels, as the Ottoman Government had ordered two large battleships of the new Dreadnought class, named the 'Sulṭān Osman I' and the 'Reshadieh', from British shipyards on Tyneside. This had been done after raising funds through public subscription, in which women throughout the Empire had participated by donating their jewelry and school children by contributing their pocket money. Meanwhile, Ottoman bonds were also

being sold in London at this time to finance further British enterprises.[837]

In this saga of the Ottoman Government's quest for alliance with a Great Power, and the subsequent rejections, the surprising role of Winston Churchill, as First Lord of the Admiralty, in driving it firmly into Germany's arms despite his initial views and forebodings to the contrary, is also worth telling. Just as he had been a strong protagonist of an alliance with the Ottoman Empire earlier on, as shown, upon sensing, amongst other signs, a drift in the direction of his Government's interests vis à vis the Sublime Porte, he had swiftly turned into an inveterate antagonist, with aspirations of benefiting from that Empire's generally expected discomfiture and eventual dismemberment.[838] Even prior to the declaration of hostilities between Britain and Germany, he had, with his usual display of bold conception and enterprise, but without legal precedent, ordered the seizure of the above two Ottoman super vessels commissioned and paid for by the Ottoman government and being built in Britain and then gone on to incorporate them into the British Royal Navy to bring its superiority over Germany in this class of battleships to nine. While the Ottomans saw this as an ouvert act of "British piracy" and called it so, it must be said in all fairness to Churchill that, this display of initiative by him, had also acquired upon his recommendation, the endorsement of the British Cabinet on 31st July, 1914 (Shawwāl 1332H) and according to the newspapers of the nation at large as well, which was led to believe that, he had "purchased" the ships from the Ottomans, who, as mentioned earlier, had already paid for them in full. What was to add further to the surprise in this case was that, warships of this class being built by British firms in their dockyards for other countries, were excluded from similar treatment, despite the supposed need of the hour.[839]

As can be imagined, this high-handed act by the British could only have served to strengthen the position of the pro-German elements in the Ottoman Government headed by Anwar Pāshā. Now, taking full advantage of the crisis, they had, within a day (1st August 1914/Shawwāl 1332H) of the British action, succeded in formalising the secret alliance with Germany, the prospective terms of which, Anwar, with the connivance of the Prime Minister Prince Sa'īd Ḥalīm Pāshā and Ṭal'at Bey and the ignorance of several of his ministerial and other colleagues, had been exploring for quite some time, but hesitantly holding back for a more opportune moment to

reveal it, due to the expected general antagonism amongst their colleagues towards involvement in a major war, as already alluded to. In accordance with the terms of this Treaty, in return for a German guarantee of defence against aggression, the Ottoman Empire had agreed to enter into any conflict involving Germany with reference to her treaty commitments with the Austro-Hungarian Empire.[840] An interesting outcome to emerge immediately after the signing of this alliance was that, as the Ottoman Government had not officially been made aware of the appropriation of its battleships by Britain till 3rd August 1914 (Shawwāl 1332H), though it unofficially had a good inkling about it, Anwar Pāshā and his colleagues cleverly decided to extract maximum mileage out of this incident by offering to Germany, the bigger of the two battleships, the 'Sulṭān Osman I', then reputed to possess more guns than any such vessel afloat and to order its immediate delivery and divertion to a German port in the North Sea. As Berlin was then ignorant of what had just transpired in London, for the official intimation concerning this step had not yet been announced by the British government or conveyed to its Ottoman counterpart, this unexpected gift was to be immediately and delightedly accepted by it as a sign of Ottoman sincerity and goodwill towards the recently concluded alliance and also subsequently to be generously rewarded, even though the German navy was not destined ever to cast its eyes upon this super battleship.[841]

Then about a week later, when the cruisers, the 'Goeben' and the 'Breslau' of the German Mediterranean Squadron called on Constantinople from Sicilian waters after refueling at Messina, in a political manoeuvre, Churchill, who by now seems to have developed a bee in his bonnet about the Ottoman Empire and with an obsessive desire to punish, ordered the British Mediterranean Fleet shadowing these two warships, to blockade the Dardanelles. Overconfident as usual, he had done this without even so much as bothering to seek the approval of his colleagues in the British Cabinet. As this was clearly an open act of war, for which this body was not yet fully prepared, he was forced to backtrack from this hasty decision under their pressure.[842]

On this occasion, in order to prevent his ships from being sunk by the British and to appear at the same time, to be honouring the Convention governing the Straits, as well as to help save the face of the Ottoman authorities, who then were pretending to maintain a

neutral stance on the surface in this crisis, the Kaiser Wilhelm II had also decided to agree to the suggestion of the Ottoman Government that, the above two German cruisers be transferred to the Ottoman Black Sea Fleet under the pretence that they had been sold to it for eighty million marks. Hence, Jamāl Pāshā (the Minister of the Marine) was accordingly to receive them on 16th August 1914 (Shawwāl 1332H) amidst great ceremony and rejoicing. The 'Goeben' was now named 'Yavuz Sultan Selim' and the 'Breslau' was called 'Midilli'.[843]

In the face of this, Churchill, on 2nd September (Shawwāl 1332H), was to issue orders, this time with the British Cabinet's approval, that, these two cruisers be sunk alongside any other Ottoman vessels accompanying them, while leaving it to the British Squadron's discretion to challenge at will other Ottoman naval shipping also. This whim of Churchill's, put into practice, was to lead the Ottoman Fleet to react by sealing off the Straits and heavily mining the waters, which in turn was gravely to affect Russia's supply route and exports through its only warm water outlet, thus contributing greatly towards that Empire's early collapse.[844]

Then, on 31st October 1914 (Dhū'l-Qa'dah 1332H), Churchill, now in search of a 'causus belli', but with the British Cabinet's approval on this occassion, was to dispatch a provocative ultimatum to the Ottoman govenment demanding that it expel all German servicemen. However, knowing well and correctly that it would be rejected, he again decided not to bother to revert to his Government colleagues in ordering the immediate commencement of hostilities with the Ottoman Empire. These, it might be added, were initiated by him on 1st November 1914 (Dhū'l-Ḥijjah 1332H) without a formal declaration of war and on that same day, two British destroyers were to sink an Ottoman minelayer off Smyrna, while a day later, a British light cruiser was to shell the fort at al-'Aqabah on the Red Sea, as a landing party destroyed the signals station there.[845] It is interesting to observe here that, nobody was to declare this "a day of infamy" or anything close to it, as was done in the case of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour some two and a half decades later during the Second World War.

The next day (3rd November), British and French warships had also bombarded the southernmost forts on both sides of the Dardanelles and only a day after this was the British Prime Minister Asquith casually to observe to a confidante of his, the Lady Venetia Stanley, that "we are now frankly at war with Turkey". It ought to be known that, it was only on 5th November (Dhū'l-Ḥijjah 1332H) that a statement resembling a formal declaration of war was made.[846]

In the light of the maintenance of this obscurantist attitude by the British government and the confusion, it is not surprising that the Ottoman Government was unaware of this decision and only realised that it was formally at war with Britain a few days afterwards. While the act of going to war with the Ottoman State without a declaration would appear to set something of a precedent for other similar events like the Japanese strike at Pearl Harbour (on 7th December 1941/Dhū'l-Ḥijjah 1360H), in which case, the declaration of war, chiefly through human error, had been delivered an hour or so late, here, it may only be relegated to the contempt in which the British Government then held its opponent due to the latter's militarily weak state. While the British Prime Minister Asquith was declaring at the Guildhall in London on 5th November (Dhū'l-Ḥijjah 1332H) that "It is the Ottoman Government and not we, who have rung the death knell of Ottoman dominions not only in Europe but in Asia", his wife Margot (Asquith) was to commit her sentiments to her diary in the following words some three weeks later: "I loathe the Turk, and really hope that he will be wiped out of Europe".[847]

Brought into the War against the will of the majority of its decision-makers, the Ottoman Generals, advised and assisted by able German staff officers and with two million Ottoman gold pounds from Germany to assist them with their preparations, had surprisingly got the better of their British, French and Russian counterparts in almost all theatres of the War—al-'Irāq (Mesopotamia), Syria and Palestine, the Yaman, the Caucasus and the Western front during the early half of the conflict (until 1916/1335-36H). It ought to be clarified here that, since the Ottoman forces had soldiers of different ethnic backgrounds, such as Arabs fighting alongside Turks, the application of the term "Ottoman" instead of "Turk", when referring to their members in general terms, would inevitably have been more accurate and hence, ought to be interpreted so. On the topic of the valour of the "Ottoman" soldier, the war correspondent Compton Mackenzie was to report from the Dardanelles: "French officers who have fought in the West say that as a fighting unit, one Turk (Ottoman) is worth two Germans; In fact, with his back to the wall, the Turk (Ottoman soldier) is magnificent".[848]

Regards the role of the German officers, during this period, Trumpener in his admirable work categorically states: "Neither before nor after the conclusion of the German-Ottoman alliance did Liman (von Sanders) or any other member of his mission command or control the Turkish military establishment or possess the means to impose their will on the Porte, and the same generalisation applies to the hundreds of German officers who were added to the mission or otherwise entered Ottoman service during the last three years of the war".[849]

It also ought to be mentioned here for the record that, at this stage, there were as many as three mainly Arab divisions serving in the Ghazzah (Gaza) and Palestine sector and the High Commissioner and then head of British Intelligence and war planning and co-ordination in the Middle East (the Arab Bureau) in Cairo, Sir Henry McMahon, was to reflect that: "At that moment, a large portion of the forces at Gallipoli and nearly the whole of the force in Mesopotamia were Arabs".[850] In fact, before Gallipoli, the debacle that was to prove to be Churchill's denouement, he had boastfully written to Sir Edward Grey, the British Foreign Secretary, that, though "the price to be paid in taking Gallipoli would no doubt be heavy, but there would be no more war with Turkey. A good army of fifty thousand men and sea power—that is the end of the Turkish menace".[851] However, many of his senior colleagues, say in the British Admiralty, like Lord Fisher, who was generally regarded as one of Britain's greatest sailors and also looked upon by Churchill as an idol and mentor, did not appear to have agreed with his strategic estimates and general enthusiasm. Though initially carried away despite expressing serious doubts, and against his better judgement, the First Sea Lord, Fisher that is, was later on to resign on the issue of this campaign, as he felt he did not want to be associated any further with such "foolishness". "They'll be our grave", he was to record just over a month before resigning, and much though the Prime Minister Asquith would beseech him "in the name of the King" to return to his post, he would not. Fisher was later on to express to the leader of the Unionist Party, Andrew Bonar Law, that his former protégé, to whom he at one time would refer as "My Winston", was now even "a bigger danger than the Germans by a long way" and King George V, who saw himself as a sailor and took naval matters seriously, also seems to have shared in the sentiments of those opposed to Churchill and his bellicose

behaviour at the time, and the list included several of his own Liberal colleagues also.[852]

While on the subject of the Arab Bureau (for which T.E. Lawrence worked), Lord Fisher and Churchill during this era, Roy Jenkins in his outstanding recent biography of the latter observes that, he was to go on to develop for the former "an admiration barely less" than that which he had at times felt for Fisher.

Meanwhile on a different note to do with this phase of the war and Gallipoli in particular, it may be added that, though much has been made of the savagery of the Ottoman soldier on the front, Captain Basil Brooke, the Chief of Staff of General Sir Julian Byng was to write home that: "the old Turk is a great gentleman. He never shoots at the hospital ships in the bay, or at the hospitals, very different from our friend the Bosch".[853]

B: The Call for 'Jehād', Sharīf Ḥusayn and the Path towards the Arab Revolt

With the war against the Germans also going badly for the Entente Powers during this period and particularly for France and Russia, these developments against expectations were to add a pressing edge to Britain's hunt for a way out of the dilemma. In this search, the then Sharīf of Makkah, Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī, a descendant of the Prophet through his daughter Fāṭimah and of his cousin, the fourth Orthodox Caliph 'Alī through their elder son Ḥasan, and separated from his great ancestor above, 'Alī, by some forty generations in between and hence an actual and if not, a potential symbol of considerable religio-political importance, was regarded as a factor and an asset well worth courting and winning over for utilisation against his over-lord, the Sulṭān-Caliph. In fact, the British experts, whether in London or Cairo, were swiftly to come around to the view that, the only personage in a position to challenge the latter's claims to the headship of Islām, as well as his other political rights and designs, such as to declare the 'Jehād', was the Grand Sharīf of Makkah and that, by exploiting him and the prevailing weaknesses in the Ottoman system of government alongside working on the dissatisfaction of the various ethnic groups that constituted a part of that empire and its system of administration, it would be possible to turn the situation around to one of great political, strategic, and military advantage.

As early as 1255H(1839), a 'Noble Rescript' from the Sulṭān had declared all races and creeds in the Empire equal and to be

treated accordingly in every way. This had unfortunately been ignored in spirit and for most of its practical terms and purposes by the allegedly reformist government of the Committee of Union and Progress, all too keen on the Turanianisation of all ethnic, cultural and linguistic groups in this large multi-racial polity. On the other hand, Sharīf Ḥusayn was also well known for his open opposition to Pan-Turanianism, seeking instead a special status for the Arabs within the empire and, if not, then at least parity in every regard, with all Ottoman subjects. It was also known that the Sharīf had dynastic ambitions of his own alongside a number of other axes to grind.

Hence, even as the British were trying hard with all the means of persuasion at their disposal, via Cairo, Delhi and elsewhere and if need be, London itself, to secure to their cause the loyalty of Arabian potentates not already tied to them by formal treaty, or whose loyalty and desire to take up arms on their behalf they felt, could be open to question, the Ottoman authorities had decided to act in keeping with the worst of British fears by propagating the call for a 'Jehād'. This was proclaimed in three stages. On 7th November 1914 (17th Dhū'l-Ḥijjah 1332H), a 'Fatwā' (Religions Edict) was issued by the Shaykh al-Islām in Constantinople within a week of the declaration of War and followed by general appeals from the Sulṭān-Caliph to the armed forces on 11th November (21st Dhū'l-Ḥijjah) and to the three hundred million and more members of the Muslim 'Ummah' (Community) the world over on 23rd November 1914 (5th Muḥarram 1333H)—to take up cause against the foes of Islām (Britain, France and Russia) and to defend its territorial integrity and the threat to its Holy Cities.[854]

Whilst emissaries were being sent out to distant lands in Asia and Africa to preach the 'Jehād', a grand ceremony, attended by over twenty thousand of the "Faithful" had been held in the Prophet's Mosque in al-Madīnah and his Standard was reverently brought out to be taken to Damascus. The honour of bearing it to its destination had fallen by invitation on none other than that septuagenarian Saiyyid of Ḥaḍramī origin domiciled in the Prophet's City, 'Alawī Bāfaqīh, whose grateful response to this invitation was to reply thus to Jamāl Pāshā, the Governor of Syria and the Commander-in-Chief holding that front: "Despite my seventy years and more, in compliance with the God-ordained call to holy struggle... I come forward with my three sons for 'Jehād' in the service of the

Almighty, carrying in one hand the sacred Banner of the Prophet and in the other, the Holy Book of God, with the cheers and 'God-Speeds' of twenty-thousand devout ringing in my ears; I proceed to Damascus to accomplish in all eagerness and devotion, the supreme sacrifice of offering my life for the sake of the word of God... The land of the Ḥejāz and all its nomadic tribes are answering the call of our revered Caliph....". The Standard was grandly received in Damascus on 15th December (26th Muḥarram), but Saiyyid 'Alawī was sadly to die three days later.[855] Needless to add and for reasons well known now, all this had strangely enough been without any display of enthusiasm, similitude of participation from the Sharīf Ḥusayn.

In actual fact, during the first quarter of 1914(1332H), after Kitchener had discussed in Cairo with the Sharīf's second and ablest son 'AbdAllāh, whom he had first met a couple of years earlier, the idea of an Arabian Caliphate, Ḥusayn was being gradually and systematically seduced by the British in lieu of a large variety of promises and assurances—(vide the 'McMahon Correspondence')—plus generous offers of military and financial support, into finally raising the standard of rebellion against the Ottoman State. Not resting with 'AbdAllāh alone, the British had also used a number of other channels with Ḥusayn for attaining their purpose. For example, one of those used by Sir Reginald Wingate, then Governor-General of the Sudan, was the powerful leader of the 'Khatmīyyah' Ṣūfī religious Order, al-Saiyyid 'Alī al-Mirghanī, who in August 1912(1330H), had composed a memorandum on "The Future of the Islamic Khaliphate", in which he had argued in favour of an Arabian Caliph.[856]

Of course, what an "Arab Caliphate" meant to Lord Kitchener and his large coterie of friends, admirers and underlings like Wingate (High Commissioner in Cairo in January 1917/Rabī'al-Awwal 1335H, after Kitchener's death), Sir Ronald Storrs (Kitchener's Oriental Secretary in Cairo), Sir Mark Sykes (Tory Member of Parliament put in charge of Middle Eastern Affairs by Kitchener), Sir Gilbert Clayton (Sudan's Representative, then Head of all Intelligence Services in Cairo) 'et al' was something quite different from the Arab view. Since it was commonly held that "the Arabs can't govern themselves" as Gertrude Bell, that great "friend of the Arabs" had so succinctly put it, their desire was to see a "federation of semi-independent Arab States owing spiritual allegiance to a single

Arab Primate and looking to Great Britain as its patron and protector".[857]

Kitchener and his party had also come around to holding the view, that is by 1333H(1915) and against the traditional British policy of supporting the Ottoman Caliphate that, since the latter was always likely to be facing pressure from a resurgent Russia and eventually come increasingly under its influence, an Arabian Caliphate under British aegis was by far the better option, particularly as Russia could use the long-standing Ottoman institution to its own advantage, where the Indian Muslims were concerned, whenever the need for interference in Indian politics arose.

Besides, since Kitchener had set his heart on becoming the Viceroy of India, a group of his admirers like Storrs felt that, in the event of this desire failing to materialise, a fit alternative could be for him to preside over this pile of British protected Arab territories "including Egypt and the Sudan and across the way from Aden to Alexandretta" as a sort of Viceroy from Cairo.[858] Basically, the idea of the imperialists amongst British experts on the Middle East and as articulated by a number of them, amongst whom T.E. Lawrence also features, was to create a "Brown" (British) "Dominion" in the region, to add to the "Black" Dominions of India. It is indeed related according to the historian Bernard Lewis that, the world owes the coining of the term "Middle East" to an American, Alfred Thayer Mahan, who was a naval officer and a historian and had used this term first in 1320H(1902) to describe the area between Arabia and India; while it was the First World War and the prospects of the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the division of its territory amongst the Powers of the Entente, mainly Britian, France and Russia, that, had given currency to it, thanks to the likes of Sir Mark Sykes.[859]

Also, while delving on the topic of the desire of Kitchner's supporters to see him at least installed as a viceroy of sorts in the region in the event of his failure to secure that lofty office in India, where he had already served as Commander-in-Chief, it may be added here that, such was the grandeur enjoyed by the British Viceroy in India with the particular objective of dazzling the Indian rulers with British glory and might, that King Edward VIII (later the Duke of Windsor), upon visiting that part of the British Empire in 1339H(1921) while Prince of Wales, and witnessing it, was known to have commented to the effect that, he now knew for the first

time what it really meant to live and be treated like a king—a theme he reflects and comments upon later on in his autobiography 'A King's Story' also.

Kitchener's plan for the post-War Middle East was destined however, to be laid to rest even prior to his drowning on the very same day he was to leave Scapa Flow for Archangel on board the cruiser 'HMS Hampshire'. The date was 5th June 1916 (Sha'bān 1334H).

Much earlier on, following Gordon Pāshā's murder by the Mahdists, when Kitchener, upon re-occupying al-Kharṭūm, had pulled down the damaged tomb of the Mahdī, Muḥammad Aḥmad, and then proceeded to desecrate his grave and consign his skeleton, barring the skull, to the river Nile, it was rumoured that, he had retained it in order to turn it into an ink-well. The Mahdist Movement's followers, known as "al-Anṣār" (literally meaning "the Helpers") after the label of the Prophet's Companions from al-Madīnah, had then cursed him, praying that, he too should find a watery grave and leave no trace behind. This had now come to pass. When Queen Victoria had learnt of the treatment of the Mahdī's grave, she was said to have been horrified, though she held the Mahdī to be a "very bad and cruel" person. One of her main reasons for this as she was to spell out was because the Muslims had respected "our graves". The story of the conversion of the Mahdī's skull into an ink-well, whether true or false, was to stir a controversy even in England for quite some time to come. Whatever the speculation over the purpose for which Kitchener had retained the skull, one of which was in order to consider whether to send it on to the Imperial College of Sciences, he was nevertheless to receive a peerage from her in recognition of his feats in the Sudan.[860]

It was also maintained in British circles then that, since the Muslim soldiers in Kitchener's force and the indigenous Sudanese were inclined towards revering the memory of Gordon Pāshā as a "Saint", hence, they were said to have been shocked and angry at finding the Mahdī's skeleton when his grave was dug up. As, going by Muḥammad Aḥmad's claim that he was "the Mahdī" ("the Expected One"), they were expecting under the assumption that his claim could be true, to find nothing in the grave; for according to their belief, he should have been raised to heaven upon burial![861] This silly fabrication goes on to show how little the so called British experts of the day on the Islāmic world knew about the people in

whose midst they were living and the soldiers on whose loyalty they were relying and whom they were leading into battle; for it does not need a religious authority to be aware of the Islāmic belief that, as in Christianity, it is the soul and not the physical body or the mortal remains that are supposed to ascend to heaven or descend to hell, and in Islām, this is supposed to take place following the Day of Judgement! It is also of interest to note here that, one of the first steps the Sudanese took after their independence from Anglo-Egyptian rule, was to remove Gordon's statue, then occupying a prominent position on the banks of the river Nile in al-Kharṭūm, and to rename the famous College there that formerly bore his name.

The Sharīf Ḥusayn was actually destined to proclaim his revolt on 9th Sha'bān 1334H(10th June 1916), a few days after Kitchener's death, by approving pre-planned attacks on Turkish posts in Makkah, al-Ṭā'if, Jiddah, al-Līth, al-Qunfidhah and al-Madīnah etc, by dramatically firing in person the signal shot from an upper window of his palace in Makkah.[862] During the shelling from the Ottoman fortress of Jiyād in southern Makkah later on, a couple of stray shells were to land in the 'Ḥaram' and splinter a bas-relief with calligraphic devices, the like of which were in preponderance on the interior of the domes and walls of the 'Ḥaram' and in places, its exterior also. As luck would have it, one of those portions affected thus was bearing the name "'Uthmān"—in actual fact a reference to the third Orthodox Caliph. Nevertheless, this was looked upon by many as an ominous foreboding of grave events to unfold against the dynasty founded by that Caliph's namesake and then the custodians of Islām's Holy Cities.[863]

It is interesting to note that, due to political caution, the general 'Proclamation' published in Egypt and issued by the Sharīf on 25th Sha'bān 1334H (end of June 1916) regards this move and addressed "To all our Muslim brothers", had carefully avoided any direct antagonistic reference to the Sulṭān-Caliph. Placing all blame on the Committee of Union and Progress (C.U.P)—and particularly the triumvirate of Anwar (Enver) Pāshā, Jamāl Pāshā, and Ṭal'at Bey—it had furthermore asked them, the Muslim 'Ummah', to be the judge.[864]

C: The C.U.P and Freemasonry, Zionist Aspirations and Other Secret Societies and Movements

The Committee of Union and Progress (the C.U.P) was originally a society formed in Paris in the 1310sH(1890s) by Ottoman political exiles, mostly young officers and students, with the objective of seeking modernisation and reform at all levels throughout the State and had come to power in the successful coup of 1326H(1908).

It is also interesting to note alongside here that, the Sulṭān 'Abdal-Ḥamīd II for example, while emphasising in his 'Memoirs' that the sole, if not the prime cause for his removal from power in his opinion was clearly his refusal to entertain Zionist aspirations in Palestine, also maintains that this Committee (the C.U.P) was known to, if not strongly suspected of enjoying strong Jewish backing and he was not alone in saying or thinking so. Many of its leaders were also known to be Freemansons, or suspected of dealings with that fraternity, especially Ṭal'at, whose association with the founding father of the Italian Freemasons Lodge in Salonika, the Jewish lawyer Emmanuel Karasu (Carasso) was well known and it was at this Lodge that Ṭal'at and his colleagues would meet secretly.[865] While it may arguably be suggested that, during this period, it had become quite fashionable in many eastern countries also to join this fraternity, generally then beheld as a socially helpful society, overtly promoting fraternal feelings and the principle of mutual help amongst members through its network of lodges, a British Confidential Report was to mention what must have been known, that, members of the Committee of Union and Progress like Jāvid Bey, Dr. Nāẓim Bey, Dr. Niāzī Bey and others had also placed around £400,000 (pounds) collected by subscription, with several Jews in Salonika.[866]

As for "Zionism", though its ideology is normally associated with the Hungarian Jew, Theodore Herzl (b.1860/1276–7H–d.1904/1321–2H), the term was first coined by Nathan Birnbaum (alias Mathias Ascher—b.1867/1283–4H–d.1937/1355–6H), who, in the mid-1880s(1300H), was to articulate the view that, he saw in "Jewish nationalism" the answer and solution to the "The Jewish Question". Likewise, Herzl, in his book 'The Jewish State', had stressed to his followers the following message: "We must investigate and take possession of the new Jewish country by means of every modern expedient", adding further in his 'Complete Diaries'

(Chapter1, p88) that: "Both, the process of expropriation and removal of the poor must be carried out circumspectly". However, he did not live long enough to see the result of his ideas. On the other hand, Birnbaum, who in the meantime had embraced Orthodox Judaism, was now to come to repudiate the very movement to which he had given its name and that too had happened fairly soon after he had invented it, and in 1889 (1306-7H) to be precise. He was then to go on to become one of the founding fathers of 'Agudat Yisrael", also a political movement of sorts, but one more concerned with maintaining the purity of Orthodox Judaism and Orthodox Jewish interests and advocating love of the sacred soil in preference to purely political aspirations. While Zionism was to proceed with the propagation of the ludicrous, yet fervently believed false myth, that, 'Palestine was a land without people, for a people without a land', it was only long after Birnbaum's death that, this latter movement in whose foundation also he had participated, was to make common cause with Menachem Begin (born at Brest-Litovsk in 1913/1331H) in order to share in the actual wielding of political power and to start to adopt the Zionist path.

Herzl had also spelt out clearly to the First Jewish Congress at Basle, convened between 29th August and 1st September 1897 (Rabī' al-Thānī 1315H), that, the only two ways for enabling World Jewry to migrate and settle in Palestine, were either for the Ottoman State to reverse its decision in this regard, or for it to be "dismantled, if it persisted in its rejection". Herzl was later on also to have the satisfaction of visiting Islāmpūl—(a name for Istānbul then in fashion)—during February 1902 (Dhū'l-Qa'dah 1319H) in an attempt to entice the Sulṭān, though failing to secure an audience. In fact, the famous response of 'Abdal-Ḥamīd II that: "I cannot part even with a hand-span of land, for I do not own it of right, but my people do. My people had fought for this land and irrigated it with their blood. So, let the Jews save their millions", had been in reaction to this very approach.

In the summer of 1916(1334H), when the idea of a compromise peace with the Ottoman Empire was aired in London with strong Jewish support, and the Tory leader, Lord Lansdowne had privately argued in favour of it, Sir Gilbert Clayton (the British Intelligence supremo in Cairo), who was then in London, had written to Sir Reginald Wingate on 3rd August (Ist Shawwāl 1334H)

that: "One impression I gained which confirmed what I have always thought, and which I know you take an interest in, was the widespread influence of the Jews. It is everywhere… you hear peace talk and generally somewhere behind is the Jew. You hear pro-Turk talk and desires for a separate peace with Turkey—again the Jew (the mainspring of the C.U.P)".[867] It is obvious that, the considerable influence wielded by the highly organised and powerful Jewish bodies in both Europe and America was not lost on these decision makers. For example, even some eight and a half decades since and on 3rd October, 2001 to be precise, we find one major Zionist Israeli leader (Ariel Sharon) tell another (Shimon Peres) quite openly on 'Kol Yisrael' Radio: "I want to tell you something very clear. Don't worry about American pressure on Israel. We, the Jewish people control America, and the Americans know it".

Though the Jews of the Ottoman Empire had four seats, that is twice as many as the Ḥejāz, out of two hundred and eighty-eight in the Parliament, unlike in other parts of the Ottoman dominions, the majority of the Jews in Palestine were emigrés from eastern Europe, primarily Russia and Poland. They had started arriving there since the latter half of the 19th century CE (13th century H), but had retained their nationality in order to enjoy the benefits, privileges and protection offered to the subjects of a large number of European powers under the 'Capitulations', which were not to be cancelled until 8th September 1914 (Shawwāl 1332H), rendering all equally subject to Ottoman law.[868]

After the declaration of the First World War, while the pioneers, leaders and supporters of the Zionist Movement attempted to curry favour with the members of the Committee of Union and Progress in order to be enabled to safeguard their position and the plans on their agenda and used German, American and other official channels to put pressure on those of its leaders who were not proving amenable enough, the somewhat independent-minded Jamāl Pāshā, who was tough on all real or potential agitators, and had been described by some modern writers as a sort of "born again Muslim" due to his deviation at times from the declared course of the Committee's (the C.U.P's) policies, had seen to it soon after his arrival in the region that, the chief Zionist leaders, David Ben-Gurion and Yitzhak Ben-Zvi were deported.[869] Within a few weeks, they were on their way to the United States of America to rally Zionist supporters towards raising a specifically "Jewish Legion" to

serve within the Entente forces.[870] Of these two, the former, whose actual name was Gruen before he changed it to Green in England and then Hebraised it, had first arrived in Palestine during 1906(1324H) from Plonsk in Russia, later on a part of Poland and was eventually destined to become the future Jewish State of Israel's first Prime Minister. On the other hand, the latter, who was born in Poltava, Russia, was to serve as that State's second President. In fact, Ben-Gurion, who had started his career after his arrival in Palestine as a guard in Galilee, had also organized in 1912(1330H), the "Hashomer" (meaning "the Watchman"), a force for the defence of Jews there. Later on, he was known to comment on Zionist activities in Palestine then, in the following words: "Let us not ignore the truth among ourselves…politically, we are the aggressors and they defend themselves…The country is theirs, because they inhabit it, whereas we want to come here and settle down, and in their view we want to take away from them their country…".[871]

Meanwhile, the famous agricultural scientist Aaron Aaronsohn, a Romanian born in Bacau and brought to Palestine at the age of six, who was ostensibly to devote his research to addressing the problems of aridity in order to convince the British authorities in Cario and London, how the Jews, if allowed to settle in Palestine, could make the desert bloom, was covertly busier serving with admirable success as the head of a highly effective intelligence gathering group for the Entente Powers known as the "Nili" till the very end of the War. In this, he was ably aided by his sister Sarah, who was eventually to be caught and to shoot herself. It also ought to be mentioned here that, upon the discovery of the activities of some of the members of this spy ring, the Jews at large there were only saved from reprisals on this occasion by the intervention of the Germans and of course Ṭal'at.[872] Aaron Aaronsohn was to die in an air crash over the English Channel in 1919(1337H), but well before that, he had already visited London during 1916(1334H) and circulated a "memorandum", which the British Government had found "very interesting" and "useful". Then moving on to Cairo, he had also helped the British Headquarters there plan the campaign for the impending invasion of Palestine by Allenby, the eventual success of which was to be hailed later on by the Methodist British Prime Minister Lloyd George as "the last and most triumphant of the Crusades"—a feeling shared with him by his High Church King George V, for with it, not only had "the most famous city in the

world" been "liberated", but "Christendom", to borrow his words, was also able "to regain possession of its sacred shrines". These jingoistic statements, as can be imagined, were to draw much flak from the Muslim political organsiations, particularly Indian ones, such as the 'Universal Khuddām al-Ka'bah Association'.[873]

Lloyd George then also was to go on to give credit for the success of this campaign to a "ruse de guerre" by Colonel Richard Meinertzhagen (Allenby's head of Miltary Intelligence), who, riding towards the Ottoman lines and fired upon by a patrol, had dropped a blood-stained haversack of "confidential documents" aimed at misleading the opposition into thinking that, the main thrust of the attack would once more be against the obvious choice of Ghazzah (Gaza), when the actual strategy now was to push swiftly against the less well defended Bīr Sab'ah (Beersheba) and through the desert terrain. "Meinertzhagen's device won us the battle" is how he had chosen to put it.[874] In celebration of these achievements, a message of felicitation was also sent on 15th December 1917 (1336H) via the British Embassy in Madrid to King George V by Jewish organisations on behalf of the Jewish subjects of the British Empire and "Citizens of Allied and neutral countries", who hailed this achievement by British arms as a "grand date in history of British Empire of Israel", while referring to a "hundred thousand of Jewish soldiers fighting on all fronts" alongside Allied forces and finally saluting him (that is George V) as their "new Cyrus".[875]

On the other hand, Jamāl Pāshā, when referring in his 'Memories' to the episode of this whole campaign and his two victories over General Murray at Ghazzah, lauds the common camaraderie, patience and valour of his greatly outnumbered troops—"men of Arab and Turkish stock"—at all times against tremendous odds, while registering his bitter resentment against the Sharīf Ḥusayn for subsequently sowing "the seeds of discord" amidst Ottoman ranks. In reference to his expedition against the Suez Canal, he was to single out the 25th Division and other units along the Line of Control—all entirely Arab—for high praise for their zeal and devotion, though according to George Antonius, this Division had then been portrayed to form "one of the mainstays of (the Arab revolutionary society) 'al-'Ahd's' plans for a revolt" against the Ottoman Sulṭān.[876]

In Palestine, the Zionists had in fact initially even joined the local Ottomanisation Committee and according to a report to the General Officer Commanding, Cairo, dated 9th December 1914

(Muḥarram 1333H), submitted by Ronald Storrs: "the only thing that filled the inhabitants with hatred against the (Ottoman) Government is the fact that, the Zionists are supported by the Government and the Union and Progress Party, and the lands of the natives are taken away by force to be sold to the Zionists. These Zionists are closely connected with Berlin and Constantinople and are the most important factor in the policy of Palestine". Realising the immediate and future benefits of raising a militia to have at their disposal, they had actually at first proposed to raise a Jewish legion to fight alongside the Ottoman forces in defence of Palestine.[877] This idea had however been laid to rest by Jamāl Pāshā, who, unlike a number of his colleagues in government, would appear by his deeds to have been no particular sympathiser of Zionism and its adherents and also alert to their ulterior motives and ultimate ambitions.

Then, against the wishes of several of his fellow Jews who were concerned about the security of their co-religionists in the Ottoman, German and Austro-Hungarian empires, the Russian Vladimir Jabotinsky had also petitioned the British War Cabinet during 1915(1333H), to be allowed to raise a legion of (Russian) Jews to fight alongside Allied troops in the liberation of Palestine from the Ottomans, as he felt that this would further the Zionist cause.[878] While this division in Jewish ranks was effectively hedging the bets for their cause, a 'Jewish Legion' serving with the forces of the Entente Powers was to become a reality by 1918(1336H), after approval had been granted during the summer of 1917(1335/36H) almost on the eve of the War's end. However, this was just in time for them to share shortly in the fruits of the Entente Powers' victory.

In fact, some idea about the level of importance attached to the concept of the creation of a Zionist political entity by the founding fathers of the Movement may be derived from a letter Ben-Gurion was to address to the Zionist Executive at a later stage, on 17th December 1938 (Ramaḍān 1357H), when anti-Jewish sentiments in Germany were rapidly on the rise. In it he was to say: "The saving of Jewish lives from Hitler is considered here as a potential threat to Zionism, unless they are brought to Palestine. When Zionism has to choose between the Jewish people and the Jewish state, it unhesitatingly preferred the latter…".[879] Later on, Dr. Rudolf Kastner, Chairman of the Zionist Organisation in Hungary (1362H/1943 till 1364H/1945) was to go even further, by compromising the lives of 800,000 Hungarian Jews with the Nazis in order to secure a safe passage for 600 Zionists to Palestine.

The ultimate aim of the Zionist dream, as spelt out by Joseph Weitz of the Jewish National Fund in "My Diaries and My Letters to the Children" (Chapter III, p293), was "to transfer the Arabs from here to neighbouring countries, to transfer all of them; not one village, not one tribe should be left". Rafael Eitan was to go even further in elaborating upon these directions and reflecting on their effect by adding: "The only good Arab is a dead Arab … When we have settled the land, all the Arabs will be able to do about it will be to scurry around like drugged cockroaches in a bottle".[880] Then, once the dream of statehood was realised, a 1948(1367H) report of the Near East Department of the then newly formed Israeli Government envisaged the fate of those they had displaced in the following words: "The Palestinian refugees will find their place in the diaspora. Those who can resist will live thanks to natural selection. The others will simply crumble. Some of them will persist, but the majority will be a human heap, the scum of the earth, and will sink into the lowest levels of the Arab world".[881] Reflecting on the language, sentiments and objectives in this official document, it is hard to believe that it could emanate from a source and a government, which had just been born and primarily on the basis of international sympathy and support for the great sufferings of the religious community it represented, particularly at the hands of the Nazis during the course of the Second World War and often in their own native homelands (at least for centuries)!—a sad comment indeed on some of the negative aspects of Zionism.

Whereas to elaborate further on the role and the extent of the influence of Aaron Aaronsohn and his overt and covert activities on the course of decision-making by the British Government at the time, the well-known modern British historian Martin Gilbert for one, has this to say: "influenced by the enthusiasm and practical schemes of … Aaron, the British Government had begun to look with favour on the idea of replacing Turkish rule in Palestine by a Zionist entity under British rule. That summer, Lord Rothschild had given the British Government a draft formula for a Jewish National Home in Palestine, that would serve to encourage Jews in all the Allied armies to see the defeat of the Turks as an important aim.

At first, the British Government moved warily in its response. However, on October 2, 1917 (Dhū'l-Ḥijjah 1335), British Intelligence were to learn of a meeting in Berlin, at which, plans had been made by the Germans and the Turks to offer the Jews of Europe a German-sponsored Jewish National Home in Palestine. This was to stimulate British efforts in search for a formula that would make the Allied offer to the Jews more attractive in face of the German Government's "great efforts to capture the Zionist Movement".[882]

Indeed, apart from those aspects of religious appeal of Palestine to orthodox Jewry that it has had to share with the adherents of the other great monotheistic faiths, Christianity and Islām, throughout the ages—and the yearnings of those of its members who wanted to see a political entity installed there as the sponsor and protector of their faith, Judaism's interests, it would have proved logically hard for many to visualise that, an ambitious, tenacious and restless people like the followers of this religion (particularly from Europe and America) as citizens of different countries, and many of them captains of industry and leading figures in the worlds of finance, entrepreneurship, commerce, sciences, the arts and entertainment, and in ratios out of all proportion to their numbers in any particular society, and yet always intent on realising higher goals, would actually agree to give up all the advantages of their practical worlds, and stirred by Zionism's call, would seriously consider moving forever to Palestine, then marked as even now by its paucity of natural resources, in order to take up that land's only economically feasible activities of cultivating olives and citrus, tending to sheep and acting as guides to pilgrims!—and all this in an area not much bigger than a large ghetto and since tantamount to one too and yet, ever likely to be in need of greater 'liebensraum'. This, instead of the alternative of continuing to dominate the world stage in their various fields with ease from their traditional homes, equipped with most of the requisite factors for recognising greatness and achievement and for encouraging ambition and attainment. It is also worth bearing in mind here that, these arguments would have applied more or less equally to the less successful members of this community, in their havens across the world, who, after migrating to Palestine and given their gifts, nature and temperament, could hardly have been expected to remain content with their lot, generation after generation, with physically and geographically limited scope for growth, expansion and achievement. Yet, the Great Powers

were willing, naive as it may seem, to believe it, or did they have other ideas or another hidden agenda? One can still only wonder.

It may also be worth recalling here that, many parts of the world and particularly Central and Eastern Europe had witnessed and decades earlier on in several cases, the birth of like romantic, patriotic reform movements and this trend had continued throughout most of the nineteenth century (thirteenth century Hijrī). These had often been initiated by and with the participation of highly idealistic youth, frequently hailing from the ranks of the nobility and the gentry as well, with the objective of addressing the ailments faced by their society at large from their very roots. The best way to achieve this, as determined by these would be reformists, was through harking back to their original, cultural roots. Hence, to encourage this process in which they perceived their national salvation to lie, these volunteers in the service of change had decided to divorce themselves from the advantages and comforts of urban life at least temporarily, and "to go to the people" to share in the simple daily rural ways and lot of the people of the countryside and to help them, by promoting feelings of "freedom and equality", through adopting their dress, behaviour and life-style. One of the more famous and earliest of these movements and an organised reaction to the outcome of similar earlier well-meaning efforts and armed on this occasion with a revolutionary agenda and the right to wield a stick just in case, was the 'Zemlia I Volia' ('Land and Liberty'), founded in Russia in 1876(1293H). This exercise of "going to the people", in which, Count Leo C. Tolstoy (1244H/1828–1328H/1910) had himself participated in his youth, had gained momentum in the early 1870s(1290sH), particularly 1873/74 (1290/91H). Indeed, close scrutiny would reveal for example that, even the wise and great Mahatma Gandhi had been a staunch believer in several aspects of this philosophy and an advocate of it as far as the answer in his esteem to a country like India's then current and future burgeoning development problems were concerned. In fact, right up to his assassination, he was to extol, emphasise and advocate the importance of the promotion of rural life and the virtues and joys inherent in its spiritual simplicity and in its modest values and criteria, as far as those requirements that go on to constitute material sufficiency and satisfaction of such wants and desires are concerned.

However, that these movements were doomed to meet with ultimate failure at varying stages of their lives was a foregone con-

clusion due to a number of naive flaws in their conception as well as insufficient, regular long-term financial backing to sustain the enthusiasm of their advocates and activists, once their spirits and means to support their foray into the domain of country life had begun to dwindle and Russian history and literature bear ample reference to this. Indeed, these well-meaning activists were often to find to their great surprise and chagrin that, instead of being welcomed and treated as messiahs of immediate relief and future hope, once the honeymoon duration involving celebratory, libertine rampages was over, these volunteers would inevitably find themselves being looked upon soon enough as intruders with little else to offer and hence, scoffed at as a nuisance factor, rather than treated as an asset. Meanwhile, these idealists too on the other hand had started to discover in terms of first hand experience their encounter with the bleak and repetitive cycle of the peasantry's life and its stubborn nature, attitudes and ways, to be boring, tiresome and most important of all, unproductive in terms of their ultimate objective. While this discussion thus serves to emphasise the highly significant role of regular financing in the maintenance of such movements, into which category the Zionist Movement also inevitably should fall, sustained initially as it was by its rich affiliates, it may also be argued that, this factor, namely regular financing, also ultimately governs and without question the longevity or life of such movements. For example, it is by now a universally known fact that, the State of Israel, since its creation in 1948(1367H), has chiefly been sustained by vast regular aid in various guises from the United States of America, which has often exceeded what that Great Power annually provides to the rest of the world put together.

Consequently, for these very reasons in the case of many of the movements referred to earlier, it was seldom long before these apostles of reform had been compelled to withdraw from the scene of their focus in disillusionment and discomfiture. Sadly however, they were unfortunately to open the door in their wake in the case of each such failure, for those with the will to induce change to their liking by the use of force and even terror if necessary. This was actually to come to pass regarding several of these movements. For example, in Russia, the failure of say, the 'Zemlia I Volia' was ultimately to lead to the emergence of the Nihilists and then the Bolsheviks. For these proponents of extremisism, the use of such means as ultimate force was even to come to be viewed as normal

for a number of decades, well after their goal, usually ultimate dictatorial power had been achieved, with the ends used to justify their ethics and means. Revolutions, justifiable or else, were beheld and presented as heroic action and revolutionary bodies wielding power in several countries in place of legal, democratic institutions, in whose name the changes would initially have been sought and wrought, cast into distant oblivion. That maturity of reason and experience was ultimately to enable several such establishments to see the futility of their ways and to reform after many usually sour bloody experiences following the long passage of time, constitutes altogether another story from a later era.

Jamāl Pāshā, (at this stage the Commander of the Ottoman Fourth Army, with its head-quarters in Damascus) and Muṣṭafā Kamāl Pāshā (the 'Atatürk' of the future) have already been introduced in the allusion made earlier to a discussion in February 1916 (Rabī'al-Awwal/al-Thānī 1334H) over whether al-Madīnah and consequently its six hundred kilometers long rail track, the City's only plausible supply route, should be defended "at all costs" in the face of extremely difficult and regularly increasing odds.[883] Jamāl, it may be added, was also referred to by Arab enemies of his as "al-Jazzār" or "the Butcher", because of his harsh methods in dealing with all opposition, an allegation which he strongly attempts to refute in his autobiography, 'Memories', while justifying his own policies.[884] On the other hand and as alluded to earlier, he has also been accused by his detractors as a sympathiser of Pan-Islāmism, for his desperate efforts towards the end in the name of shared faith and brotherhood to save the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire. Both, Muṣṭafā Kamāl and Jamāl were already major representatives at that stage of the 'Geng Turk' ('Young Turkey') Movement. The movement for reform in the Ottoman dominions in its initial guise had also boasted in general a lot of officers of Arab and other denominations representing the various provinces and races of the Empire as its members. For example, the Egyptian, 'Azīz 'Alī al-Miṣrī, a Circassian of origin, who was later to serve in that country's forces as its "Sirdār" with the rank of a Field Marshal, had himself once been one of its leading lights, before moving on to the membership of and roles in other societies and activities.[885]

However, after the above Movement had been hijacked by officers, who, instead of adhering to its secular philosophy, had become open practitioners of Pan-Turanianism, those of other races

had begun to break away from it, founding their own secret societies along similar but ethnic lines. In this vein, the 'Committee of Arab Brotherhood' was founded during 1326H(1908) and had for its members such leading Arab figures as Shukrī Pāshā al-Aiyyūb, Shafiq Bey al-Mu'aiyyad and 'Ārif Bey al-Mardīnī, plus others from all over the Arab parts of the Ottoman Empire. Nevertheless, this grouping did not last for long. The 'Qaḥṭānīyyah', of which the premeir light was the staff officer Lieutenant-Colonel Salīm al-Jazā'irī, was founded during 1327H(1909) and had branches all over greater Arabia, particularly amongst the officers. 'The Arts Club' under 'Abdal-Karīm Qāsim al-Khalīl was also formed the same year in Constantinople, absorbing many of the members of 'the Committee of 'Arab Brotherhood', as was 'al-'Ahd' ('the Committee of the Covenant'), which then had linked up with 'al-Qaḥṭānīyyah'.

There was also a 'Revolutionary Committee', of which little is now known and another one, 'the Committee of Reforms'. This had been founded during 1328H(1910). Apart from 'the Arts Club', which had a cultural front and also catered to students arriving to study in Constantinople, the objectives of all these committees were similar. They all sought full equality with the Turks and decentralisation of government and administration along democratic lines, but upheld loyalty in principle to the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. In fact, during the following year, 'the Party of Union and Liberty', which was opposed to 'the Committee of Union and Progress' and had for its members elements from all the ethnic groups, Turks and non-Turks, was to encourage the creation of what were termed "Decentralisation Committees" throughout the Empire, to promote this process. In face of strong reaction from the ruling party, 'the Committee of Union and Progress' to the activities of these bodies, who were then accused of "conspiring against the unity of the Empire and of detaching the Arab lands from Turkey to deliver them to Europe", an Arab Conference was held in Paris in 1331H(1913) to crystallise Arab political aims and objectives. These were published, while offices were also opened in several Arab countries, with a central bureau in Cairo. Particular thought had been given in this instance to the selection of their locations, as well as other safeguards against the possibility of persecution by the party then in power in Istānbul, 'the Committee of Union and Progress'.[886]

Nevertheless, when the War came, most at least of those Arab officers interrogated in British Prisoner of War Camps, were discovered, according to a British Intelligence Memorandum, to have actually supported the government of the 'Young Turks' in the Empire's hour of need and peril and that, even the minority who did not, were found to be "unable to square their consciences with a military revolt in the face of the enemy".[887]

To get back to the story, neither Jamāl Pāshā nor Muṣṭafā Kamāl Pāshā believed strictly in the hitherto cardinal principles or the 'rationale' and 'raison d'être' of the Ottoman Caliphate, though the former attempts to deny this allegation vehemently in his own case in his autobiography ('Memories') on several occasions. Both certainly paid lip service to them as convenient. These principles, as may be recalled, were first and foremost the defence, promotion and development of Islām, the Muslims and their lands, with their three "Holiest of Holies", Makkah, al-Madīnah and al-Quds (Jerusalem) occupying a very sacred niche at the very top. In fact, it was in emphasis of this role that, each Sulṭān, upon his accession, would symbolically gird the sword of his great ancestor 'Uthmān, just as he himself had done in an oath-taking ceremony in the presence of his spiritual and political mentor, the Shaykh Edebalī. The ceremony, known in Turkish as "Kiliç Kuşanmaci", would take place at the 'Eyup Cami', the 'Jami'' or cathedral mosque, where a Companion of the Prophet, Abū Aiyyūb al-Anṣārī (Khālid ibn Zayd) lies resting after dying in a siege of Constantinople during 52H (672).[888]

Of course it was little known to Anwar Pāshā or to his other colleague Ṭal'at that, during the Armenian Massacres of 1915/16 (1333/35H), which in effect were a violent Turkish reaction to a Russian inspired revolt seeking secession, Jamāl had actually been in secret correspondence with the Entente Powers through the Russians, using the Armenian Revolutionary Federation ('Dashnaktsutium') as a conduit for offering to overthrow the Ottoman Government. It is interesting to note that, in his 'Memories', in which he devotes a sizeable portion to "The Armenian Question", he introduces the relevant Chapter (IX) thus: "We Young Turks unquestionably prefer the Armenians and particularly the Armenian revolutionaries to the Greeks and the Bulgarians". However, though blaming Russia squarely in his book "for the enmity between Turkish and Armenian elements", he had not only

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offered to put an end to these massacres, but had even agreed to Russia's terms to hand over Constantinople and the Dardanelles to them provided he was recognised Sulṭān over Greater Syria, Mesopotamia, Armenia, Cilicia (Southern Turkey), and Kurdistān. Offering to grant these provinces autonomy, he had also sought financial aid from these Powers to rebuild his would be Kingdom. Nevertheless, by March 1916 (1334H), despite Russian pressure in favour of acceptance, the offer had fallen flat due to French demands, which sought Cilicia and Greater Syria for themselves, not to mention British concerns regarding their future aspirations in the region.[889]

With reference to these Armenian Massacres, it is also worth recording here that, soon after the declaration of the War, the Czar Nicholas II during a visit to the Caucasus front had told the head of the Armenian Church as early as 30th December 1914 (Ṣafar 1333H), that: "a most brilliant future awaited the Armenians". According to the historian Martin Gilbert: "With these words, the fate of hundreds of thousands of Armenians was endangered, as Turkey saw in its own large Armenian minority a source of fifth column activity, treachery and disloyalty…".[890] Towards the end of the War and later on, many of the leading lights of 'the Committee of Union and Progress' including Anwar, Ṭal'at and Jamāl were to be killed while in exile at the hands of Armenian assassins in acts of revenge.

D: 'The Damascus Protocol' and the Sharīf-McMahon Correspondence

Incidentally, the Arab Revolt, because of its initial lofty aspirations, at least as perceived by many Arabs, has come to form a memorable, if painful water-shed in modern Arab history despite its failure to realise many of its assumed goals. In fact, as far as the Ḥejāz was concerned, in vitriolic recognition of the magnitude of the achievement and its far reaching effects, Jamāl Pāshā was sourly to sum up its outcome in his terms as making "none other than His Majesty King George V of England" the "Hadem el Heremein el Sherifein (Protector of the Two Holy Cities)". Furthermore, lamenting other British territorial and political ambitions in the region and commenting comparatively on the outcome and future effects of events and their harm to Islāmic interests, especially by Makkah's Grand Sharīf, he was gravely to add: "compared with the injury done to the Khalifate by Sherif Hussein, the blows dealt at

Mohammedan power by the Moorish leaders (in al-Andalus, Spain), when they allied themselves with Christian states are simply insignificant".[891] This was an estimation with which Sir Gilbert Clayton was to gleefully agree, but in his own words as shall be seen.

The Arab Revolt was also responsible for the meteoric rise to fame of T.E. Lawrence and for that wonderful, highly imaginative and enduring masterpiece of English literature, 'The Seven Pillars of Wisdom' — an account of this Great War's episode in this theatre — though many who claim to be in the know, especially Arab sources, have lamentably decried it since its appearence for several of its factual inaccuracies, not to mention Lawrence's own role in it. The lack of consistency displayed in the spelling and transliteration of Arabic words, names and terms that it suffers from, could however be looked at as a tolerable discrepancy and liberty, that I suppose some greats of literature like Lawrence's famous contemporary and admirer, Sir Winston Churchill have taken at times, and which their critics and detractors relegate to endearing eccentricity. Indeed, its display on the part of the former, does not on the whole seem to affect this voluminous work's high literary merit, which had captivated the complete imagination of its contemporary British generation and still continues to draw and convert the romantic to its religion of sorts, with an appeal, undiminished by time.

Nevertheless, the chicanery, the political double-dealing, the lying and the cheating that underlay the foundations and the course of this War in the desert right from the very beginning, with its long trail of promises that were made and yet, were never intended to be kept from the very start by the Great Imperial Powers once their strategic and political goals in the region had been achieved, was to cast such a pall of unhappy and almost tragic gloom over the consciences and lives of some of the key players of this drama in the desert, not to mention the entire region and its indefinite future, that, once the action was over and the time for reflection had descended along with the settling dust on the large series of events, Lawrence himself was to die in a motor-cycle accident in Oxfordshire during 1935(1354H) after having spent a number of his latter years in disguise and even perhaps feelings of shame and remorse, once as "Aircraftsman Shaw".

He was to commit to the folios of 'the Seven Pillars of Wisdom' some of the reasons for his feelings of guilt in the following words: "I could see that if we won the war the promises to the

Arabs were dead paper. Had I been an honourable adviser I would have sent my men home, and not let them risk their lives for such stuff. Yet the Arab inspiration was our main tool in winning the Eastern war. So I assured them that England kept her word in letter and spirit. In this comfort they performed their fine things; but of course, instead of being proud of what we did together, I was continually and bitterly ashamed".[892] On the other hand, Major N. Bray, who also was to play an important part in this whole episode of the war in Arabia and subsequently wrote critically of Lawrence's role and his short-comings in the management of its operations in his own account of it, 'Shifting Sands', is found to propose the view that, it was his unwillingless to delegate authority that was to contribute in a major way towards his failure "to attain either his own ambitions or those of the people, whose destiny was entrusted to his care".

Lawrence himself, of course, though not directly involved then in person, was at least not unaware of the negotiations being conducted amongst the Entente Powers, particularly Britain and France, about the division of Ottoman possessions once the War was over and also of the general course they were taking. In order to turn the situation in the eastern theatre of the War in their favour, even as Sir Henry McMahon (the High Commissioner in Cairo) with the approval and involvement of the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Edward Grey, was making grand promises to the Sharīf Ḥusayn as is evident from his communication of 24th October 1915 (14th Dhū'l-Ḥijjah 1333H) and agreeing to almost all his demands, that is, barring a few minor logical, cosmetic territorial modifications to those that the Sharīf, on behalf of himself and the Arab secret societies, had delineated in his letter of 14th July 1915 (1st Ramaḍān 1333H), unknown to the latter, discussions in detail over what was to come to be known as 'the Sykes-Picot-Sazanov Agreement' were to be initiated in London on 23rd November 1915 (Muḥarram 1334H) between Britian and France. Upon their satisfactory conclusion on 3rd January 1916 (Ṣafar 1334H), their outcome had then been presented to the Russians for their concurrence. As may be seen, while these deliberations had been initiated after McMahon's above referred to promises to the Sharīf, they had actually been finalised some six months before the actual start of the Sharīfian Revolt. Since the clauses of the result of these tripartite discussions governing the division of the Ottoman Empire between Britian, France

and Russia (and Italy too by virtue of other simultaneous agreements), were contradictory in the main to what had been promised so far to the Sharīf by McMahon, this was to place a big exclamation mark over the wisdom and ethics of these whole proceedings. Apart from the appeasement of territorial greed all round, a major underlying British strategic objective from this excercise had been the virtual containment of Russian ambitions towards India and the warm waters of the Gulf. In order to secure this and in return for keeping the Straits open to all shipping, Russia had already been promised by Britain by early March 1915(Rabī'al-Thānī 1333H), Constantinople, the western coastline of the Bosphorus, the Sea of Marmara, the Dardanelles, south-western Thrace and north-western Anatolia. While, in accordance with another secret treaty signed in London and dated 26th April 1915(Jamād al-Awwal 1333H), Italy's new northern frontier for entering the field on the side of the Entente Powers within a month, was to be the Brenner Pass, the port of Trieste and Dalmatia from the territories of the Hapsburgs and the Dodecanese Islands, plus a "just share" of Turkey's Mediterranean coast around Adalia, as well as a protectorate over central Albania and if need be, "equitable compensation" in Africa in keeping with the gains of others.

Ibrāhīm Pāshā, the son of Muḥammad 'Alī, an ethnic Albanian, was one of, if not the very earliest to provide would-be Arab nationalists of the future with a definition of what constituted an Arab, as well as of the geographical boundries of the lands to be claimed by them as the Arab nation's own. When asked at the siege of Acre about how far he planned to continue his drive north were he to be successful, he is said to have replied: "as far as I can communicate with the populace in Arabic".

The Sharīf's initial demands in detail, based on those of the Arab secret societies and as transmitted in his letter referred to above of 14th July (1st Ramaḍān), had been that:

1. Great Britain should recognise the independence of the Arab countries which are bound on the north, by the line Mersin–Adana to parallel 37°N; and thence along the line Birejik–Urfa–Mardin–Midiat–Jazīrat (ibn 'Umar)–Amadia to the Persian frontier; on the east, by the Persian frontier down to the Persian Gulf; on the south, by the Indian Ocean (with the exclusion of 'Adan, whose status should remain as at present); on the west, by the Red Sea and the Mediterranean Sea back to Mersin.

2. Great Britain will agree to the proclamation of an Arab Caliphate for Islām.

3. The Sharīfian Arab Government undertakes, other things being equal, to grant Great Britain preference in all economic enterprises in the Arab countries… .[893]

George Antonius, who refers to these terms as "the Damascus Protocol", states categorically that, it had been drafted by the Arab secret societies of 'al-Fatāt' ('the Youth') and 'al-'Ahd' ('the Covenant') and handed over in late May (Jamād al-Thānī 1333H) to the Sharīf Fayṣal, then on his way back home from Constantinople via Damascus, to carry to his father as their conditions for co-operating with Britian against Turkey. He had carried this text to Makkah in "Lilliputian characters" sewn inside the lining of the boots of one of his retainers.[894] Worth noting amidst these demands in particular are the references to "the Sharīfian Arab Government" and the support sought from Britian for the proclamation of an "Arab Caliphate of Islam"— as accurate a recognition of facts and as true a silent comment by itself as any on the state of affairs of the Muslim World at the time, though there is some fairness in it also, as the British Empire was not only then a great political power, but the spokesman for the world's largest number of Muslims as well.

To these demands, McMahon's reply of 24th October (14th Dhū'l-Ḥijjah) had read:

"The (two) districts of Mersin and Alexandretta, and portions of Syria lying to the west of the districts of Damascus, Homs, Hama and Aleppo, cannot be said to be purely Arab, and must on that account be excepted from the proposed delimitation. Subject to that modification, and without prejudice to the treaties concluded between us and certain Arab Chiefs (vide–the Persian Gulf and South-West Arabia), we accept that delimitation. As for the regions lying within the proposed frontiers, in which Great Britain is free to act without detriment to the interests of her ally France, I am authorised to give you the following pledges on behalf of the Government of Great Britain, and to reply as follows to your note:

1. That, subject to the modifications stated above, Great Britain is prepared to recognise and uphold the independence of the Arabs in all the regions lying within the frontiers proposed by the Sharif of Mecca;

2. That, Great Britain will guarantee the Holy Places against all external aggression, and will recognise the obligation of preserving them from aggression;

3. That, when circumstances permit, Great Britain will help the Arabs with her advice and assist them in the establishment of governments to suit those diverse regions;

4. That, it is understood that the Arabs have already decided to seek the counsels and advice of Great Britain exclusively; and that such European advisers and officials as may be needed to establish a sound system of administration shall be British;

5. That, as regards the two Vilayets of Baghdad and of Basra, the Arabs recognise that the fact of Great Britain's established position and interests there will call for the setting up of special administrative arrangements to protect those regions from foreign aggression…".[895]

Within the parameters of this correspondence and after some further exchanges regarding the disputed issues, in which Britain maintained her stubborn stance over those areas of the Syrian coastal region in which France professed claims of historic rights and interests, and with both parties eager to come to terms due to other military and political pressures and constraints, the Sharīf, without renouncing his claims, but in order "to avoid what may possibly injure the alliance between Great Britain and France and the agreement made between them during the present War", decided "to shelve the matter for the duration of the War". On this note, according to George Antonius, "both sides regarded the bargain as concluded".[896]

To borrow the British Foreign Secretary Sir Edward Grey's words, the reason for this hectic activity on the part of his government was "to get the Arabs on our side against the Turk". Yet, at the same time, there were many like him in the British camp who were also sceptical of Arab ability to accomplish anything of value in the War. Indeed, despite the eager manner in which the promises were being made, Grey was to confide to his colleague in the Cabinet, the Secretary for India, Austen Chamberlain, that, "the whole thing was a castle in the air which would never materialise".[897] In the light of this general scepticism in several British quarters concerning the strategic siginificance and value of the Revolt, it is important to record what some of those intimately involved with it had to say in this regard. For example, in a memorandum written

towards the end of 1916 or early 1917(1335H), he was to state: "The main factor that recommended the Sharīf's revolt was that whether it succeeded or failed our military commitment would be small and we should be able to counteract by diplomacy alone the evil effect in Eastern eyes upon British prestige caused by the evacuation of the Sinai, the retreat from Ctesiphon, the retirement from Lahej and the evacuation of Gallipoli". He was also to go on to observe that: "The Sharif's revolt has shattered the solidarity of Islam, in that, Moslem is fighting against Moslem. It has emphasised the failure of the Jehad and endangered the Khalifate of the Sultan. The gravity of this blow to Turkey can be estimated by the furious protest of pro-Turk Moslem elements. The intrigues of the Committee of Union and Progress and of German Orientalists have been to a large extent counteracted".

"The agreement carries on and completes our policy in Arabia, as exemplified in the agreements with the Hadhramaut, Oman, Muscat, Kowait and Bin Sa'ud. With the last named, it gives Great Britain a band of influence running across Arabia from Red Sea to Persian Gulf as a bar to the progress of hostile activity and penetration, it has rendered pro-British a large body of anti-Turk sentiments in Turkish Arabia, Syria and Mesopotamia and it has impaired the loyalty of the Arab divisions of the Turkish army. Its effect is continuing and even should the Sharīf only succeed in holding out until peace is declared, it will be found to have had a cumulative effect which may influence greatly the final situation".[898]

Meanwhile, the Head of the Arab Bureau in Cairo, D.G. Hogarth was later on to state that: "Had the Revolt never done anything else than to frustrate the combined march of the Turks and Germans in Southern Arabia in 1916(1334H), we should owe it more than we have paid to this day".[899]

In fact, at times during the course of the Revolt, the promised British Subsidy of £125,000 (Sterling Pounds) a month, for the first four months was so slow in getting through, that the Sharīf Fayṣal was forced to resort to carrying around a heavily guarded cash box weighted with stones in order to keep up the spirits of his following. Two Pounds were paid to each volunteer, with four more if his camel and a modern rifle were made available during the earlier stage, as each of these would then have been utilised by no less than four men.[900]

E: The Course of the Revolt

On the actual course of the Revolt since its start on 10th June 1916 (9th Sha'bān 1334H) and some of its most important events, it may be mentioned that, Jiddah was to surrender on 16th June (12th Sha'bān) to the Sharīfian Commander, the Shaykh Muḥsin Manṣūr of the Ḥarb confederation of tribes following bombardment by the two cruisers, the Fox and the Hardinge, of the Royal Indian Navy's Red Sea Fleet under the command of Admiral Wemyss on the 'Euryabus', supported later by a seaplane carrier, the 'Ben-my-Chree'.[901] During this episode, the Sharīf's youngest son Zayd, who had then returned from his studies at Oxford University, was investing Jiddah from land.

Philby was to add that, in order to stir up local opposition to the Turks, Zayd had sent a message to that Port's leading citizen, Muḥammad al-Ṭawīl, Deputy-Director of Customs, offering him promotion, if he would desert the Turks. Despite the fact that the latters' position was desperate, he is said to have replied that, "having served them faithfully for a quarter of a century, he would not desert them in the hour of their need". Then, when the Turkish Commander of the Garrison invited him to a council of war "to deliberate the advisability of surrender", he declined on grounds that, "he could not be a party to a development, which, though inevitable, he regarded as fraught with disaster for the Ḥejāz". Lastly, when the Garrison actually surrendered, he did not bow to the conquerors until he had said his last farewell to the Turkish officers on the steamer carrying them into captivity. After returning to the shore released from his obligations towards the Ottoman administration by its departed representatives, he made his way to Zayd ibn Ḥusayn to place himself at the disposal of the new government. Suitably touched and impressed by what he had come to learn about the man, Zayd was to see to it that his father appointed al-Ṭawīl the Director and it was said that, of the few people, if any, who dared to stand up to the old Sharīf, Muḥammad al-Ṭawīl could and often did when required.[902]

According to HRH Prince Ghāzī ibn Muḥammad ibn Ṭalāl of Jordan, his great grandfather 'AbdAllāh (whom Lawrence was to describe as "too clever"), and the latter's elder and younger brothers 'Alī and Fayṣal were the sons of the Sharīf Ḥusayn from his cousin, the Sharīfah 'Abdīyyah bint 'AbdAllāh (a former Grand

Sharīf), while his Turkish wife, the mother of Zayd and his sister Ṣārah was called 'Adīlah. A third wife, Madīḥah, was the mother of another of his daughters, called Ṣāliḥah.

The subjugation by the Sharīf's adherents of Makkah's forts and barracks, which also had put up a stiff resistance, was not completed until 4th July 1916 (1st Ramaḍān 1334H), when the barracks at 'Jirwāl' caught fire and the defenders found themselves without the means to fight the rising flames. During the fighting in Makkah, a few shells had also landed in the 'Ḥaram' as mentioned earlier on. One had sadly caused damage to the Ka'bah and the 'Kiswah' and also killed a number of people, while another had affected the 'Maqām' ('Station') of Ibrāhīm. The disfiguring of the bas-relief on one of the interior walls, bearing the Caliph 'Uthmān's name, interpreted by the citizens as an indication of the outcome of grave events due to be unfolded, has also already been referred to earlier.[903]

After varying levels of resistance from the Ottoman troops, most of the posts attacked by the Sharīf's followers were eventually to be taken. However, a crisis was to develop regards the capture of al-Madīnah—the terminus of the Ḥejāz Railway in Arabia, to whose complexities a new dimension was added by the dismissal of Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī from his office on 2nd July (28th Sha'bān) and the appointment on 10th July (28th Ramaḍān) and despatch of a new Grand Sharīf for Makkah, 'Alī Ḥaidar of the clan of 'Dhawī Zayd'. The latter were rivals of the 'Dhawī 'Aun' to which Ḥusayn belonged. 'Alī Ḥaidar was to be stationed in al-Madīnah temporarily as Grand Sharīf until the recapture of Makkah by the Ottomans.[904] That however, was not destined to happen and he was fated to pass the course of the War in the Prophet's City till prior to the Ottoman withdrawal from there. That besides, the reason al-Madīnah did not surrender like all the other posts was due to the redoubtable defence organised and offered against immense odds by its inspiring, inventive and improvising commander, 'Umar Fakhral-dīn Pāshā, endearingly referred to by his troops and the local populace as Fakhrī (Fahri).

It may be recalled that, when Muṣṭafā Kamāl Pāshā had been consulted by Jamāl Pāshā on the question of al-Madīnah's future defence, which was proving more and more difficult by the day, after reviewing all the relevant factors and immediate and future implications between them concerning the issue, his ultimate reaction or response had been that, he on his part, did not wish to go down in history as the man who had abandoned that City. This had temporarily served well to encourage the continuation of the maintenance of its garrison despite the consistently increasing odds and hardships. In token and public display of this commitment, Jamāl Pāshā and the Minister for War, Anwar (Enver) Pāshā had then even visited al-Madīnah the following month (March/Rabī' al-Thānī) and presented the Prophet's Mosque with an eleventh century Hijrī (seventeenth century CE) gold casket studded with rubies and emeralds, to hold a copy of the Qur'ān. On it, Anwar Pāshā had referred to himself as "the Servant of Islām".[905]

Yanbu', al-Madīnah's major port and almost impregnable from land because of its situation, was however to fall to concerted naval and land operations on 27th July 1916 (Ramaḍān 1334H) by the British Royal Indian Navy's Red Sea Fleet and the Sharīfian forces and this was followed shortly by the capture of al-Līth and al-Qunfidhah, in the 'Asīr, though the latter was soon to be retaken by the Ottomans. Lastly, al-Ṭā'if was surprisingly to surrender meekly on 22nd September 1916 (Dhū'l-Qa'dah 1334H) when the 'Wālī' of the Ḥejāz, Ghālib Pāshā, upon being surprised and taken unawares by the Sharīf's second son, 'AbdAllāh, following a clever and daring stratagem, had no choice but to seek terms.[906] This surrender had also brought into the Sharīf's possession, an Ottoman military band.[907] Then, in the north, the forces under Ḥusayn's eldest son, 'Alī, had tried to interfere with the railway track and also attempted an assault on al-Muhīṭ about thirteen miles west of al-Madīnah, followed by one on the latter itself, but had been compelled by that City's outer defences to retire in no orderly fashion.[908] In order to put pressure on those of his subjects who might have entertained divided loyalties and whose support he needed, the Sharīf had already emphatically asked the British even prior to the outbreak of the Revolt, to blockade the Ḥejāzī ports and assist in his efforts to coerce these elements into co-operation, if only out of fear of loss of vital supplies such as food, not to mention its general effect on their livelihood and on commerce. This the British had obliged with, by converting a partial blockade that they had been enforcing since late 1914 (early 1333H), into a complete one, which was to come into effect as of 15th May 1916 (Jamād al-Thānī 1334H).[909]

In the meanwhile, efforts were also doubled to provide the new Sharīfian State with the requisite modern trappings of statehood such as, a modern ministerial cabinet comprised of the practically essential portfolios, with notables representative of the famous families of Makkah and Jiddah, manning them. The Shaykh ʻAbdAllāh Sarrāj was to act as Deputy to the Sharīf's eldest son ʻAli, the new Ḥejāz's first Prime Minister, while his second son ʻAbdAllāh was designated the role of its Foreign Minister. However, these appointments were mainly cosmetic and the bearers of these weighty portfolios intended to be no more than cyphers in Sharīf Ḥusayn's highly personalised brand of rule, now in the guise of the newly declared or rather self-proclaimed "King of the Arab Lands", a step he had taken on second November 1916(early Muḥarram 1335H). It was often said of these ministers that, despite their sonorous job titles, they often had to sign documents without reading them out of awe for his person. The rather sensitive portfolio of Finance had been given on this occasion to ʻAbdal-Raḥmān of the famous old trading house of Ḥaḍramī origin of Bānājah—most probably because of that family's wealth and eminence at the time. Incidentally, this Bānājah family is the very same which had offered great hospitality to the Sulṭāns of Ḥaḍramaut, ʻUmar ibn ʻAwaḍ and Ṣāleḥ ibn Ghālib al-Quʻaiṭī, during their visits to the Ḥejāz alluded to in an earlier chapter. Then, just as was the case with the Sulṭāns in Constantinople, the Sharīf Ḥusayn, in their emulation, was also to constitute a body of supreme jurists, but merely of Muftīs or senior Qāḍīs of the Shāfiʻī and the Mālikī Schools in his case instead of representatives of all the four Schools of Jurisprudence and ignoring thus the Ḥanafī and the Ḥanbalī 'Madhāhib', in order to oversee and ensure that his Government's departments were working in consonance with the interpretations of the 'Sharīʻah'.[910] He had presumably decided to overlook the appointment of representatives for these two Schools because they did not claim too many followers in his domains.

Sir Ronald Storrs, with the help of T.E. Lawrence, had also designed for the new kingdom its first issue of stamps, which bore the legend "Hejazi Post". When submitted for approval, the Sharif had promptly proceeded to print them without further reference to their designers, but with the above proposed text of the legend replaced by "Hashimite Arab Government". Also designed was a beautiful intricate flag with green to represent the Prophet's favourite colour and hence symbolic of Islām and of the ʻAlīds also; then white in reference to the Umaiyyads and black in recall of links with the ʻAbbāsid heritage and finally, red in a chevron in representation of the Sharīf's own lineage from Muḍar, whose tents and standard as may be recalled, were of that colour.[911]

F: The Campaign for the North and al-Madīnah and Fakhrī Pāshā

Indeed, it had appeared at one stage that, all Ottoman resistance was going shortly to be rendered useless in the face of these local and regional political and military developments. However, not so for the rare likes of Fakhrī Pāshā, the Deputy of Jamāl Pāshā and his Fourth Army, then based in Syria-Palestine. Fakhrī was a man who successfully combined his many fine qualities such as faith, indefatigability, resolution and valour with ruthlessness, as and when needed. Some of these attributes, particularly the latter, may not necessarily have always endeared him to everyone, but were nevertheless appealing enough at least to his own men and to a host of others besides, to earn him the epithet of "the Glorious".[912]

Undaunted by the discouraging events in the other theatres of this long and bloody War and likewise unaffected by the unwelcome changes even in his immediate vicinity, for if he was, he seldom gave any indication of it, Fakhrī Pāshā had decided to place his ultimate trust in God the One in the discharge of his duty towards his faith, come what may. Refusing abjectly to bow before the dictates of the reality of events, or to superior command in what was for him such a weighty issue as the defence of the Prophet's City, he had made up his mind with every intention to carry on in the discharge of this responsibility of his, regardless of the odds and come what may.

Willing to rely on himself and the meagre resources as and when available to him, if at all—rather like that other great Ottoman soldier fighting with great ingenuity under very similar circumstances in South-West Arabia, ʻAlī Saʻīd Pāshā—and by marshalling them and organising the inner and outer fortifications and defences of al-Madīnah, as well as the defence network system primarily based on outposts, depots and rapidly moving mobile columns for the protection of the various settlements and the intercommunications between them, and yet again, never afraid to go on the offensive if need be, Fakhrī Pāshā had actually managed,

during the months of Ṣafar 1335H(December 1916) and Rabī‘ al-Awwal 1335H(January 1917) to wreak great havoc in the Sharīfian camp, once by outflanking a force of Ḥarb levies guarding the road to Rābigh and then routing another under the Sharīf Zayd ibn Ḥusayn, thus laying the routes to Rābigh and Makkah open before himself.[913]

However, his push further southwards on this occasion had to be brought to an end as a meaningless exercise upon the dire realisation that, further efforts against fresh, regular troops and aeroplanes, both provided by the British from Egypt, would only exhaust his already overstretched resources and lines of communication from the main base in al-Madīnah, and especially so, as the Sharīfian troops, now being supplied from the sea, had started operating to his north and interfering increasingly with the railway track, almost at will. Hence, this challenging thrust by Fakhrī Pāshā, which had initially caused considerable alarm in the Sharīfian and British camps, eventually had to turn around during Rabī‘ al-Awwal 1335H(18th January 1917), but not before having faced action against a unit of four British aeroplanes under a Major Ross.[914] This novel weapon, upon its introduction, was rapidly becoming increasingly decisive in this theatre of the War as well.

In fact, alarmed by Fakhrī Pāshā's rapid successes, the Sharīf Ḥusayn had applied for urgent help from the British in trained troops and weaponry in order to stem his above advance. Yet, so nervous and sensitive were they of responding favourably to this appeal, lest it be misunderstood by their Muslim subjects, that, nothing was dispatched until every precaution had been taken to ensure that, no step in this regard would be open to the interpretation amongst them and their co-religionists the world over that, the sanctity of the Ḥejāz as Islām's Holy Land had been "compromised" or was in any sense being trifled with and despoiled by non-Muslim invaders. In fact, so nervous were the British about this issue that, at one critical stage during this episode, Storrs had been reduced to advising the Sharīf ‘AbdAllāh that, not only will the British troops not be sent, but the British planes also withdrawn, and the extra £10,000 in funds asked for, will also not be forthcoming. It was only after ‘AbdAllāh had intimated the French his thoughts that, under the circumstances, his father may well have no other choice but to seek a separate peace with the Ottoman authorities, that the British, under

French pressure, were coerced into relenting and reversing this newly conceived stance of theirs.[915]

Moreover, since the Sharīfian revolt was not proceeding too well at this stage, after a flashy start, mainly due to the threat sensed from the troops in al-Madīnah under Fakhrī Pāshā, and as the British were finding themselves faced with difficulties in sending troops and aid, hence, with the approval, nay indeed upon the suggestion of Sir Henry McMahon himself, recourse was had to the French to lend a helping hand. Their first response was to send a Lieutenant-Colonel, Edouard Brémond as their representative, which was very much in the same manner the British had sent Colonel Arnold Wilson. However, Brémond had arrived in Jiddah in late September 1916 (Dhū'l-Qa‘dah 1334H) a few weeks before the Ḥajj and not alone, but at the head of over a thousand troops (1,052 to be precise), mostly Muslims from their colonies, of whom, fifty-three were officers.[916]

The capabilities of the Sharīfian forces were also to be further augmented by the recruitment of Ottoman officers of Arab origin, primarily from British Prisoners of War camps in Egypt, India and elsewhere and particularly after the harsh treatment of Arab political prisoners by Jamāl Pāshā. It has to be said that, until this day they had mostly proved reluctant to cooperate in activities they deemed treacherous. Nevertheless, as a result of this development, several capable officers were to be introduced into the Sharīfian camp, many to serve with great distinction for long years, not merely during this War, but later on in the Hāshimite Amīrate of Transjordan and the Kingdom of al-‘Irāq. Amongst these may be cited the names of Muḥammad Sharīf al-Fārūqī, a deserter at Gallipoli and member of the secret society of ‘al-‘Ahd' ('the Covenant') and destined to play the role of a more or less self-appointed 'ex-officio' Sharīfian Agent in Cairo, Nūrī al-Sa‘īd, who was later on to serve as the Prime Minister of al-‘Irāq on several occasions, and who in this War was to face Muṣṭafā Kamāl Pāshā in Aleppo, Syria, Maulūd Mukhliṣ, Jamāl al-Midfa‘ī, Ja‘far al-‘Askarī, who was to enjoy the unusual distinction of adding to his decorations, which included the German Iron Cross, the British C.M.G as well later on and the formidable ‘Azīz ‘Alī al-Miṣrī, who, after being rescued as it may be recalled from the wrath of Anwar Pāshā and the Ottoman gallows by no less than the personal intervention of Lord Kitchener himself, was to go to on to serve for a while as the Sharīfian Minister of

War and then "Sirdār" or Commander-in-Chief of the Egyptian army.[917]

It is said that al-Miṣrī, a born revolutionary recognised later on in life for his pro-German and anti-British inclinations, had been removed from Sharīfian service allegedly for harbouring anti-Ḥusayn and pro-Ottoman sentiments. This was even though he had been sent to serve under the Sharīfian banner with the enthusiastic backing of the Arab Bureau in Cairo soon after being rescued. That several Arab societies and organisations had sprung up over most of the Arab lands of the Ottoman State in reaction to the policies of 'the Committee of Union and Progress' and claiming to speak for Arab rights has already been mentioned. One of these in Egypt was the "Ottoman Decentralisation Party". Al-Miṣrī as an Ottoman officer and later on, a leader of the secret society called 'al-'Ahd' ('the Covenant'), which, like the 'Qaḥṭān League', consisted primarily of army officers and also sought equal rights for the Arabs alongside the Turks, had few strong feelings for Sharīf Ḥusayn's aspirations to become the Caliph. In this regard, Lawrence was to write: "…he (the Sharīf) knew that they (the Mesopotamians, Syrians and 'Irāqīs) were fighting, not to give him dominion, but to set free their own countries for their own governing".[918]

On a number of occasions, al-Miṣrī had offered the British advice, and at least once, even presented proposals for overthrowing the government of 'the Committee of Union and Progress' as represented by the Triumvirate of Anwar, Ṭal'at and Jamāl and replacing it by an administrative structure organised along federal lines, with local autonomy for all regions and equality in treatment and opportunity for their citizens. This was in 1918(1336H) and through the British Embassy in Madrid. However, as this was not what the British, specially the Arab Bureau then wanted, but the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, over the territories of which they aspired to establish a British mandate, something that the region would find hard to swallow, al-Miṣrī's advice and offers in this regard were not accepted.[919] According to some, it was also al-Miṣrī who had originally put forward the idea to Storrs and Lawrence of using tribesmen loyal to the Sharīf in a guerilla campaign as irregulars after training them in its techniques, instead of employing regular Allied army units, which were bound to arouse suspicion and hatred, both locally and amongst Muslims abroad. Of course, one of his motives in suggesting this had also been to keep the Entente

Powers (in this case Britain and France), whose physical presence in Arabia would have been abhorrent to all Muslims, out of it. Lawrence, perceiving the value of al-Miṣrī's ideas and realising the prospects of their acceptability with his superiors, as well as their success—for Wingate (shortly to become High Commissioner in Egypt) also held similar views—was to adopt, promote and use them in Britain's interests at the expense of French ambitions. Wingate was even to go on to claim later and with considerable justification as it appears, that, it was actually he who had initiated the Arab Revolt.[920]

The port of Wajh was the next to be taken on behalf of the Entente Powers by an operation from the sea involving sailors of the British Royal Indian Navy supported by Arab Levies from the land on 23rd January 1917 (Rabī' al-Awwal 1335H). Then al-'Aqabah was to fall on 6th July (Ramaḍān) to an overland effort by the Sharīf Nāṣir ibn 'Alī and the Ḥuwayṭāt Chief, 'Audah Abū Ṭāyeh, after two attempts to seize it from the sea had already failed due to its impregnable location, which had always daunted any approach from that direction, particularly as it was defended at this stage by a number of heavy artillery pieces facing seawards.[921] With reference to the significance of these two events, Lawrence was to observe: "At Wajh the Hejaz war was won; at 'Aqaba it was ended. Faisal's army had cleared off its Arabian liabilities and now, under General Allenby …its role was to take part in the military deliverance of Syria".[922] However, there was still the issue of al-Madīnah and Fakhrī's troops to tend to, before he could actually boast so.

With the Ḥejāz now gradually being cleared of any Ottoman military presence save Fakhrī Pāshā, who with his indomitable spirit was continuing to hold on to the pocket of al-Madīnah, even though isolated from all supplies from Syria since around Jamād al-Thānī 1335H (April 1917), the emphasis and focus of military action now rapidly began to shift to the more important theatre of Ghazzah (Gaza) and the region to its north, the Fertile Crescent. Fakhrī's position had been thus, ever since some eight miles of railway line south of Ma'ān had been removed by the forces under the Sharīf Fayṣal ibn Ḥusayn, then advancing upon it after taking al-'Aqabah, with Lawrence now fully on his staff as Colonel and playing a major role in directing strategy. He was also to have much to do with the destruction of the railway line and in such a manner that it was not supposed to be repairable, let alone rendered serviceable again.[923]

Then, it was the turn of the railway head of Der'ā to fall next to the Sharīfian troops and they entered it on 27th September 1918 (19th Dhū'l-Ḥijjah 1336H), a little ahead of the cavalry units under General Sir George Barrow.[924] They then again managed to enter Damascus in advance of the Australian Cavalry under General Harry Chauvel on 1st October 1918 (23rd Dhū'l-Ḥijjah 1336H), though Elie Kedourie attempts to maintain that, the Arabs on this occasion were merely allowed pride of place by Allenby over the Australians. The suggestion certainly seems unlikely in view of what was politically at stake and came to pass.[925] Next, the Sharīf Nāṣir ibn 'Alī succeeded in taking Ḥoms on 15th October (8th Muḥarram 1337H), followed two days later by Ḥamā on 17th October (10th Muḥarram 1337H). Aleppo, defended by a force under Muṣṭafā Kamāl Pāshā also surrendered on the twenty-sixth of the same month (19th Muḥarram 1337H) after considerable spirited resistance and street by street fighting against an Arab force led by Nūrī al-Sa'īd, who as mentioned earlier, was a former Ottoman officer and amongst those who had come over to the Sharīf.[926] Finally, on 30th October 1918 (23rd Muḥarram 1337H), Armistice was signed at Mudros between the Ottoman State and the Powers of the Entente aboard the British Royal Navy's vessel, the 'Agamemnon'.[927] However, choosing to remain oblivious to all these unwelcome international developments about him, Fakhrī Pāshā was still at large in al-Madīnah, unwilling in any manner to shirk in the duty of defending the Prophet's City, entrusted to his care.

In short, Arab effort in this theatre of the War had nevertheless succeeded according to senior British officials like Peake (Pāshā), (Sir) Alec Kirkbride and Captain Jarvis (a former Governor of Sinai and expert on desert warfare) in tying down between a quarter and a third (over 20,000) of the Ottoman forces engaged on the Palestine front, where British arms had earlier on met with defeat at Ghazzah (Gaza). Fighting an Ottoman force as large as the one facing the British forces advancing from Egypt, these Arab levies had accounted for about 35,000 Ottoman soldiers, killed or captured.[928] However, it is worth remembering here that, in general terms, at least a third of the Ottoman armed forces were constituted of Arabs.[929]

G: The Sykes-Picot-Sazanov Agreement

To reflect a little further on this tripartite Agreement already dealt with in part, it had initially been negotiated as of 23rd November 1915 (Muḥarram 1334H) by Sykes and Picot in London (representing Britain and France respectively), and was primarily aimed at dividing up the Arabic speaking lands of the Ottoman Empire with the cognizance and approval of Russia and Italy, who, in keeping with their traditional claims and ambitions, were also to be accommodated and compensated from various different parts of that Empire or elsewhere, as per other similar and more or less simultaneous agreements. The prime concern of this Agreement was to cater to France's claims of "historic interest" in (greater) Syria (including al- Moṣul) going back to the era of the Crusades, and Britain's desire to maintain her undisputed status in the Middle East and protect all the routes to India, particularly from the Russian menace. This the British had set out to achieve by conceding to France an area stretching from the Mediterranean coast to so far in the east, as would serve as an effective buffer between Russian and British interests and particularly the areas over-looking the Gulf and the Indian frontier.[930]

The Agreement had been approved by the British and the French Cabinets during early February 1916 (Rabī' al-Awwal 1334H) and then shown to the Russians also a month later in Petrograd. It had basically envisaged the creation of two Arab states, one around Damascus under French protection, and another extended from Baghdād to al-'Aqabah under British protection. Lebanon too, from the north of Beyrūt to the south of Tyre was to come under the French, while Britain would receive Acre and Ḥaifā'. Palestine was to become the joint responsibility of the three signatory Powers, Britain, France and Russia, besides which, the latter was also promised a free hand in settling the fate of Northern Kurdistān, Erzerum and the surrounding regions of Ottoman Armenia.[931]

Of course, Russia had already been bought off earlier on by the terms of the Constantinople Agreement of March 1915 (Rabī' al-Thānī 1333H), by virtue of which, she had been promised the fulfillment of her most cherished dream—the possession of Constantinople and the Straits. All this was in lieu of Britain and France being enabled to achieve their aims in the Near East and elsewhere smoothly without opposition.[932] Italy, though not ini-

tially a party to the above Agreement, had also otherwise been promised extensive territorial gains in Asia Minor in the 'Vilayet' of Adana, in addition to the confirmation of its sovreignty over the Dodecanese, which it had annexed earlier.[933]

Upon scrutinising this Agreement, it becomes manifestly clear that, as far as the Arab world was concerned, far from the grant of independence, the richest and most advanced parts of the Ottoman Empire, actually or potentially, or otherwise, had been ear-marked for annexation, whilst the backward regions were to be provided with some sort of autonomy, making a total mockery of the promises to the Arabs via the McMahon—Sharīf (official) Correspondence regarding independence, though some have peculiarly ventured to suggest that, "the Sykes-Picot-Sazanov Agreement amplified, clarified and complemented McMahon's proposals rather than invalidated them" and that, "disputes arose rather more from the obligations assured by the British in 1917 to the Zionist movement".[934] However, if this thesis is to be taken seriously, then the question arises as to why the negotiations and conclusion of this Agreement, along with its terms were so guardedly kept from the Arabs and its existence repeatedly denied![935]

Moreover, this tripartite Agreement ought to have become defunct after the successful take-over in Russia during November 1917 (Ṣafar 1336H) by the Bolsheviks and their unilateral call within days (on 19th November 1918/Jamād al-Awwal 1336H to be precise) for an armistice on all fronts, let alone the innumerable other changes as well, as a result of events on the battle-field and on the political scene, both, prior to this event and as a result of it. It becomes only too clear upon examination that, as this would have complicated and inconvenienced matters regards the achievement of these said goals of the Agreement's major surviving participants and beneficiaries, namely Britain and France, the fact that it (the Agreement) had effectively become a dead letter with the exit of one of its three major partners or players was not allowed to be acknowledged, or to get in the way in any form or manner by them. It is interesting to observe here that, reflecting on this episode of Russia's exit from the War, Lloyd George was to report to the House of Commons that, "the collapse of Russia was almost entirely due to the Ottoman Empire".[936]

Lord Balfour, the British Foreign Secretary, had made that famous "Declaration" of his by which he is chiefly or commonly

remembered in history, in a letter dated 2nd November 1917 (Muḥarram 1336H), which had been addressed to Lord Rothschild. In it, he had expressed his Government's support for "a national home for the Jewish people" in Palestine along with its decision to "use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object...". This, it is maintained, was in the hope of securing the world Jewry's support for Britain's strategic colonial, global and immediate military interests. Shortly after it, the new Russian Bolshevik Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Leon Trotsky (born a Jew and as Lev Davidovitch Bronstein), after declaring that "we will sweep all secret treaties into the dustbin", had proceeded to publish for the world only twenty-five days later on 27th November (around 12th Ṣafar 1336H), all the secret engagements Russia had entered into with the Powers of the Entente between 1914(1333H), till the Bolshevik take-over. Then, while Balfour was busy attempting to disprove these revelations by Trotsky as "a figment of malicious Bolshevik imagination", the Russians had followed this up by a call to "all working Muslims of the East to take their destiny in their own hands".[937]

Save for the utterly blind, the mask was now more or less off almost all of the promises made to the Sharīf Ḥusayn and via him or otherwise to the concerned Arab peoples who had co-operated in the war effort, by Britain and France. Now, while the Armistice was being converted into a formal peace between Russia and Germany and its allies at Brest-Litovsk, which was to be on 15th December 1917 (Rabī' al-Awwal 1336H), Jamāl Pāshā, taking advantage of the resultant general dismay in Arab ranks, had decided to make a public address on 4th December (Ṣafar 1336H) in Beyrūt, digressing on all that had transpired and calling upon the Arabs to work along with the Turks to save Islāmic interests and for the Sharīf "to save his honour".[938]

Earlier on, he had addressed letters to the Sharīf Fayṣal and the other commander, Ja'far al-'Askarī, offering an amnesty to all who surrendered, the recognition of the Hāshimites in an autonomous Ḥejāz, with autonomy also for all the Arab provinces and even a Hāshimite caliphate. However, by now, such was the Sharīf's faith in the British despite all that had come to pass, that, upon seeing the two letters from Jamāl, he was to instruct his son to send back a curt rejection and to forward the whole correspondence to the British High Commissioner Sir Reginald Wingate, McMahon's successor

in Egypt, for which, apart from denials of all that Jamāl Pāshā had stated or accused them of, as a distortion of facts, he was to receive words of praise for his wisdom and the assurance that, Britain stood by him in accordance with all her former pledges.[939]

As for the Balfour Declaration, which had come after some eighteen months following the outbreak of the Arab Revolt and two years since McMahon's famous referred to letter of 24th October 1915 (Dhū'l-Ḥijjah 1333H) embodying the British promises to the Arabs, it is worth adding that, its pronouncement surprisingly enough had been made despite opposition concerning the wisdom of pursuing such a course from Britain's "two most representative bodies in English Jewry"—the Board of Deputies of British Jews and the Anglo-Jewish Association.[940]

Regards this unprecedented political step, George Antonius in his famous and oft-quoted work succinctly substantiates, as already referred to earlier in part, that, "the British Government were moved mainly by two considerations. One was political.... the other was imperialistic". The "political" one was in order to win over the powerful Zionist elements in Germany, Austria and the Ottoman Empire, then negotiating with these Powers "for the issue of a Turkish equivalent of the 'Balfour Declaration'", as well as to mitigate Jewish hostility in Allied countries towards Russia, and to encourage the powerful Jewish Bolsheviks, so actively involved in the attempt to overthrow the Czar, to keep Russia in the War on their side. The other "imperialistic" reason was to secure Palestine as a British protectorate and "a bulwark to the British position in Egypt" against the presence demanded by the French in Syria and "as an overland link with the East".[941]

With regard to these British designs, it may further be added that, while the Arabs were dreaming of independence, the Zionists were keen and working diligently to see the establishment of a British protectorate, which would protect and assist them in the furtherance of all their ultimate objectives.[942] That, despite the heavy Jewish immigration from Russia during the thirteenth century Hijrī (nineteenth century CE), the population of Palestine was still well over 90% Arabic speaking, did not seem to bother or matter to the British decision makers, who, in their wisdom, had decided to completely ignore the prospect that, the earlier part of the Declaration concerning facilitating the establishment of a national home for the Jews in Palestine, if it was to materialise, would have to be at the

expense of its (that is the Declaration's) other half, which stated that, "nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish Communities" (i.e.—the 92% Arabs)! Yet so impatient and ruthless were the Zionists to get their way, that, even during the Paris Peace Congress, when General Clayton (Chief Political Officer) and General Money (Chief Miltary Administrator) had resigned in Palestine, Chaim Weizmann was to write to Balfour from Paris on 23rd July 1919 (Sha'bān 1337H) that, "it is most desirable in the interests of the future of Palestine and also for the furtherance of the Policy laid down by His Majesty's Government in the communication made by you to Lord Rothschild in 1917, that these two very important offices should be filled by men who are in complete sympathy with that policy". He goes on: "When this and the other impending vacancy have been filled, steps will no doubt be taken to replace officers, some of them filling positions inferior only to those already mentioned, who, according to all the information we have received, have shown themselves not only unsympathetic but even hostile to the Jewish population. Changes to these offices are, I feel, almost as essential...".

All these secrets and their implications were soon to emerge and be substantiated at the peace talks at San Remo on the Italian Riviera during April/May 1920 (Rajab/Sha'bān 1338H), when the decisions were confirmed to place the Arab lands between Persia and the Mediterranean under political mandatory rule, with Syria being broken up into three fractions—Palestine, the Lebanon and a reduced Syria—and the British receiving Palestine and al-'Irāq, with a rider to implement the Balfour Declaration, while the French were given custody of Syria and the Lebanon.[943]

These decisions were also to be cited a few months later (10th August 1920/Dhū'l-Qa'dah 1338H), in the famous Treaty of Sèvres, called so after a suburb of Paris, famous otherwise amongst other things for its delicate porcelain.

The question of terms concerning the Middle East apart, several of the other ones extracted at these conferences out of an increasingly beleaguered Ottoman Government, also were hardly to prove long lasting in several cases, but that is basically another story. However, that they all generally bore the seeds of lengthy future conflict right from the start was to prove certain along with the passage of time, as all they were to achieve was to introduce great

disorientation and continuing dissension and misery, ever on the increase.

H: The Departure of Fakhrī Pāshā and the Surrender of al-Madīnah

Meanwhile, despite the news of these events and the military developments in the region, any orders Fakhrī Pāshā may have received to withdraw, he had decided to regard as "simply treasonable". These had included one as early as the period of March 1917 (Jamād al-Awwal and al-Thānī 1335H) from the Minister of War, Anwar Pāshā himself, according to the Memoirs of the Sharīf 'Ali Ḥaidar.[944] Ignoring all such irritants, which, if anything, only seemed to add to his resolve, Fakhrī Pāshā even at this stage of the events, was found to be as determined as ever to continue with his duties as before, of protecting the City of his beloved Prophet, come what may.

On the second Friday to fall in April 1918 (Jamād al-Thānī/ Rajab 1336H) and after the Congregational Friday Sermons and the Prayer were over, as stillness reigned in the Prophet's Mosque, Fakhrī Pāshā draped in the Ottoman Flag, climbed half-way onto the steps of the 'Minbar' (Pulpit). Then, facing the gathered multitude in a state of great emotion, raised his right hand and audibly pronounced the following oath: "Apostle of Allāh, I will not abandon you". After this, addressing the assembled and particularly the troops present, he said: "Soldiers, I appeal to you in the presence of that Apostle who rests in his grave, but hears the words being spoken here, I invite you to engage yourselves to defend him to our last cartridge and our last breath, no matter how strong our enemies maybe. May God help us and may the Apostle's spiritual aid be with us! You officers of the heroic Ottoman forces and you 'Little Muḥammads' (a familiar Turkish appellation for Ottoman soldiers as 'Ghāzīs' for the Faith, even presently in use in the Turkish forces), who are used to paying your debt to your Faith with your lives, come, take with me this engagement before your Lord" (Allāh). The emotional response to this noble appeal can better be imagined than described, as every soldier present rushed towards the Enclosure surrounding the grave of his beloved Prophet to make the pledge.[945]

A little earlier during March 1918 (Jamād al-Awwal 1336H) and before the railway track had been completely put out of service

upon Lawrence's advice, Fakhrī Pāshā had managed to evacuate over fifteen thousand non-combatants (women and children of al-Madīnah) to the relative security of Syria, the Lebanon and Turkey, providing funds to all those affected and at first, also offering them the right of choice of place to migrate to. This however, was not observed later on, as the transport situation and other relevant factors worsened. Such relics and presents as had survived the Sa'ūdī invasion of al-Madīnah of 1221H(1805), or had been presented since, were also packed and transferred to safety.[946]

Apart from refusing to acknowledge the general orders issued in the name of the new Sulṭān Muḥammad (Mehmet) VI for the cessation of all hostilities and the observation of the terms of the Armistice of Mudros, signed as mentioned earlier aboard the 'HMS Agamemnon' (on 30th October 1918 / 23rd Muḥarram 1337H), Fakhrī Pāshā was also to reject a direct Order from the Minister of War to lay down his arms and nor would he entertain the entreaties of the latter's Deputy, specially sent to convince him to obey orders. Thereupon, a direct Imperial 'Irādé' (literally 'Wish') was dispatched to him in the above Sulṭān's name, dismissing him from his command, again this too was to meet with the same reception.[947] Of the Sulṭān Muḥammad VI, it may be added that, he was destined to die a few years later during 1345H(1926) in San Remo in an impoverished condition and as per his wish to be laid to final rest in a Muslim country, in Damascus.

On the other hand, Fakhrī having made his decision obvious to live up to his oath come what may, felt strangely at peace with himself and his resolve, even though reduced along with his men to eating locust or whatever could be found.[948]

As was his wont and it was almost regularly if not often now, he would devote himself at night to long vigils and during the day to al-Madīnah's public and other routine military affairs, having now set up his residence and head-quarters in the 'Kuttāb' (the Elementary School) adjoining the Mosque. Ammunition had been stored in the buildings surrounding it and observation posts and emplacements for machine-guns had been set up on the minarets of mosques and in particular, the Prophet's Mosque. He had also expanded the open area around the latter through expropriations and laid out a straight road to Qubā, totally oblivious in his stated single-minded determination and purpose to all international political developments and the reasoning and orders of his superiors, much to

the embarrassment and exasperation of his own Government, not to mention his opponents.[949]

Finally, while his government now decided to send the Minister of Justice by sea to Yanbu‘ to reason with him to relent, a number of officers forming a part of his command, influenced by the general developments in the situation and the orders received from high above and also realising their situation and the stance adopted by their Commander to be hopeless, unrealistic and now meaningless also in the wake of the Armistice, had also begun to desert and surrender along with their men. As this trend began to gain ground, Fakhrī Pāshā's military position correspondingly started to deteriorate by the day, but never his spirits.[950]

Then came the situation when even his Second-in-Command decided to fall in line with the orders received and to try to seize his superior unawares and to induce him to comply. He was also to make an attempt at this one night. However, the General, after some premonition, was to reduce the plot to failure on this occasion, by taking the precaution of locking himself in with the ammunition stores and threatening to rain destruction on the plotters.[951]

The story of such passionate devotion and heroic resolve against the despair of total hopelessness at least called for a fitting finale and even though the sad manner in which it was to terminate would hold little appeal for those who admire such unique, heroic qualities, nevertheless, in the end, they too ought not to complain too loudly, given the circumstances.

What actually came to transpire on another night was that, while Fakhrī Pāshā was busy as usual in Prayer and supplication and perhaps had closed his eyes in slight slumber in the midst of his vigil due to exhaustion in the cold of a Madinese winter night, he suddenly thought that he heard the unexpected sounds of footsteps and even a scuffle and he was right, for it was his guard being overpowered. A group of his officers then entered his chamber and began to implore with him again to realise the predicament they were in and now that the Ottoman Empire had signed an armistice which called for its troops in al-Madīnah also to lay down their arms and evacuate it and the Sulṭān himself had ordered this, it was only right to obey. They also emphasised to him that, since all further resistance and sacrifices on their part were only futile, they did not want to die meaninglessly in al-Madīnah, especially as they

could all now return home to their families. Besides, and as the Sharīf Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī had been proclaimed and recognised as "King of the Ḥejāz", there was no dishonour in surrendering to his representatives, as the terms of the Armistice demanded.[952]

The defiant General however, would have none of it. Thereupon, his officers decided to dress him forcibly and convey him out of his chamber towards a car that was to take him to the Sharīfian headquarters. The old Soldier, as expected, was resisting each step with his usual mental and physical resolve and did succeed on the way in breaking loose of his captors. Once free, ‘Umar Fakhral-dīn Pāshā, the name means "Pride of the Faith", headed straight for the Enclosure of the Chamber of the Holy Prophet that houses his grave and those of his two cherished Companions and Caliphs, Abū Bakr and ‘Umar. Having made the ground, he chose to lay down his sword in the Apostle's presence, more in apology over his inability under the forced circumstances to live up to his oath to the last than anything else. Caught up by his pursuers, he was silently to be led away, having bid farewell and presented his apologies for his inability and failure, and for being forced to cast off the responsibility that he had taken upon himself with his men to defend his beloved City and its honour, and more than distressed at this sad twist of fate and what was for him an unwelcome outcome of events.

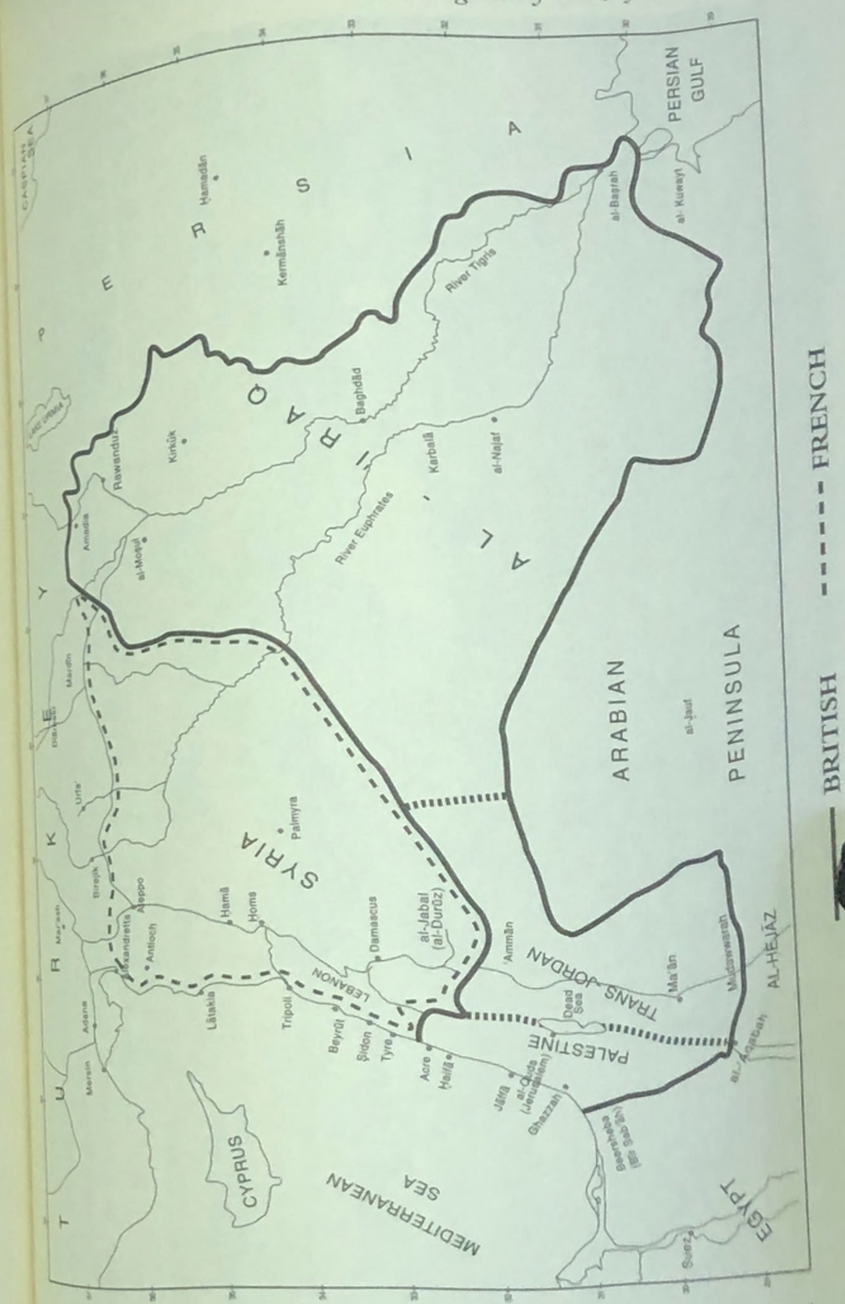
Thus did the last Ottoman stronghold in the Ḥejāz fall to the Sharīfian forces on 27th Rabī‘ al-Awwal 1337H(1st January 1919), a full two months from the signing of the Armistice and thus did the last Ottoman warden charged with the keep of the Prophet's City discharge and unwillingly discard his honourable responsibility—adored by many and respected by all who cherish the love of the Prophet and his memory and for as long as he was to live, no matter where he went.

Even as he was being forcibly separated from his beloved al-Madīnah and his cherished duty, the crowds of citizenry that had hastily gathered to watch the drama of his departure, were to provide him with a rousing and emotional farewell. Upon his arrival in the Sharīfian camp, he was to be received just as warmly before being sent on to Yanbu‘.[953]

Of ‘Umar Fakhral-dīn Pāshā, it could be said without question that, when he answered the call of his Lord, here was a soul returning to its Creator, at peace with itself and pleasing to the Lord. Sir Mark Sykes, the Tory expert on Ottoman affairs had once during

1914 (1332H) warned the British House of Commons, of which he was then a member, that, "the disappearance of the Ottoman Empire must be the first step towards the disappearance of our own".[954] Now, hardly a better epitaph for this story of the end of the Ottoman Empire can be found than what Andrew Wheatcroft in his recent book 'The Ottomans' has to say: "the great British, Russian, German and Austro-Hungarian empires are gone—for long they despised the Ottomans, 'the Sick Man of Europe'; and yet the Ottomans (*in many ways*—these are my italics) outlasted all of them (*and out-classed them as well* - again my italics). And today, the pervasive influence of the 'Ottoman Style' is still present throughout the Middle East. Four hundred years of a culture cannot be extinguished at the stroke of a pen or some national redrawing of boundaries on the map".[955]

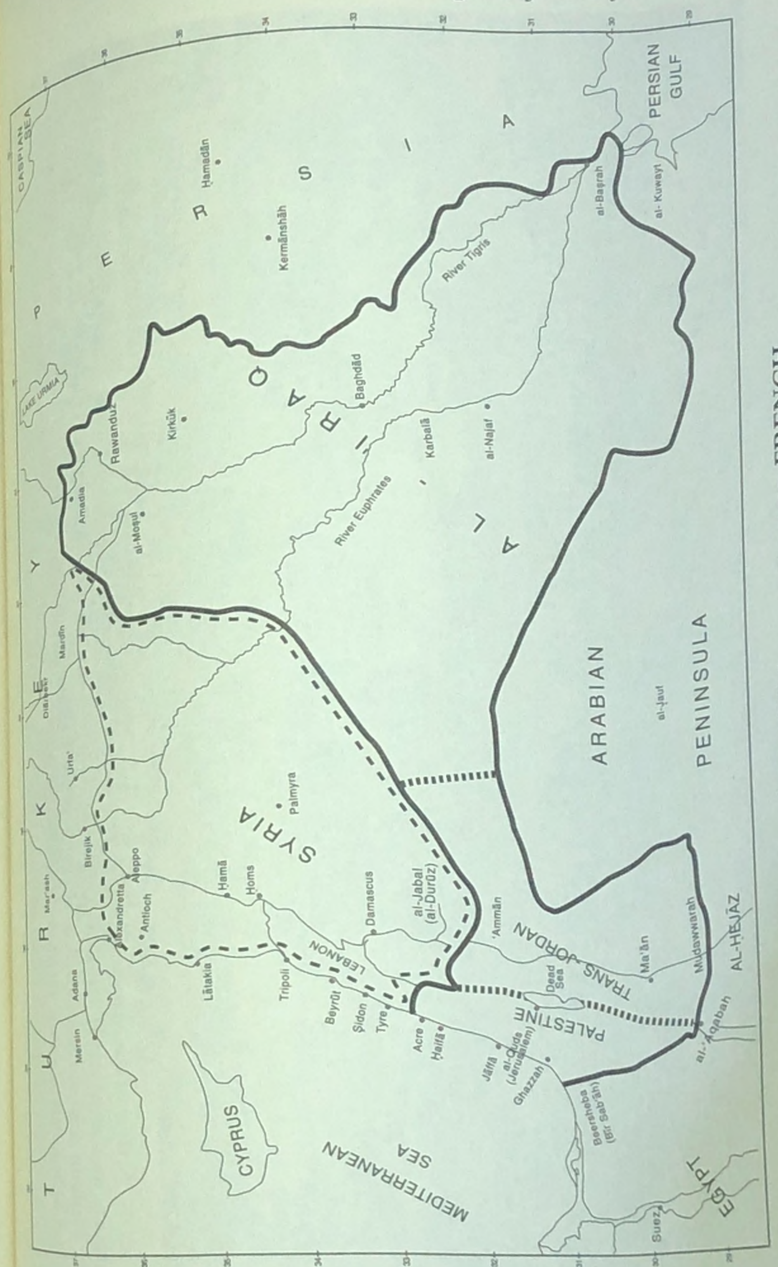
Indeed, such a hold did the tradition of looking towards the seat of the Caliphate for inspiration and direction have on the minds of its erstwhile subjects and neighbours, that, even the successor to the Ottoman State, Atatürk and his regime, as well as his policies and methods, were rightly or wrongly to be emulated as a role model by the like military revolutionists and rulers, who were to rise to power in the region and particularly in the former Ottoman domains. For example, the Egyptian President Jamāl 'Abdal-Nāṣir and his 'Free Officers', who included amongst their ranks his successor Muḥammad Anwar al-Sādāt, would often admit that, the greatest influence on their political lives and thinking was Atatürk's biography "'The Grey Wolf', Mustafa Kemal, An Intimate Study of a Dictator" by H.C. Armstrong. Certainly many of their actions during crisis did resemble those of the leaders of 'the Committee of Union and Progress'. They also had company in Īrān as well, for the Cossack officer turned Shāh, Riḍā (Reza) Khān was also an open admirer of Atatürk and his policies, which he often tried to emulate, with mixed results.



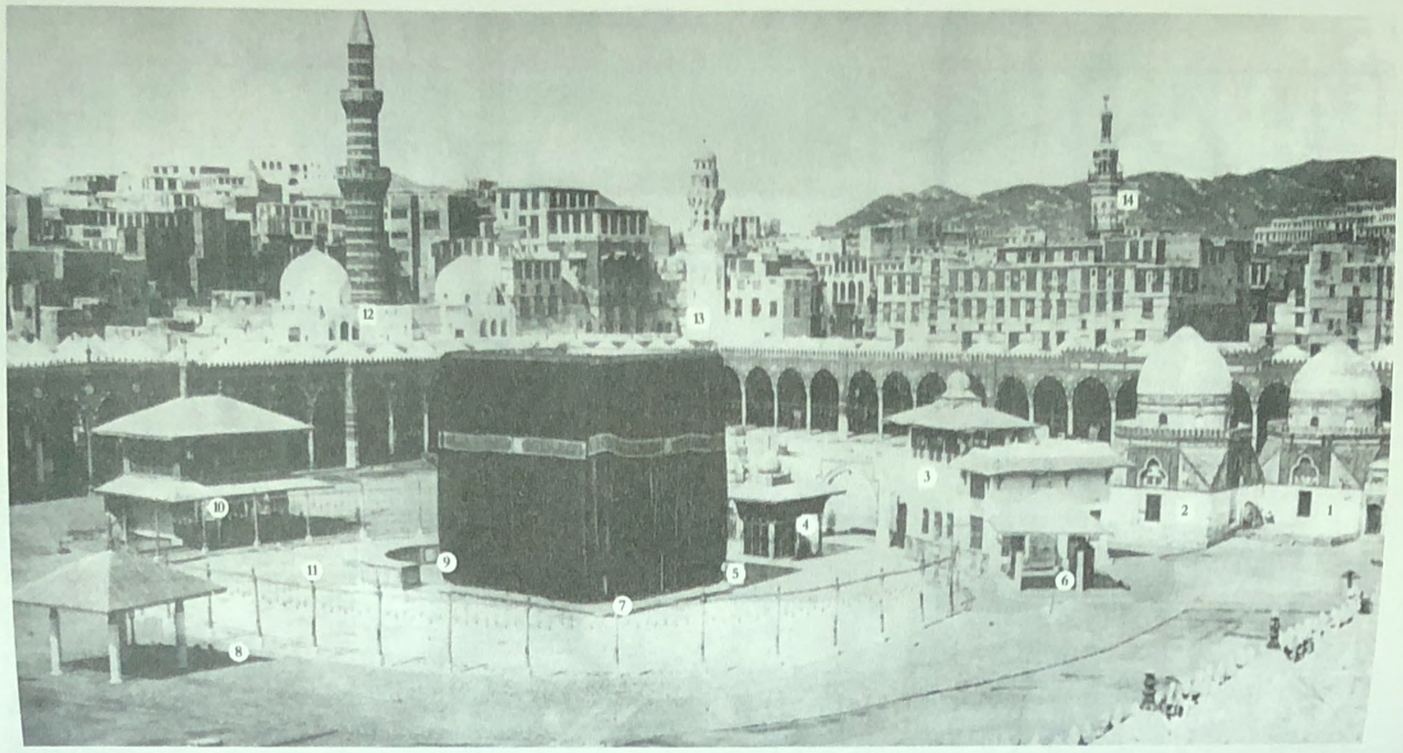
The Actual Division of Greater Syria-Palestine (including Transjordan) and Al-'Irāq into British and French Mandates After the First World War
(Based on George Antonius' "The Arab Awakening")

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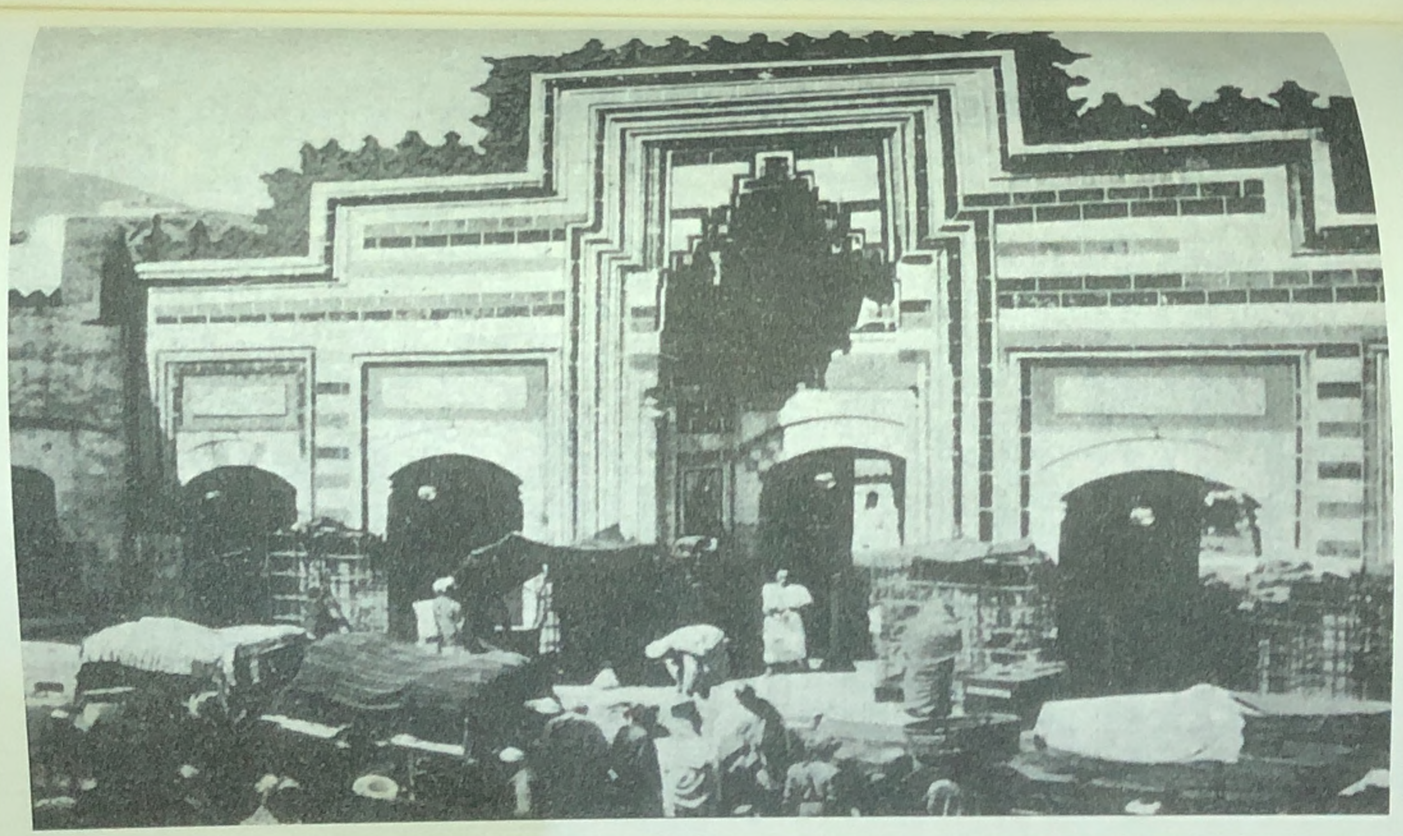
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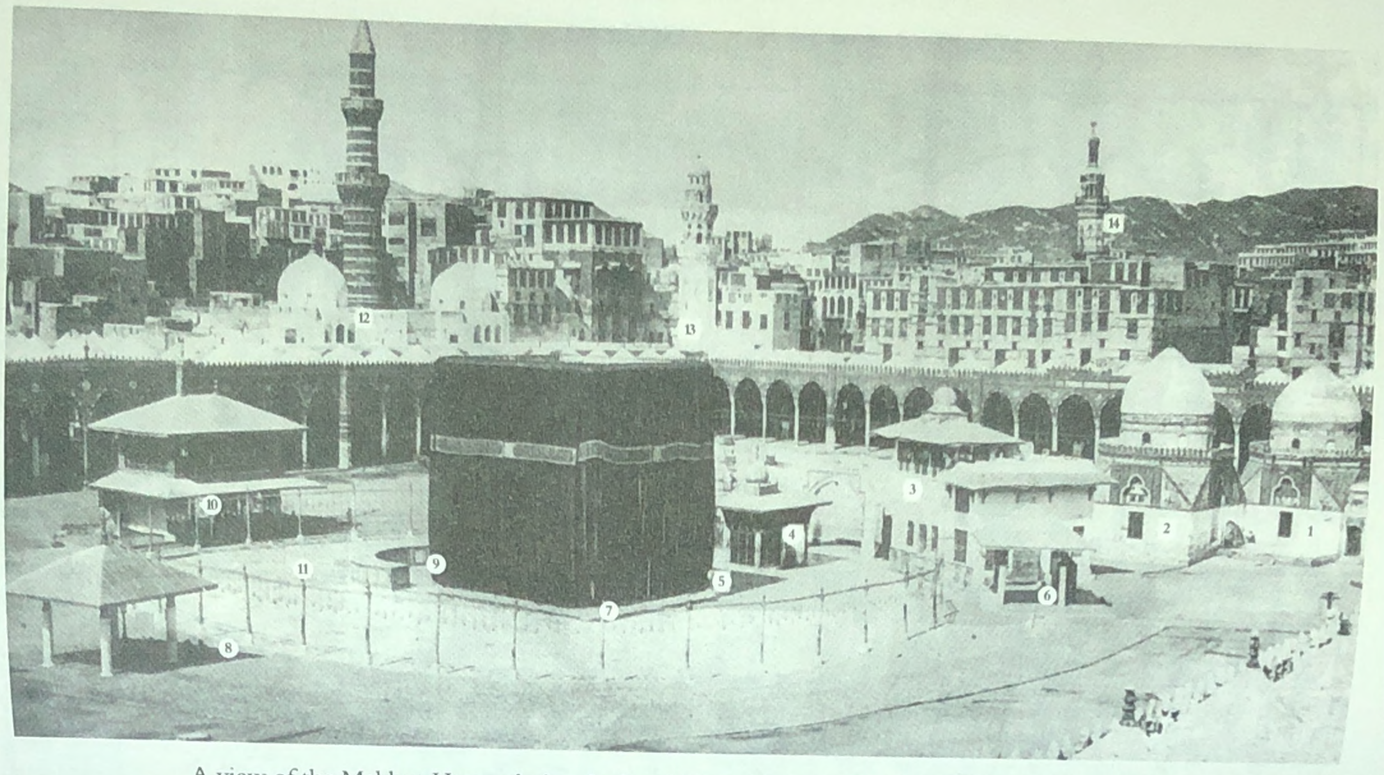
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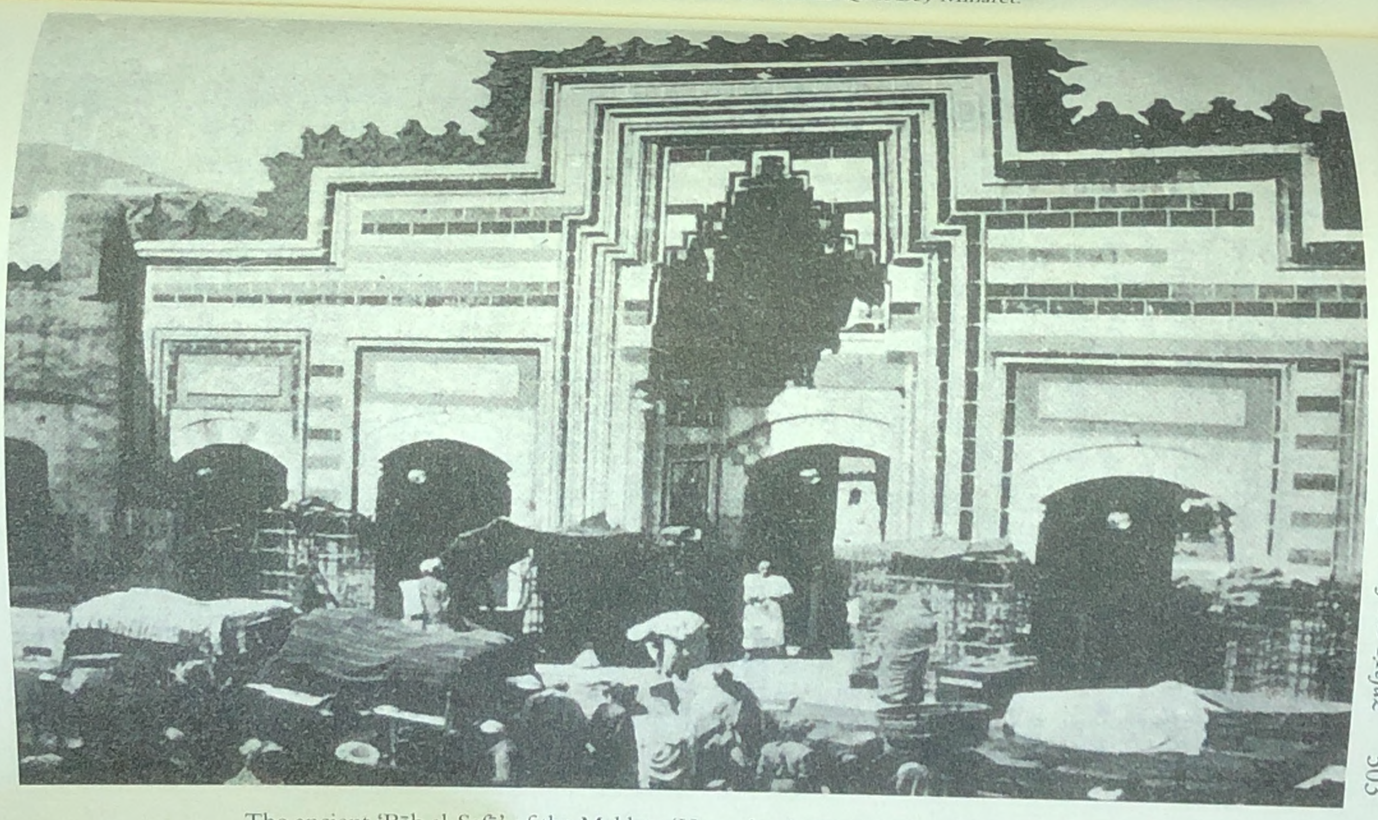
A view of the Makkan Ḥaram during the late 13th / early 14th cH – late 19th / early 20th c CE
The Landmarks numbered are: 1) The Dome of the 'Saqāyah (watering place) of the Prophet's Uncle 'Abbās, 2) Dome of the 'Sā'ah' (clock), 3) Zamzam with the Shāfi'ī Imām's Prayer place on top, 4) The 'Maqām' (Station of) Ibrāhīm, 5) The Black Stone, 6) The place for leading the Prayers of the Ḥanbalī Imām, 7) The Yamānī Corner, 8) The Mālikī Imām's Prayer place, 9) 'Ḥijr' (Enclosure of) Ismā'īl, 10) The Ḥanafī Imām's Prayer place, 11) The enclosed area of the 'Maṭāf' (for circumambulation) around the Ka'bah, 12) The 'Bāb al-Maḥkamah' Minaret, 13) The 'Bāb al-Salām' Minaret, 14) The Qā'it Bey Minaret.



The ancient 'Bāb al-Safā' of the Makkan 'Ḥaram' as it stood during this latter period.



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The ancient 'Bāb al-Ṣafā' of the Makkan 'Ḥaram' as it stood during this latter period.

CHAPTER XIV

The Kingdom of the Ḥejāz

A: (i) Sharīf Ḥusayn as 'King of the Arab Lands' and 'Khalīfah'

Now about another of the great 'dramatis personae' involved in the episode of this War in the Ḥejāz – Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī, the Grand Sharīf of Makkah and his aspirations for his race and people. Without his personal involvement and participation, the script of this particular drama as it came to be perceived and written, could hardly have been conceived, let alone acted upon or played out. It was to be his fate at the end of it all to realise against all hopes, that, not only had he been squarely led up the garden path out of sheer political expediency, but had actually been betrayed downright. He had been led all along to believe in promises that were never intended to be kept by no less than the representatives of nations looked upon as the most prominent standard-bearers and guardians of modern Western civilisation. These nations were the major Powers of the Entente, in whom he had chosen to place his implicit faith against many a warning and in particular in Great Britain. This was to become all too apparent for real no sooner the War had started to near its end and positions to be taken up by each of the would be victorious Great Powers in the protection of their interests. This of course was in order to drive home their claim for reward upon the formal realisation of peace and the drawing up of the format of the new world order. As it came to pass, this eventually was to take place at the great Conference convened for this purpose in the 'Hall of Mirrors' at Versailles on 18th January, 1919 (14th Rabī' al-Thānī 1337H). However, that its deliberations were to contain almost all the seeds of the next Global conflict, which was to prove even more destructive, is another matter too far beyond the scope of this book for us to dabble with.

As the Entente Powers moved closer to ultimate victory and the realisation of their military goals, the Sharīf Ḥusayn was found to reflect increasingly upon his dilemma in the face of the swiftly evolving situation. Left grappling with his emotions over the ultimate fate of his illusions in the light of the promises that had been made to him time and again and yet now appeared increasingly unlikely, if at all, to be kept, he was known to have observed lamentably and only too realistically: "I have come to remark a great change around in the Allies.... I listened to the faithless Englishmen; I let myself be tempted and won over by them".[956] This was actually even well before the inauguration of the above Conference, let alone the proclamation of its outcome.

Then, as Sharīf Ḥusayn continued to order his sons representing him at international conferences, "not to yield an inch" over their promised or perceived rights and to continue to refer and adhere to the pledges given by Britain regarding Arab independence, Lawrence, one of the main players in this sordid drama, had already summed up the Sharīf's attitude towards the whole debacle, or rather the principle underlying his obstinacies most succinctly in the 'Arab Bulletin' as early as 4th August 1917 (Dhū'l-Qa'dah 1335H), when he had categorically stated that, "I do not think all the temptations of the world would persuade Sharif Hussain to run counter to his principles. His transparent honesty and strength of conviction... will at all costs ensure his shaping his conduct exactly in accordance with his promised word".[957] The Arab Bulletin was a confidential Paper started in June 1916 (Sha'bān 1334H), whose printing and circulation was restricted to twenty-six copies only and was stopped towards the end of 1918(1337H).

Later on, in July 1921 (Dhū'l-Qa'dah 1339H), when Lawrence arrived to negotiate a treaty with the Ḥejāz and to attempt to convince the old Sharīf to be satisfied with the offer to him and his sons of over-lordship over the Ḥejāz, al-'Irāq and Transjordan, along with an annual subsidy to the Ḥejāz of £100,000 (Sterling), as well as a written commitment from his government to undertake to protect Ḥejāzī interests, he was also to take the opportunity of reminding him at the same time of the limitations of his own financial and military resources in view of the responsibilities and potential challenges he was faced with. Despite all the attractions inherent in this offer, at least as far as his dynastic interests were concerned, the stubborn old Sharīf was nevertheless to refuse to entertain the proposition without the inclusion of Palestine in the deal. Faced with this intransigience, when Lawrence actually told him bluntly: "Palestine does not want you"; his reply had been: "I am not asking this for myself or for my sons. All we are asking is that Britain keep her

plighted word to the Arabs and if it does, my sons and I would leave the Arab lands if necessary".[958]

In the light of all that had and was to transpire, while such late displays of intransigence on matters of principle by the Grand Sharīf may be said to be aimed, amidst delayed feelings of guilt and remorse in the face of prospective failure, at retrieving something of his self-respect as an Arab and Islāmic religio-political figure for the purview of history, it is highly questionable in view of what actually came to pass, if his sons, some with as great personal ambitions of their own as himself, would have willingly followed their father in such designs.

On the question of a Jewish presence in Palestine, he had repeatedly told Lawrence, just as he had assured Hogarth four years earlier, that, he had no objection to Jewish settlement there, as long as it was controlled and Palestine remained an Arab territory under Arab suzerainty. This display of moderation on Sharīf Ḥusayn's part concerning this vital issue, adopted perhaps out of political requirements, was to lay him open for ever to the charge by the detractors amongst his race and co-religionists of complicity with Jewish aspirations and of "selling out" to them! In Lawrence's negotiations on this occasion, Article 17 of the proposed Agreement, which read: "His Majesty King Hussain recognises the special position of His Britannic Majesty in Mesopotamia and Palestine", with all its imaginable implications in the light of the Balfour Declaration and the notion that, a Jewish "homeland" in Palestine implied a Jewish state in disguise, was then to prove the major stumbling block.[959]

By now, it was becoming manifestly clear to most, perhaps barring the Sharīf Ḥusayn, that, such engagements as he may have entered into and undertakings, communications, verbal promises and assurances as he may have received from Britain and her Allies in the past, were no more than measures in expediency. Now that he had outlived his use, at least for their urgent interests, there was no way he, a weak Potentate at their mercy, could breathe life into these "scraps of paper" and "undertakings" by a Great Power or Powers, without the appropriate capability or means at his disposal to apply the required pressure to make them live up to their commitments. However, this was not to prevent him from assuaging his emotions a little with some moral hectoring whenever the opportunity presented itself. This was ultimately to become a game for him in which he often indulged, much to the great irritation of

all Englishmen who had the occasion to deal with him during this period.

Some of the Sharīf's critics have argued that, he ought not to have rested with mere assurances of this kind and asked for firmer undertakings. In the light of the extensive double-dealing, lies, chicanery and deceit that the history of this whole relationship was to be coloured with throughout, it would hardly have made any difference, for in the cold world of 'real politik', Great Powers when acting in the defence of their interests, merely deem such excuses as the acquisition and possession of international legality on their side as little more than a handy asset, if it happened to be available to them at the time to add to their convenience. Otherwise, with the strength and ability to act without its support and get a way, they quite often do so if need be and also without serious repercussions.

Indeed, when the true meaning and implications of the Balfour Declaration and the Sykes-Picot Agreement were generally beginning to be understood after the publication of their texts in Arabic by Jamāl Pāshā, who had acquired them from the Bolsheviks after their take-over in Moscow, to be followed by Russia's swift exit from the War, events already referred to earlier, the British authorities, as also mentioned previously, had made serious attempts, at first to deny their authenticity, failing which, their actual ramifications, before the Sharīf, who had continued to rely on the integrity of his British allies, being fobbed off time and again with misleading explanations. Lawrence, who by now was more than well aware of what was going on, that is if he had not been in the know all along as expected, was to confess the state of his emotional feelings at that stage thus over this matter in the 'Seven Pillars of Wisdom': "I longed to tell him ('AbdAllāh) that the half-witted old man had obtained from us no concrete or unqualified undertakings of any sort... But that would have been to give away my English masters".[960]

During these lengthy and precarious negotiations with British representatives, when reminded of his own weak military position 'vis á vis' the Bedouin tribes and his ambitious and militarily aggressive neighbours and their claims, and that, with no treaty and its advantages, he could not function, the Sharīf had latterly even begun to threaten to abdicate from time to time saying: "I do not deserve the leadership. Let the 'Amīrs' all agree on a leader and I will abdicate. Let them agree to work for a United Arabia".[961] By

the term "Arabia" here, the Sharīf was undoubtedly referring to all the Arab lands in Asia as promised to him by McMahon in his "Correspondence", barring such areas as the British Crown Colony of 'Adan and those other Arabian regions, which happened to be parties to prior engagements with Britain. Though it is true that this is what he ultimately did, that is abdicate, Sharīf Ḥusayn wrongly felt, as he had been studiedly led to, that he was indispensable to British designs for the Islāmic world and the Ḥejāz, especially, since Muslims constituted a major political pressure group in their empire. The major flaw in the Sharīf's 'rationale' here was his failure to accept the negative aspects of his standing with these groups whose ultimate aspiration was freedom from Colonial rule, in the light of his own anti-Caliph and pro-British role in the recent conflict, not to mention his poor treatment of Pilgrims from these mostly poor and overpopulated countries such as India.

It is related that, on one of those occasions, when the Sharīf was holding forth on the subject of British failure to keep their promises to him and threatening to step down in response to popular clamour against him because of that, the British official then present, the Consul Bullard, tired of his hectoring, decided for once to call his bluff by pretending to accept the soundness of his decision under the prevailing circumstances. According to that same Consul's report concerning the occasion and the incident, no sooner than the Sharīf had detected this change in his attitude towards the subject, "sitting bolt upright he stared, for once nonplussed and said, 'what has this to do with my people'". The British Vice-Consul Grafftey-Smith, also tempted on occasions to goad him on in this regard, was likewise ultimately and somewhat resignedly to observe in writing that: "It has become clear at each interview that King Hussain will abandon his dignity but not his throne". Peculiarly enough, this was the same Grafftey-Smith, who by his own admission would often be invited to breakfast alone with Ḥusayn, whenever the latter happened to be in Jiddah and "fed sometimes with his own hands as if he were stuffing a turkey". This the former surprisingly felt was probably due to "a strong streak of sadism which marked him", rather than Arab kindness and hospitality and even paternal affection![962]

Realising that he had to do something to make up for the loss of Ottoman and then British subsidies if he was at all to manage the administration of his realm, let alone the annual Ḥajj, the Sharīf

Ḥusayn with his customary energy, had decided to work on all planes to increase his income. It may be recalled here that, the Ottoman State had always exempted the Holy Land from all taxation—a luxury it could hardly have afforded during its latter era. As with all former Sharīfs, Ḥusayn's most lucrative source were to be the Pilgrims and the merchants, while for reducing expenditure, he had the salaries of his employees and subventions paid to the tribes for their loyalty and co-operation in maintaining law and order to consider.

It is amazing that, while Philby says of him: "In his knowledge of the Badawin, he stood unrivalled..."; yet, one of the earliest measures he was to adopt in order to effect savings, was to stop the subsidies to the tribes. This of course, as may well be imagined, could only have been at the expense of security, with the chief victims of Bedouin retaliation against this measure being non-other than the traders and the Pilgrims—the very ones he would be fleecing in the name of providing with that security he would now in actual terms be denying them by these measures. Philby, then also curiously goes on to explain the Sharīf's stand in this matter in the following words: "He believed in dealing with them on the principle of the mailed fist". However, he too then ultimately appears later on to reverse his judgement and arrive at very much this same conclusion by opining that: "a curious strain of niggardliness in him has reduced his Badawin administration to futility". Nevertheless, despite all that has been said, where the Sharīf's vast knowledge of Arabia and the affairs and lore of its tribes were concerned, these basic flaws observed in his attitude towards them still do not take away from him in any manner what Grafftey-Smith also was to find in support of Philby's contention in this regard. For he too has confined to his writings that, Ḥusayn's knowledge of Arabia "was pleasantly encylopeadic" and that, he often enjoyed listening to him "talk of tribal feuds, or the nursery lore of the desert".[963]

A: (ii) Assumption of the Caliphate by King Ḥusayn

Eventually, after trying out various remedial procedures to alleviate his finances from the morass to which they had sunk and with no chance of improvement in that situation unless he appended his signature on the proposed treaty with Britain that would bail him out to an extent with an annual subsidy of £100,000, the Sharīf, with open encouragement from his son 'AbdAllāh, the actual ar-

chitect of many of his father's moments of glory, particularly where issues of foreign policy were involved and whose diplomatic sophistication and usually unerring eye for the main chance he somewhat trusted, decided on 6th March 1924 (25th Rajab 1342H) to declare himself the 'Khalīfah' of all Muslims. This was immediately after Ataturk, had abolished that Office on 3rd March 1924 (22nd Rajab 1342H) to the great chagrin of most of the Muslim 'Ummah'. It may be recalled here that, this was precisely the first bait that Field Marshal Lord Kitchener had used in a meeting with 'AbdAllāh ibn Ḥusayn and subsequently also, in order to open the British bid to win over the Sharīf Ḥusayn's loyalties and he had been followed in this by several other senior British officials, as already seen. It may also be of interest to observe here that, 'AbdAllāh, while deemed "too clever" by Lawrence and other British officialdom involved in dealing with him, was also refered to as "al-Mufsid" ("the Spoiler") by his own brother Fayṣal in familiar correspondence with some of these individuals.

Prior to this unilateral assumption of the Caliphal mantle, Ḥusayn, in order to further his perceived ambitions in the direction of the Caliphal office, had endeavoured to invite the last deposed Ottoman Sulṭān, Muḥammad VI, then in Malta, to visit the Ḥejāz during the Ḥajj season of 1341H (1923). The destitute Sulṭān had accepted the invitation in order to perform the Ḥajj and to visit al-Madīnah and had appealed to the British Government to assist him in realising this wish of his.[964] By this invitation, the Sharīf was perceived, at least by the Viceroy in India and his 'Foreign and Political' advisers, to be planning to realise from this descendant of the Sulṭān Salīm II, his Caliphal ambitions in the very manner that the latter Sulṭān had acquired that title from the last 'Abbāsid to hold that office. Hence, these authorities, by now well acquainted not merely with the Sharīf's ambitions in this direction, but also his methods and afraid of the outrage of the Indian Muslims against them if this came to pass, now attempted to discourage the former Sulṭān in his intentions, by dilly-dallying in assisting him financially and otherwise.[965] Nevertheless, he did succeed in performing the Ḥajj and visiting al-Madīnah, and later, upon Ḥusayn's assumption of the Caliphal title, even sent him, as would appear according to some newspaper reports, a telegram from Italy in support of the former's claim, even though before his expulsion from Turkey, he had refused to abdicate his Sulṭānic, as well as his Caliphal titles.

The dispatch of these greetings on his part, amidst the confusion then generally prevailing over the subject of the Caliphal office, when Ḥusayn did take that unexpected step of assuming it unilaterally, was generally interpreted as a retaliation of sorts, primarily aimed at the new Turkish Government.[966]

So far as the reaction of the Muslim 'Ummah' to this sudden development, the assumption of the Caliphal office by the Sharīf was concerned, while the Ḥejāz, Transjordan, Syria and al-'Irāq not surprisingly, had responded positively towards the move, the Egyptians, whom he had recently insulted by returning their 'Maḥmal' with the 'Kiswah' during the Ḥajj of 1340H(1922) and whose ruler King Fu'ād had aspirations of his own in the direction of that Caliphal title, were dismayed. So were the Indian Muslims as already expected, for they sympathised with the Ottomans over the fate suffered by them at the hands of the British, and to a sizeable extent with actual Sharīfian connivance and active co-operation also. Furthermore, they needed little reminder of the harsh manner in which the Sharīf Ḥusayn regularly dealt with the Pilgrims, particularly the poorer ones, many of whom would regularly be from India. They also found the swift and crude timing and manner of his proclamation, which had been announced without even so much as a word of notification to the 'Ummah' over whom the title was to be lorded, let alone taking its deliberated views into consideration, specially alarming. Reasoning British support and scheming to be behind the move, they now began deeply to suspect Britain's new designs against Islām via their alleged Sharīfian "puppet".[967]

Before proceeding further, it may be said regards some of the tales circulating concerning the shabby treatment meted out to the Pilgrims, particularly the impoverished majority, whom he saw as a constant source of problems to his Government, rather than of income, it is related that, once, upon beholding a car other than his own at 'Arafāt belonging to the Khandwānīs, leading shipowners, transporters and later on 'Muṭawwafs' of Indian origin for Pilgrims from India and South Africa and then primarily based in Bombay, he could not resist giving immediate vent to his rage by proceeding personally there and then to demolish the vehicle on the spot with an iron crow bar. Shortly after this incident, the Khandwānīs were able to placate his ire by presenting him with a fine model, after which, relations were to run smoothly between them.[968]

There are those who argue for the Sharīf Ḥusayn's lack of interest in the title of 'Caliph', a strain of thought that he had carefully tried to nurture in others in a studied display of false modesty. However, it may be recalled that, it was with this very proposition that Lord Kitchener had initially baited him and succeeded in sowing in his mind and bosom the seeds of dissent. In fact, some notion of how much the Sharīf lusted after it may be perceived from the fact that, his very next demand from the British after the clause defining the Arab lands to be granted independence, in his first secret memorandum addressed to Sir Henry McMahon, dated 2nd Ramaḍān 1333H (14th July 1915), had actually sought Britain's "approval" to the proclamation of an Arab 'Khalīfah' over the Muslims – implying himself.[969]

It can hardly be denied that, the Sharīf Ḥusayn in fact did inherently possess many of the characteristics and attributes which would have qualified him for this high office and in measures much greater than any ever likely to be displayed by his prospective rivals, even King Fu'ād of Egypt. Yet, in the end, the petty sides of his nature, such as his ego, self-righteousness, despotic disposition and lack of trust in the abilities of others of his own race, not to mention his deficiency in tolerance and magnanimity, as well as his niggardliness, were to stand against him. In addition, the political and diplomatic animal in him, whose gifts in this field had been honed in the Byzantine corridors of power in Constantinople, was to prove to be in possession of the wrong recipe of qualities for a Caliph in the situation and the dilemma facing the Muslim 'Ummah' at the time. Carried away by the fervour of the nationalistic movements of the day, he was also to make the foolish and costly mistake of turning a blind eye to the veneration in which the Caliphal office and indeed the long line of those rulers who had held it in continuity for over four centuries and often with great sincerity and grace, were held by the majority of the brotherhood of Islām and particularly the non-Arabs. It is more than possible that, had he not been so insensitive and hasty and displayed some pragmatism, at least by going through the motions of consulting the representatives of the 'Ummah' in keeping with the well-known principles of 'Shūrā', instead of rushing forth to declare himself the Caliph unilaterally, there was more than a fair chance of that office ultimately falling into his lap and probably sooner than later and even if by nothing else than default due to lack of serious contenders with the

most appropriate qualities for the needs of the hour. After all, he was the 'Custodian' of the 'Two Holy Cities' and a descendant of the Prophet. However, his haughtiness and his shabby treatment of the Pilgrims with unfailing regularity were too sore and fresh factors in the minds of the Muslim 'Ummah' to be so easily overlooked. Then of course, his co-operation with a non-Muslim colonial power against the established and universally recognised institution of the Ottoman Caliphate at a time of heightened religious, ethnic and national awareness was to prove to be the very last straw and a political blunder of titanic proportions. Hence, in the end, he had to suffer the consequences of these lapses and errors in judgement and pay that heavy price.[970]

Indeed, it could be said that, fate had truly conspired with him to place this noble office within his grasp, but his record as Grand Sharīf and some of his eccentricities and characteristics were to prevent him from benefiting. Elaborating on this issue, Philby, who had visited the Ḥejāz in 1916(1334H) was shrewdly to observe: "Islām was never easy in its mind about the Arab Revolt led by King Husain against the lawful Calif and when Turkey lay broken by the power of the Allies, the Muhammedan world made it perfectly clear that the temporal vicissitudes of a world dominated by the infidel could not be allowed to affect the spiritual prerogatives of the Prophet's representative on earth. It is idle to consider whether such an attitude has the support of historical or theological precedent. Islam, like other religions is conservative in character, and having been accustomed to an Ottoman Calif for four hundred years, had no intention of approving any innovation of that system".[971]

Furthermore, this move also served to unnecessarily aggravate the suspicions of his immediate neighbours in the region, particularly the 'Amīr' 'Abdal-'Azīz ibn 'Abdal-Raḥmān Āl Sa'ūd of Najd, who in Shawwāl 1319H (January 1902) had won back al-Riyāḍ, the Capital of his fathers in Central Arabia, from the Rashīdī Governor by a surprise attack, to establish the Third Sa'ūdī State. From there onwards, this 'Amīr', later on Sulṭān, was to go on from strength to strength, overcoming one powerful rival after another, until heralding the creation of 'The Kingdom of Sa'ūdī Arabia' in 1353H (1934), with himself as 'King'.

A: (iii) Beginning of the Najdī Invasion of the Ḥejāz

While adding to his strength and moving steadily towards establishing himself in the appropriate strategic position for operations against the Ḥejāz, 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd had quietly but surely succeeded in effectively surrounding, step by step, its 80,000 square miles from the land as much as possible, by incorporating all bordering territories into his domains. It would appear at this stage however, that, his main concern in a military clash with the Sharīf was the British subsidy of five thousand pounds he was receiving, as well as the latters' generally assumed support for his rival. Besides, he was also not certain in his mind of the reaction that such a move would arouse in the British camp and he was right. For example, when he had decided to advance to the aid of the inhabitants of the oasis of al-Khurmah on the Najd-Ḥejāz border, which had appealed to him against Ḥusayn's designs, he had been warned by the British authorities in London presided by Lord Curzon, that, by this, he would not merely forfeit the subsidy, but also their goodwill.[972]

Of course, it is quite plausible that, unsure then of the direction and extent of British reaction to this ambition of his as he was, 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd, by appearing ostensibly to fail in maintaing strict control over the movements of his chief strike force, the 'Ikhwān', a problem likely to appear to be aggravated by the lack of availability to him and his warriors of means of rapid communication, could also well have been hoping by this, to provide his brotherhood of warriors with sufficient room to proceed to establish one 'fait accompli' after another in accordance with his innermost ambitions and desires, while hoping in the meantime, if the results of their deeds were to run untenably against the basic grain of British political thinking, to conveniently dissociate himself and place the entire blame on them for acting without instructions and with exceeding his orders. In fact, as it came to transpire, al-Ṭā'if was to be entered by the 'Ikhwān' in this fashion, with 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd still in his Capital, al-Riyāḍ and unaware of their progress, as indeed of their entry into Makkah itself a little later on. In relation to these latter developments, it is even said that, the courier sent by him with instructions to his commanders in al-Ṭā'if, was to find them upon his arrival there, to have already advanced and taken possession of Makkah!

Hence, it can well be imagined that, when the Sharīf knocked another and perhaps the final nail into his own coffin by exposing by his recent antics, such as the episode of the assumption of the Caliphal office, his continuing poor standing, particularly with the Muslims of India, Britain's main cause for concern as far as Islāmic issues went for reasons already discussed in some detail on a number of occasions, 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd must surely have felt greatly relieved and encouraged by the reports he was to receive in this regard, particularly from the Sharīf's foes.

'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd in fact had set about preparing for this invasion of the Ḥejāz in a fairly nonchalant and discreet manner, without declaring his purpose outright even to some of his closest advisers, though the level of propaganda against the Sharīf and his regime had been duly increased prior to it under the lead of his second surviving son, Fayṣal ibn 'Abdal-'Azīz. This of course had initially been launched in response to like Sharīfian moves. The erudite Ḥāfiẓ Wahbah in his book 'Khamsūn 'Āman Fi'l-Jazīrah al-'Arabīyyah' ('Fifty Years in the Arabian Peninsula') claims that, this was primarily in accordance with his personal inspiration and active involvement. However, 'Aṭṭār in his history 'Ṣaqr al-Jazīrah' ('Falcon of the Peninsula') disputes this assertion and chooses to credit the then young Amīr Fayṣal with the drafting. The Sharīf was already then enjoying in India the support of that group of 'the Khilāfat Movement' which had come on this account to be known as 'Jama'iyyat Khuddām al-Ḥaramain' and whose members were under the leadership of Maulānā 'Abdal-Bārī. The remainder, under the "'Alī brothers", Muḥammad 'Alī and Shaukat 'Alī, had opted for 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd out of their suspicion and abhorrence for Ḥusayn's policies.[973] A 'Green Book', perhaps an outcome of Philby's advice and referring to the grievances of the Najdī Ruler's subjects against the Ḥejāzī Government, which had prevented them from performing the Ḥajj for some five continuous years (from around the time of the battle of Turabah in 1337H/1919), along with the relevant exchange of correspondence between Abdal Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd, the Sharīf and the British authorities had also begun to make the rounds amongst learned Islāmic circles in India, Egypt and other Muslim countries and with results favourable to 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd, though 'Aṭṭār, perhaps wrongly, tends to scoff at its effectiveness.[974]

Turabah was the battle in which the cream of the Sharīfian forces under the Sharīf 'AbdAllāh ibn al-Ḥusayn had been surprised unawares by a Najdī force and completely annihilated. This had sown since then, mistrust and awe of the 'Ikhwān' in the hearts of all Ḥejāzīs. On the outcome of the battle itself, the Sharīf (later King) 'AbdAllāh, reminiscing in his 'Memoirs', mentions that, his force at that stage was under-prepared despite its numbers and equipment, and his arrangements far from complete, when he had been forced to march out immediately against his own better judgement under the pressure of reputed threats from his father of "abdication" if he did not act in accordance with his commands. It may be added here that, going by his strongly worded correspondence with the tribal chiefs prior to being "forced" to march out, apart from seeking from them confirmation of their allegiance to his father by sending in delegations, he had expressed his objective of not merely stopping at al-Khurmah, but to advance as far as the 'Kūt al-Iḥsā" by the 'Īd al-Aḍḥā' ('the Feast of Sacrifice') that year. This indeed would have called for lengthy local diplomatic and logistical preparations, if indeed that was his ultimate goal as he had proclaimed.[975]

From then onwards, the prospective result of the rivalry between the Ḥejāz and the Najd, if it ever came to a show of force of arms, must have been apparent to most Ḥejāzīs, even though Lawrence was astonishingly to write during the April of that year to Colonel A.T. Wilson in case of 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd advancing and seizing Makkah, that, "if he abandons the Wahhābī creed, we will not do too badly. If he remains a Wahhābī, we will send the Muslim part of the Indian army to recover Makkah and break the Wahhābī movement…". No doubt Lawrence was thinking here in emulation of the Ottoman Sulṭān, who had sent in the Egyptian forces under Muḥammad 'Alī Pāshā for this purpose. Lawrence also was to add rather jingoistically on this occasion, that: "I offered at Xmas 1918 (Rabī' al-Awwal 1337H) to do it with ten tanks".[976] Unless Lawrence was being inordinately frivolous here, anyone reading this is forced to sit up and critically question his poor knowledge of Islām and the Arab and Muslim psyche and whether his detractors had indeed been right about him all along!

In any case, while Lawrence's generous offer was wisely not taken up on this occasion, the feared obvious did shortly come to pass once a Najdī force, in the guise of a vanguard under the Sharīf Khālid ibn Luwai and Sulṭān ibn Bijād of the 'Utaybah, had appeared before al-Ṭā'if in early 1343H (September 1924) after easily pushing back some Ḥejāzī units led by the Sharīf Ḥusayn's eldest son, 'Alī, which had tried to block its path and entered the town, as alluded to earlier. With the conquest of Makkah now remaining only a matter of time, 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd tried to tread carefully towards his goal, consistently gauging international Muslim opinion as he advanced. This had of course become of particular necessity, as following the capture of al-Ṭā'if, the 'Ummah's' sensitivities had been greatly outraged at the unexpected bloodshed and the high civilian casualties despite lack of resistance in this incident and especially in a place so close to Holy Makkah. Amidst the various gorey tales associated with this episode, Amīn Rīḥānī narrates a most amusing story about how the 'Keeper of the Ka'bah's Keys', Shaykh 'Abdal-Raḥmān al-Shībī managed to save himself from the grasp of a group of 'Ikhwān', then bent upon adding him also to the list of the "disbelievers", whose earthly bodies they were then engaged in relieving of their erring souls. When seized by these simple puritanical warriors and seeing a naked sword held above his head, it is related that he started to cry and praise and thank God as if in relief and joy. When asked the reason for this behaviour by his amazed captors, his reply was: "By God, I cry because of my great joy. I cry O' brothers, because I had spent all my life in 'Shirk' (Polytheism) and 'Kufr' (Disbelief) and Allāh did not Will that I die save as a 'Unitarian' believer. (Hence) God is most Great! There is no deity save He alone". This statement was to have such an effect on their simple hearts, that, they too started crying in belief, kissing and congratulating him for his Islām and allowing him to depart in peace for finding his faith, thus enabling him to live happily to tell the tale for many a year.[977]

However, in spite of all the discussed indications in favour of the Sulṭān 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd's political designs and territorial ambitions against the Ḥejāz, mostly restrained till now due to fears of the British protection that he assumed the Hāshimites to still enjoy despite proofs to the contrary, it is thought-provoking to discover in a revised edition of al-'Aṭṭār's credible biography of that Monarch, 'Ṣaqr al-Jazīrah', which has received official patronage in Sa'ūdī Arabia, that, King Fayṣal ibn 'Abdal-'Azīz had informed him in a discussion in al-Ṭāif on 20th Jamād al-Awwal 1392H (1st July 1972) that, till the invasion actually took place, "King 'Abdal-'Azīz (Ibn Sa'ūd) had no thoughts of invading the Ḥejāz and it had never

Turabah was the battle in which the cream of the Sharīfian forces under the Sharīf 'AbdAllāh ibn al-Ḥusayn had been surprised unawares by a Najdī force and completely annihilated. This had sown since then, mistrust and awe of the 'Ikhwān' in the hearts of all Ḥejāzīs. On the outcome of the battle itself, the Sharīf (later King) 'AbdAllāh, reminiscing in his 'Memoirs', mentions that, his force at that stage was under-prepared despite its numbers and equipment, and his arrangements far from complete, when he had been forced to march out immediately against his own better judgement under the pressure of reputed threats from his father of "abdication" if he did not act in accordance with his commands. It may be added here that, going by his strongly worded correspondence with the tribal chiefs prior to being "forced" to march out, apart from seeking from them confirmation of their allegiance to his father by sending in delegations, he had expressed his objective of not merely stopping at al-Khurmah, but to advance as far as the 'Kūt al-Iḥsā" by the 'Īd al-Aḍḥā' ('the Feast of Sacrifice') that year. This indeed would have called for lengthy local diplomatic and logistical preparations, if indeed that was his ultimate goal as he had proclaimed.[975]

From then onwards, the prospective result of the rivalry between the Ḥejāz and the Najd, if it ever came to a show of force of arms, must have been apparent to most Ḥejāzīs, even though Lawrence was astonishingly to write during the April of that year to Colonel A.T. Wilson in case of 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd advancing and seizing Makkah, that, "if he abandons the Wahhābī creed, we will not do too badly. If he remains a Wahhābī, we will send the Muslim part of the Indian army to recover Makkah and break the Wahhābī movement…". No doubt Lawrence was thinking here in emulation of the Ottoman Sulṭān, who had sent in the Egyptian forces under Muḥammad 'Alī Pāshā for this purpose. Lawrence also was to add rather jingoistically on this occasion, that: "I offered at Xmas 1918 (Rabī' al-Awwal 1337H) to do it with ten tanks".[976] Unless Lawrence was being inordinately frivolous here, anyone reading this is forced to sit up and critically question his poor knowledge of Islām and the Arab and Muslim psyche and whether his detractors had indeed been right about him all along!

In any case, while Lawrence's generous offer was wisely not taken up on this occasion, the feared obvious did shortly come to pass once a Najdī force, in the guise of a vanguard under the Sharīf Khālid ibn Luwai and Sulṭān ibn Bijād of the 'Utaybah, had appeared before al-Ṭā'if in early 1343H (September 1924) after easily pushing back some Ḥejāzī units led by the Sharīf Ḥusayn's eldest son, 'Alī, which had tried to block its path and entered the town, as alluded to earlier. With the conquest of Makkah now remaining only a matter of time, 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd tried to tread carefully towards his goal, consistently gauging international Muslim opinion as he advanced. This had of course become of particular necessity, as following the capture of al-Ṭā'if, the 'Ummah's' sensitivities had been greatly outraged at the unexpected bloodshed and the high civilian casualties despite lack of resistance in this incident and especially in a place so close to Holy Makkah. Amidst the various gorey tales associated with this episode, Amīn Rīḥānī narrates a most amusing story about how the 'Keeper of the Ka'bah's Keys', Shaykh 'Abdal-Raḥmān al-Shībī managed to save himself from the grasp of a group of 'Ikhwān', then bent upon adding him also to the list of the "disbelievers", whose earthly bodies they were then engaged in relieving of their erring souls. When seized by these simple puritanical warriors and seeing a naked sword held above his head, it is related that he started to cry and praise and thank God as if in relief and joy. When asked the reason for this behaviour by his amazed captors, his reply was: "By God, I cry because of my great joy. I cry O' brothers, because I had spent all my life in 'Shirk' (Polytheism) and 'Kufr' (Disbelief) and Allāh did not Will that I die save as a 'Unitarian' believer. (Hence) God is most Great! There is no deity save He alone". This statement was to have such an effect on their simple hearts, that, they too started crying in belief, kissing and congratulating him for his Islām and allowing him to depart in peace for finding his faith, thus enabling him to live happily to tell the tale for many a year.[977]

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occurred to him at any time to undertake such an enterprise and a review of the events (developments) which preceded the arrival of King 'Abdal-'Azīz (Ibn Sa'ūd) in the Ḥejāz should confirm that, this matter was concluded in a haphazard manner, without there being any readiness (planning) or preparations and without King 'Abdal-'Azīz (Ibn Sa'ūd) or any of us having a prior notion (of it). Hence, the conquest of al-Ḥejāz is the offspring of pure coincidence—an unexpected surprise. However, it was the events which occurred, that had led us to this conquest". Then, as if in defence and justification of this outcome, King Fayṣal was to emphasize that, "after its (the Ḥejāz's) conquest, he ('Abdal-'Azīz) had placed the last word in connection with its status and its future in the hands of the Muslim world".[978] He was furthermore to add that, the people of the Ḥejāz had offered him their allegiance "in complete freedom" from compulsion.[979]

In the light of the above statement from a source of the status of King Fayṣal ibn 'Abdal-'Azīz, could this development then be assigned to and explained away in its entirety as a case of luck favouring the enterprising and the well-intentioned?—Perhaps! Nevertheless, it deserves to be mentioned here that Ḥāfiẓ Wahbah, who happened to be a close adviser of 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd, particularly during this campaign, supports the earlier view and maintains that, by 1342H(1923), the Sulṭān had already made up his mind to conquer the Ḥejāz. However, it was his anxiety over the anticipated British reaction against such a move that had been holding him back.[980]

In fact, such was the climate of general fear and mistrust at this time, that, no sooner had the news of al-Ṭā'if beeing taken by the Najdī forces been received in Jiddah, than a delegation of that Port's notables, ostensibly loyal to the Sharīf, was seen to be ushered into the office of the British Consul Bullard on about 24th Ṣafar 1343H (24th September, 1924) and without the knowledge of their Ruler. Their specific objective on this occasion had been to plead with him "to arrange a British Protectorate over the Ḥejāz". Then, once these had departed after receiving a negative reply, "a clandestine party comprising ('AbdAllāh) Ali Reza (Riḍā—'Qāim-Maqām' of Jiddah), Muhammad al-Tawil (Director of Customs), Sulayman Qabil (Jiddah's Mayor), and the Director of Education stated that they would be happy with a mandate". However, as repercussions over "British involvement at this sort of level would have set India aflame", the answer given to them by Bullard again was in the negative and these notables had to leave the Consulate disheartened and to resign themselves to devising other schemes for their salvation.[981]

It would also be relevant to add here that, at about this time, Shaukat 'Alī of the Khilāfat Committee had openly warned the British Government in a telegram via 'The Times' daily of London "to desist from anything having the remotest semblance of such an attempt" (as intervention by non-Muslim).[982]

In retrospect, the role of the support extended by the leaders of 'the Khilāfat Movement', as a body that then carried considerable weight in influencing the British Government's opinion and decision-making positively in favour of the establishment and confirmation of Sa'ūdī rule in the Ḥejāz, even if indirectly, can hardly be over-emphasised. In an unparalleled step, India's largest secular political party, the Congress, which then primarily enjoyed the support of the largest segment of the masses and was actively led by men of calibre like the Mahatma Gandhi, Nehru, the not so secular Patel, the Makkah born Abū'l Kalām Azād (b.1305H/1888) and of course that architect of the Lucknow Pact of 1916(1334H) between the Congress and the Muslim League, Muḥammad 'Alī Jinnāḥ, had also unequivocally decided in response to appeals for support in late 1919(1338H), to throw its weight behind 'the Khilāfat Committee's' call over the issue of the fate of the Caliphate and its protection and maintenance. Nevertheless, it is amusing to know here that Jinnaḥ's initial response to this Committee's agenda as a full-blooded secularist then, had been to look upon it as "religious mumbo-jumbo". With India on its march towards freedom, these wise and visionary statesmen obviously then held views of a subcontinent exercising influence in varying forms and degrees over Muslim regions across its frontiers, stretching deep northwards beyond Central Asia and then from the far confines of the East, up to North-West Africa's Atlantic coast. This was also an aspect that the Movement's call for action was to help to emphasise well. Hence, the above alliance between these political forces was to last, although at times with wavering intensity, for a while. This, as may be expected, was to serve to multiply British fears of mass political unrest in India on an even bigger scale, than hitherto faced by their authorities there. Indeed, it was well understood in all circles that, if there was one aim that could, with certainty, bring the two major communities of

India, the Hindus and the Muslims, together at this time regardless of all else, it was opposition to the British. Hence, the pressure and threats of this 'Committee' and its supporters were to play a sizable part in discouraging the British from aiding their "troublesome" Hāshimite allies and in quietly acknowledging 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd's hegemony over the Holy Cities. Yet, it has to be admitted that, the split in the Committee's ranks later on into pro-Sharīf and pro-'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd supporters, was also to contribute greatly to the ultimate decline and end of its activities and existence, as shall be seen. Later on, around 1929(1348H), Jinnāḥ also was to part with Congress over his disappointment with what he felt to be the increasing departure of that Party's policies from its claimed secular agenda, as well as its political tactics, and in response, to adopt the Muslim League and re-organise it.

A: (iv) The International Crisis Over the Caliphate and the 'Khilāfat' Movement

It would indeed be apt to add a few words here about 'the Khilāfat Committee' also before moving on. The Movement had evolved out of the 'Anjuman-é-Khuddām-é-Ka'bah' ('Society of Servants of the Ka'bah'), created by a famous scholar, Maulānā 'Abdal-Bārī of 'Firangī Maḥal', with the help of his Qur'ān students, Mushīr Ḥusayn Qidwā'ī and the brothers Shaukat 'Alī and Muḥammad 'Alī in 1331H(1913). Firangī Maḥal in Lukhnau (Lucknow) is a famous centre of Islāmic learning founded during the reign of the great Mughal Emperor 'Ālamgīr I (d. 1119H/1707).

With its headquarters in Delhī, the aim of this 'Anjuman' or Society was to seek nationwide membership, with branches all over for the avowed purpose of supporting the Ottoman State to maintain and defend the honour of the Holy Places of both the sects of Islām, Sunnī and Shī'ah, and to aid local Pilgrims. The funds collected by it were to be divided into three portions. One was to be forwarded to Constantinople for the maintenance of the dignity and political independence of the Holy Places; another was to be allotted to Islāmic schools, orphanages and like institutions, while the third was to be retained for the future defence of the Holy Places. Depending on the strength of the collections, the Society's plans ranged from buying ships for the transportation of Pilgrims, to creating a fleet to be anchored in the Arabian Sea for the protection of the Holy Cities, and failing that, to present to the Ottoman Navy

with a Dreadnought, or at least some aeroplanes. In fact, Muḥammad 'Alī had even communicated with the Ottoman Minister of the Interior, Ṭal'at Bey in this regard on 8th July 1914 (Sha'bān 1332H).[983] The introduction of emergency laws under the title of the 'Defence of India Act', following the declaration of the War, was to put a stop for some years to this Society's activities, as most of its activists like the two 'Alī brothers were interned.

With the end of the War, the liberation of the internees, and the freshly revealed inimical attitude of the Entente Powers towards the Ottoman State and the person of the 'Khalīfah', 'the Khilāfat Movement' rapidly began to evolve, particularly following a meeting of the Indian "Ulamā" in Fateḥpūr's 'Jāmi'' (main mosque) during Rabī' al-Awwal 1337H (December 1918), to be followed by another with the relevant leaders of the Muslim League on the eve of and then also at its subsequent annual session. 'The All India Khilāfat Committee' and the 'Jama'īyyat al-'Ulamā'' ('Association of Scholars') of India were soon to emerge in response to these meetings and their deliberations. While the aim of the latter 'Association' under the aegis of Maulānā 'Abdal-Barī had been in order to play a scholarly religious and interpretative role in guiding and supporting political activism in conformity with the teachings of the 'Sharī'ah' as of old, 'the Khilāfat Committee' was actually to be formed following a public meeting in Bombay during Jamād al-Thānī 1337H (20th March 1919). Its aim was to address Muslim anxieties over the decline of their power and the uncertain conditions then prevailing in the Holy Land. The businessman Muḥammad Chotānī, its initial financial backer, was elected President and Shaukat 'Alī (now out of prison with his brother Muḥammad 'Alī), the Committee's Secretary.[984]

The first resolutions of this Committee were to seek from the British Government Indian Muslim representation at the Paris Peace Conference in defence of Islāmic rights and also to ensure that, it saw to Constantinople (and Thrace) remaining in Turkish possession. This Committee had further resolved that, in the cause of the realisation of these objectives, its representatives met with the Viceroy of India to express and discuss their concerns. Upon being rebuffed in this latter aim by the Viceroy's Secretary, it had decided to expand its activities to a nationwide level, with its agenda now evolved to ensure the retention of the Ottoman Sulṭān as 'Khalīfah' and to preserve his suzerainty over the Holy Places of Islām of both the

sects, namely Makkah, al-Madīnah, al-Quds (Jerusalem), Najaf and Karbalā'. The argument of the Committee was that, the Muslims viewed the proposed division of the Ottoman Empire by the Entente Powers as an assault on Islām itself, no less.[985]

The Turks of course, as may be expected, had greatly appreciated such support. Even Ataturk himself, realising its value, had exploited it to the fullest at every possibility. For example, during 1341H(1922/23), he had played up to the Pan-Islāmic gallery by reviving and supporting the activities of the Association known as the 'Jama'īyyat al-Islām' or 'Jamiet-ul-Islam' (as pronounced in Turkish and Urdu), the primary concern of which was to promote the various objectives of Pan-Islāmism in Muslim countries, all of them brought together under the umbrella of the Caliphate, thus restoring and adding to Turkey's image and its international prestige and influence.[986]

In fact, the idea then of convening at an early date, a great Pan-Islāmic Congress, to which representatives of all the Muslim countries would be invited, whether truly originating in Ataturk or not, was certainly in accordance with his wishes. The agenda of this Conference was to be: 1) Discussion of general Islāmic affairs; 2) The question of the 'Khilāfat'; 3) The formation of a League of Islāmic countries in apposition to the European League of Nations. Preliminary invitations to this Conference, sent out to all corners of the Muslim world, had generally received an enthusiastic response. Furthermore, messages from communities as distantly and diversely situated as Petrograd, Bukhārā, Tripoli and the Yaman, not to mention nearby Syria, or Afghānistān and India, had all expressed material and moral support to Turkey in case of any offensive action against her by any non-Muslim Power. Meanwhile, a Turco-Persian-Afghān Alliance Treaty had also then been on the verge of formalisation.[987] All these measures and developments had enjoyed at the time the blessings and tacit approval of the Turkish National Assembly, then convening in Angora (Ankara), away from the heavily pro-Sulṭān/Caliph atmosphere and influences of Constantinople.

As far as the general attitude in Turkey towards Indian support during this period is concerned, it is worth citing this brief but incisive discussion along with this example, that, during Rabī' al-Awwal 1342H (November 1923), when the Kemālist daily 'Yeni Gyun' ('New Day') attacked the Ottoman dynasty as "the basest of

people" in its attempts to prepare public opinion for the abolishment of the Caliphate, the opposition's views in the rejoinder in 'Tanin' ('Echo') defending the House of 'Uthmān and the Caliphal institution, had argued back, referring to and using a crisis then facing Turkey, saying: "Today we are going as far as India for subscriptions for the Turks who will arrive from Greece. What links the Indians to us? Is there any other link than that of Islam and that of the presence of the Caliph in our country? If the Indians show the 'Yeni Gyun' article to our delegation and ask why they come to ask for money after such an insult to the Caliph and the Caliphal House, what shall we reply?" ... "The conscience of this nation does not agree that the highest interests of this country and nation (the 'Ummah') be sacrificed to gratify the babbling of drunkenness". This article had then further gone on to remind that: "For the establishment of the solidarity of Turkey with the Muslim world, the Turkish nation has made sacrifices for centuries, has protected the Holy Cities, has shed its blood and has poured out treasure. The 'Yeni Gyun', thanks to the indulgence or consent of the People's Party (i.e., the politicians who administer Turkey), has no right to destroy the moral force resulting from centuries of effort to break the ties between Turkey and the Muslim world".[988]

After the War, when the British authorities in India passed a legislation known as the Rowlatt Bill in order to be enabled to continue to control the then rapidly increasing level of opposition, just as they had done earlier during the critical period of the War, agitation against this Bill was to help unite all the political and religious groups, with Gandhi bringing the full support of his following, to add to the strength of 'the Khilāfat Committee' as a pressure group. Indeed, by Rabī' al-Thānī 1338H (December 1919), the Indian Congress, the Muslim League, 'the Khilāfat Committee' and the 'Jama'īyyat al-'Ulamā'' had all met in Amritsar to demonstrate their solidarity over the issue of the 'Khilāfat' and its preservation. Then, at the Conference of 'the Khilāfat Committee' held in Kakinada in the Dakkan during Rabī' al-Thānī 1342H(December 1923), Shaukat 'Alī, a fearless orator like his younger brother, was bluntly to tell his audiences in his Presidential address, not to be discouraged or disillusioned, but to remain staunch and to continue their efforts with enthusiasm and devotion; for in that manner, they would ultimately win all their "Khilāfat" demands "from the greatest enemy of Islām, the British Government".[989] This accusation

was also to be publicly repeated later on and with as great passion by the two brothers at the Islāmic Conference in Makkah during Dhū'l-Ḥijjah 1344H (June 1926), much to the bewilderment of some of the delegates, who had been packed into it in order to enable control of the gathering from straying into directions deemed undesireable by the Sulṭān 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd, then rapidly becoming all the more realistically wary of the extent of British power and influence, as well as Britain's regional policy, designs and aspirations.

However, when Ataturk abolished the Ottoman Sultanate in Rabī' al-Awwal 1341H (November 1922) and then the Caliphate also on 23rd Rabī' al-Thānī 1342H (3rd March 1924), the Movement's agenda and 'raison d'être' or purpose was to suffer a greivous blow. Nevertheless, the unilateral assumption of the title of Caliph by the Sharīf Ḥusayn was to effectively stoke the embers of the Movement for some further duration, until the debacle of the Islāmic Conference in Makkah, where its attempts to play an international role in galvanising Islām towards the objectives held dear by Pan-Islāmism, were more or less to be laid to rest by the intransigience displayed by some of the parties at that highly significant, but poorly organised meet.

Meanwhile, communal tension between the Hindus and Muslims in India, was also to take its toll of the Committee's effectiveness as a pressure group. One of the causes of its conflagration was an attempt to convert the Malkana Rajputs of the Āgrā District to Hinduism.[990] Another was a clash in Sahāranpūr over a Shī'ite procession during Muḥarram (1342H/August 1923), which had been met with brickbats on the assumption that, its participants, who were merely trying to push aside the branches of a tree in a temple that overshadowed the road, in order to enable an "Alam' ('Standard') of theirs to pass, were assumed to be intending to cut them, as the tree was held sacred by the Hindus of that locality.[991] A much more serious one was the publication during Ṣafar 1343H (September 1924) of a provocative pamphlet by an extremist Hindu group in the Muslim majority town of Kohāt, a couplet of which read: "We will build a temple of Vishnu (a Hindu deity) in the Ka'bah, We will obliterate the existence of the 'Prayer Sayers' (Muslims)" etc.[992]

Differences between senior members of the Committee over the management of the Movement's finances, its activism and then,

once the Caliphate was abolished, divisions over whether to support the pretensions of the Sharīfian House, or the Sulṭān 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd over the custody of the Holy Land, were also to seriously affect the ranks of the Movement from within. For example, a sudden conflagrant dispute also arose between the scholar 'Abdal-Bārī and his disciples, the two 'Alī brothers, when the former, without consulting with his colleagues, had unilaterally forwarded his felicitations on behalf of the Committee to the Sharīf Ḥusayn upon his assumption of the Caliphal title. His channel for despatching this communication had been the Sharīf's Agent in Bombay, the pearl trader, al-Ḥāj Muḥammad 'Alī Zaynal ('Alī Riḍā, generally written as Reza).[993] 'Abdal-Bārī was to pass away of a stroke in Lucknow in Jamād al-Thānī 1344H (January 1926), very shortly after his above open rupture with his protegés, much to their grief and lament at the sad turnout of the events. Nevertheless, 'the Khilāfat Committee' was to continue to remain something of a force to contend with, till the establishment and confirmaton of Sa'ūdī authority over the Ḥejāz, as previously mentioned. It would definitely be true to say that, having been pre-empted from restoring the institution of the Caliphate in Turkey and then in the Ḥejāz, its prime hope was to see a truly representative pre-Islāmic body established, which would be recognised and financed by the Muslim 'Ummah' through donations and play an active "Caliphal" role in guiding the spirutual and temporal affairs of the Muslims and acting, in keeping with its would be status, in the defence and promotion of their well-being and interests, not unlike the Vatican on behalf of the Catholics. What course the future of Islām and its adherents the world over may have taken, had the goal been properly realised, is perhaps best left to the imagination.

Sadly enough, both the 'Alī brothers were to pass away under surprisingly impoverished circumstances, their efforts for the Muslim 'Ummah' expended. The younger Muḥammad 'Alī was to die first during 1349H(1931) and in al-Quds (Jerusalem), to which he had traveled to attend the Second World Muslim Conference. The elder brother Shaukat 'Alī was to be created a 'Manṣabdār' (literally: rank holder) or pensioner of the Niẓām of Ḥaidarābād retroactively since January 1932 (Sha'bān 1350H), but only a couple of years before his death in November 1938 (Ramaḍān 1357H), after the activities in which he intended to involve himself henceforth to eke his livelihood, had been carefully screened.[994] This of course

was intended as a sop for British opinion and political feelings. The once fire-brand 'Maulānā' (an Arabic term meaning 'Our Lord' and used as an honorific form of address in India for Muslim scholars) had taken up farming in his latter days in order to maintain himself and his family. After his demise, separate allowances were to be fixed by the Niẓām for his widowed daughter and for the upbringing and the education of the grandchildren.[995]

B: (i) The Abdication and Exile of King Ḥusayn and the Election of 'Alī

On 3rd October 1924 (4th Rabī' al-Awwal 1343H), the Deputies of the Ḥejāzī Assembly decided to cable their Monarch King Ḥusayn to abdicate in favour of his eldest son, 'Alī ibn Ḥusayn, in order that they may attempt to arrive at an accommodation with the Najdīs and the British. The idea of the replacement of the father by the eldest son also enjoyed the support of his full brothers, 'AbdAllāh and Fayṣal and the latter had even intimated this to the British Government prior to the event.[996] In fact, according to British Foreign Office reports filed in by the British Consuls in Jiddah, Bullard and then Grafftey-Smith, the former (Bullard) for example, had been approached in mid-1920 (Ramaḍān/Shawwāl 1338H), on behalf of 'AbdAllāh ibn Ḥusayn and other Sharīfs seeking British approval for the removal of Ḥusayn. Then, on a later occasion, the latter (Grafftey-Smith) had also been informed during the first quarter of 1922 (Jamād al-Awwal 1340H) of 'Alī's and his brothers serious desire to depose their father as an obstacle "to the progress of the Arab cause". However, with the refusal of the Consuls to get involved in family intrigues at that stage, the matter had come to nothing.[997] It may be added here however, that, Ḥusayn's youngest son Zayd was not involved in any way in these affairs, though his Turkish mother, out of concern for her husband, did come to be discreetly in favour of him retiring from the scene in keeping with general demand.

In any case, by now, most of the high-ranking British and other parties concerned were aware that, the end of the Sharīf was near. Just nine days earlier (on 24th September/23rd Ṣafar), the Secretary of State for the Colonies, under constant fear of agitation by the 'Khilāfatists' in India, had declared to the Foreign Office that, it was "out of question that H.M.G. should in any case embark upon hostile action against Ibn Sa'ūd, whether direct or indirect, in defence of the Holy Places". This, by coincidence, was the very day on which the delegation of Jiddah's notables had called on the British Consul, Reader Bullard, seeking a British mandate over the Ḥejāz, as mentioned earlier.[998] Only a day later, on 25th September (24th Ṣafar), the Viceroy of India was to telegraph the Secretary of State for India in London, that, "the Khilāfatists were raising an outcry at the prospect of Britain giving support to King Husain", and also adding that they generally favoured his (Ḥusayn's) removal.[999]

Mad with rage at first upon these signs of treachery, the Sharīf Ḥusayn had summoned his eldest son 'Alī to explain the matter to him. However, after having his feelings assuaged by the latter, he was surprisingly to agree in the end to the proposal, but as he felt he saw no difference between himself and his sons, his condition was that, the candidate for the office had to be someone else. Then, just as the lack of suitability of all the other names of possibles for the function had been reviewed, another cable from the same source, the Deputies of the National Assembly, was received after the 'Maghrib' (Sundown) Prayer, again requesting him to abdicate. This made him revert to 'Alī's candidature. During the evening of the same day, he cabled back acceptance of his eldest son's nomination.[1000] It is related that his Turkish wife, who was a sister-in-law of Ḥusayn Rushdī Pāshā, a Prime Minister of Egypt, also had much to do with convincing him to abdicate and to accept the proposal of the National Assembly.[1001] Hence, 'Alī was declared King in Jiddah by the National Assembly on the next day, the 5th of Rabī' al-Awwal (4th October).[1002]

Meanwhile, his grand old father left Makkah five days later on 9th Rabī' al-Awwal (8th October), this time for ever, followed by a train of twenty camels guarded by trusted slaves, each carrying forty jerrycans, altogether bearing about 126,000 gold Pounds, in order to sail away from Jiddah a week later, on the sixteenth of the same lunar month (Fifteenth October), for al-'Aqabah. He was to remain there till 18th June 1925 (20th Dhū'l-Qa'dah 1343H). Then, in keeping with British wishes, he was to sail on into final exile on Cyprus. The vessel conveying him on this occasion, by accident (or design), was the 'H.M.S. Delhi', which earlier on had borne George V and his spouse Mary on their official visit to India—an honour of a dubious sort for the former Grand Sharīf of Makkah, self-proclaimed "King of the Arab Lands" and "Caliph" and of course,

was intended as a sop for British opinion and political feelings. The once fire-brand 'Maulānā' (an Arabic term meaning 'Our Lord' and used as an honorific form of address in India for Muslim scholars) had taken up farming in his latter days in order to maintain himself and his family. After his demise, separate allowances were to be fixed by the Niẓām for his widowed daughter and for the upbringing and the education of the grandchildren.[995]

B: (i) The Abdication and Exile of King Ḥusayn and the Election of 'Alī

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King of the Ḥejāz, as well as for the ship, depending on which way one looks at it. He stayed on this Island for almost six years before suffering a stroke, whereupon, in response to his wishes, the British were to grant him permission to die in an Arab country and he passed away in 'Ammān on 3rd June 1931 (15th Muḥarram 1350H) aged seventy-nine, very shortly after his arrival there.[1003]

It was the destiny of this Grand Sharīf of Islām's 'Ḥaramayn' ('The Two Holiest Sanctuaries') to be buried at the Faith's Third Holiest Sanctuary and its first 'Qiblah', 'al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf' in al-Quds (Jerusalem), for whose restoration, he was to donate most generously, before his abdication. Indeed, Sir Alec Kirkbride was even to say of him that, "he sacrificed his position for the sake of the Palestinians…".[1004]

It is amazing that, though the Sharīf Ḥusayn in moments of emotion and aggravation, or when he had the appropriate audience, would often lament on the theme that: "my mistake was trusting Britain and thinking too highly of European fidelity", yet, when he was offered the high British decoration of 'the Order of the Bath', he was surprisingly to accept it in perhaps what touchingly was a last innocent reflection upon the nature of his person and that mystical faith in the British, that he, in his obstinacy as with everything else, could never completely divest himself of, despite all that had transpired and come what may, until he had breathed his last. Coincidentally, in a sharp and peculiar twist of the irony of fate, the person to invest him with this decoration was none other than Sir Ronald Storrs, then Malta's Governor and formerly Kitchener's Oriental Secretary, who had played such a major role in leading him down the garden path.[1005]

Before a complete change of the subject, it would be better to add here in postscript and emphasise again that, even before he had declared his rebellion, little did the Sharīf Ḥusayn know that, the die of his fate and betrayal by his presumptive allies had already been cast and even officially compacted by a series of secret understandings and undertakings, the outcome of which, if implemented, could only have denied him, as indeed it did, the most cherished of his desires, that he felt he had been unequivocally promised in return for his rebellion and co-operation. The positive outcome of this venture has already been referred to in a measure of detail.

There can be little doubt that, the Sharīf Ḥusayn's office, his heredity and aspirations for himself as well as for his fellow Arabs,

had much to do with all that was achieved in this theatre of the War, only for the cup, just as it had become full to the brim, to be snatched away from his hand by the allies of his choice before he had the chance to taste of its heady elixir, a potent mixture of victory, impending freedom and ultimate success. From then on, he was to find himself slighted, humiliated and ridiculed in an ever-increasing measure, as he stubbornly persisted and with due cause and right upon the justice of his claims, based as they happened to be upon those allegedly inviolable promises, undertakings and commitments that should have been and still await to be honoured as per the ethics of civilised nations. No doubt, the creation and then slavish continuation with and propagation of the maligning myth of the ogre beheld in the Sharīf, had mostly to do with the shabby attempts of the politicians and representatives of the "civilised" and victorious Great Powers to conceal their own lack of adherence to their self-proclaimed, so called "principles" of truth, justice, equanimity and the like, if not their shame and embarrassment, at their double-dealing and hypocricy, while posing as the great "standard-bearers" of modern civilisation!

It is true that the Sharīf Ḥusayn has often been depicted, once the War was over, as an unrealistic eccentric, afflicted by megalomania. However, if this was so, then who was responsible for planting their seeds and nurturing them in him ever so persistently and feeding his keen vanity so systematically by the adoption of such a fawning and deferential attitude and tone towards his word and his person as may be surmised from addressing him in all correspondence as no less than "Saiyyid al-Jamī'" ("the Lord of All") and "Qiblat al-'Ālamīn" (the "Qiblah" or "Cynosure of the World") and more, in order to serve their own interests and purposes! — Was it not the high representatives of these very Great Powers!

Even if it be true as it arguably appears, that, the Sharīf Ḥusayn had rebelled in order to feed his own vanity and serve his personal ambitions, then it is also true, that, his designs for his race's uplift and eminence, as perceived by him and alongside him, by several others, would also be found to be marching in close step, each with the other, if not inter-twined indivisibly.

No matter however many mistakes the Sharīf Ḥusayn may be guilty of during his long and chequered life, and there must be numerous occasions on which he would be found at fault, yet, it could not be said, despite scrutiny, that, he betrayed his dreams and

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his aspirations as perceived by him for his religion and his people and of course for himself. Al-Mukhtār, in hisArabic History of Sa'ūdī Arabia, relates an interesting and endearing anecdote he had heard from a senior officer of the Arab Legion in Jordan about the old King's advice to his sons in his final days, when he had heard that they were then being encouraged by the British authorities to unify their ranks against the Sa'ūdī Sulṭān, who was proving somewhat difficult at the time. After they had consequently gathered under their father's auspices in Cyprus for deliberations, it is said that, his advice to them on this occasion had been, to avoid falling into the same British trap as he had, and to compose their differences with 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd as the better option, even if on the grounds that, he at least shared race and language with them. His final words to them on this count are reported to have been: "I prefer that Ibn Sa'ūd remains in control of the Ḥejāz, nay the whole of the Arab lands, than to see the English in control over them".[1006]

Some day in the future, when the dust has finally settled down on the turmoil of these historical events, which it has still not done despite the passage of so many decades, for the results of the outcome of many of them continue to remain alive, nay even hyperactive, such as the issue of Palestine for one, then most balanced historians will surely shed kinder light on the life and political career of this grand old 'Eminence Grise' with the long grey beard and some of those strange and almost endearing or perhaps not so strange quirks and eccentricities. This stubborn and maligned, yet great Hāshimite Arab had been betrayed and let down, not merely by individuals but by Great Powers as well. Yet, he inevitably somehow was to manage to keep his head up and high on most counts, though inevitably grappling with his inner soul and conscience time and again in review of events, their turnout and the cruel ironies of fate. What a soul!—"Innā Li'llāhi wa Innā Ilaihī Rāji'ūn" (To God we belong and to Him is our return".(Ch 2; V156—the Qur'ān). Grafftey-Smith had these cruel but interesting words to offer as an epitaph in summing up this great leader and Caliphal candidate: "He was an arrogant and difficult man, but one may feel compassion for frustrated human hopes. He had read into the McMahon letters a personal hope matching his high personal ambitions. These were unfulfilled, but he put on their phantom uniform and styled himself Overlord of Arabia and Caliph of Islam. He died in exiled poverty, knowing that his claim to these proud titles was a jest and

an offence to other men of his faith". I leave it to the reader's indulgence to determine the accuracy of this statement and seek God's pardon ("W'astaghfiru'llāh").

A number of credible historians, armed with the tool of hindsight, such as the already mentioned 'Aṭṭār and al-Mukhtār to name but two, have questioned in strong words and with reasonable justification, the wisdom of the move by the Ḥejāz National Assembly, in seeking the abdication of a recognised and experienced ruler and statesman of the local and international stature of Ḥusayn, despite all his faults, and his replacement at a time of grave national crisis by the conscientious and good-nature 'Alī, who, when compared with his titanic father in terms of qualifications with an eye on the needs of the hour, can only pale into insignificance, as ill-equipped , despite all the goodwill on his part and that of others. These critics also emphasise that, while 'Alī was primarily elected by the National Assembly for being more malleable in their hands in comparison to his stubborn and autocratic father, the departure of this strong man from the scene merely served to discourage all supporters and dampen the spirits of the fighting men, while simultaneously encouraging 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd, who at this stage was still in his Capital, al-Riyāḍ, and even in furthering his designs, instead of satisfying those claims of his relating to the Ḥejāz, which he had proclaimed earlier, as they had naively expected they could by this change. It had of course been their hope to induce him by this measure to move towards negotiations and the withdrawal of his men. Such thinking, if anything, can only be interpreted as a sure sign of the Assembly's lack of vision and experience, as shall henceforth be witnessed from their subsequent antics further on.[1007]

The first major official step the new King of the Ḥejāz, 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn took, was to select a fresh Cabinet. For example, Bānājah was replaced by Ṭāhir al-Dabbāgh as the new Minister of Finance. 'Abdal-Qādir al-Ghazzāwī was now the Minister of Communications, while Fu'ād al-Khaṭīb was retained as Minister of Foreign Affairs. Shaykh 'AbdAllāh al-Sarrāj (the Muftī of Makkah) was appointed Prime Ministe and Taḥsīn Pāshā al-Faqīr, a Syrian, the Minister of Defence. Sharīf Muḥsin ibn Manṣūr was to hold the portfolio for the Interior and the dynamic Muḥammad al-Ṭawīl that of the Minister of Taxes.[1008]

The immediate mandate of this Cabinet, though not necessarily in the order being mentioned here, was to attempt to reach a

reconciliation with 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd. In the realisation of this all important goal, they were now to seek with all immediacy the recognition of their regime, as well as the mediation, as necessary, of the Muslim countries and other major Islāmic bodies in their present crisis with the Najdī Sulṭān. In the meantime, they were to use evey effort to add to the Ḥejāz's defence capability by seeking reinforcements, primarily from al-'Irāq, Transjordan and last but not least, to conclude that long-debated Treaty with Britain, which, of course, was expected to automatically resolve a lot of the Ḥejāz's most immediate problems.[1009]

Now, while the appeal by this Assembly to the Supreme Islāmic Council in al-Quds (Jerrusalem), then presided by the eminent al-Ḥāj Amīn al-Ḥusaynī, that it arbitrate in the Najd–Ḥejāz dispute, was rejected by 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd, the response of the Khilāfat Committee, already aligned to the cause of the latter, was also unfriendly. In a telegram received by the Sulṭān of Najd on 10th Rabī' al-Awwal 1343H (10th October 1924), Shaukat 'Alī was to inform him of his reply to the Ḥejāzī leadership that, the Muslims of India were against the presence of Ḥusayn, or his sons in the Ḥejāz, and that, the decision regards the management of the affairs of the Holy Cities should be more in consultation with representatives of the Muslim world at large through a general conference, and in accordance with democratic principles. This statement was surprisingly enough to provide that Sulṭān with further ideas to use in the promotion of his arguments and cause. Meanwhile, not stopping at this step, Shaukat 'Alī was also to go on to address the Government of India twenty days later, asking of them to display greater understanding towards Muslim aspirations than London had done till then and to prevent the latter from all interferrence, particularly in favour of the Sharīfian dynasty.[1010]

At the same time, the British also, in keeping with their decision, were to dash the hopes of the new Ḥejāzī Government, by dubiously advising the Sharīfian representatives ordered on 16th October 1924 (16th Rabī' al-Awwal 1343H) to sign the Treaty with Britain referred to above, that, the Foreign Office now desired to wait somewhat, "before undertaking obligations to a Prince, who may not be in a position to give effect to his side of the Agreement"! As if this was not enough, they then also ventured to point out in no uncertain terms that, the draft of the Treaty bore no reference to any mutual defence clauses, but only implied an agreement "to employ all available means at their disposal, to promote a peaceful solution" between the King of the Ḥejāz and the Sulṭān of Najd and that alone! [1011] It is also of significance to note here that, earlier on, 'The Times' daily on 5th October 1924 (6th Rabī' al-Awwal 1343H) had reported Ramsay Macdonald as referring to the Sa'ūdī-Sharīfian dispute as a "religious" one, in which his Government "refuses to intervene".[1012]

At this stage, a factor arousing general concern was the Ḥajj season of 1343H just around the corner then in early July 1925. These feelings were not merely shared by the Muslim world at large, but shared in particular by the British and other Colonial authorities, the Sharīfian camp then in possession of Makkah's main port (Jiddah) and al-Madīnah also with its port Yanbu', as well as the Sulṭān 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd's 'Ikhwān' now stationed in Makkah. Due to the situation then prevailing in the Ḥejāz, Pilgrims likely to be arriving, were expected to be faced with a number of problems, real and impending. These were not merely supposed to be associated with the question of security during the course of this 'Ḥajj', but were expected on this occasion to be met with by the Pilgrim even before he had set off from his home. The most important of these issues were how to get to Makkah in good time for the 'Ḥajj', and then to be enabled to visit the Prophet's Mosque in al-Madīnah (this being a voluntary—yet highly preferred—act of devotion, as opposed to a required obligatory ritual and part of the 'Ḥajj').

In this regard, all credit must go to 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd and his advisers that they had clearly foreseen this crisis. Hence, over three months from the 'Ḥajj', that is during early Shawwāl 1343H(March 1925), they had proceeded to issue a proclamation addressed to "all Muslims in the Eastern and the Western confines of the earth", reassuring them of their safety, comfort and all other rights as Pilgrims, while also guaranteeing to facilatate their journey to Makkah from any of the following three Red Sea Ports of Rābigh, al-Līth and al-Qunfidhah, which according to Philby, "had been occupied and made available for the purpose by Ibn Sa'ūd".[1013]

Thus, in addition to the Najdīs and those of the others who had formerly been prevented from performing the 'Ḥajj' by the Sharīfian regime, when some three thousand Indians returned home safely after the Pilgrimage that year, this proved to be yet another major internationally observed political victory for 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd

at the expense of the claims and aspirations of the Sharīfian regime.[1014] Incidentally, amongst the Pilgrims this year was Eldon Rutter, an English Muslim, who was also to publish an account of his experiences.[1015]

Hence, when the two Najdī commanders in Makkah, Sharīf Khālid ibn Lu'ai and Sulṭān ibn Bijād decided to address letters to the Consuls of Britain, France, Italy, the Netherlands and Īrān in Jiddah, enquiring of them about their governments' attitudes towards the Najd-Ḥejāz fighting then going on, the latter were to reply collectively on 6th Rabī' al-Thānī 1343H (9thNovember 1924), of their "complete neutrality" in the dispute, with the reminder that, the lives and property of their subjects should be fully respected. This message, a most favourable and reassuring omen for 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd and his designs in this affair, was received by him 'en route', after he had set off from al-Riyāḍ for Makkah, which had been on 13th Rabī' al-Thānī 1343H(11th November 1924), and the journey was to take him twenty-three days.[1016]

Dutifully holding on to a brave face till the very last, the modest, brave, good, kind, humane, noble and selfless King 'Alī, tried at one stage during the Muḥarram/Ṣafar of 1344H (August 1925), to involve King Fu'ād of Egypt as intermediary, with the promise that, if he would agree to mediate between him and Ibn Sa'ūd, then in return, he would support his nomination to the office of Caliph. Sure enough, an Egyptian mission led by the great scholar Muḥammad Muṣṭafā al-Mirāghī, arrived during Rabī'al-Awwal 1344H (September 1925) and met the Najdī Sulṭān and Ḥāfiẓ Wahbah, only to be fobbed off with the excuse that, since he had just refused to accept an offer of British mediation, it would be discourteous to that Power, if he were now to agree to Egyptian involvement in his dispute with the Sharīfs of Makkah! Attempts at mediation by the Imām Yaḥyā of the Yaman during Rabī'al-Thānī 1344H (October 1925), and by a visiting Īrānian delegation at about the same time, were also to meet with similar results.[1017]

Having effectively used the excuse of a general Islāmic Conference to debate over the fate of the two Holy Cities in order to ward off the attempts mentioned above at mediation between him and 'Alī, 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd now decided to work cautiously and in close concert with the basic desires of 'the Khilāfat Committee' though not so much the Committee itself. To his credit, he had

grasped these well. Furthermore, aided by the counsels of the likes of his able Egyptian adviser, Ḥāfiẓ Wahbah, who also happened to be a friend of the Committee's two activist leaders, the brothers Shaukat 'Alī and Muḥammad 'Alī, both already met with earlier, he was now beginning to find himself not merely able to resist a reasonable modicum of international pressure if need be, but also to check-mate any move by the Ḥejāzī Government to break out of the deadlock it found itself in, by the use of identical tactics and means, that had brought him success so far in this regard. At the same time, he was also adding rapidly to his international credibility by his generally modest, sober and responsible behaviour and his co-operative attitude towards these international Muslim bodies that he now found himself dealing with.

In fact, after the conquest of al-Ṭā'if by the 'Ikhwān' and the unnecessary blood-shed of civilians there, followed by the destruction of domes and all other edifices held as anathema by them, and in Makkah also, when the spiritual father of 'the Khilāfat Movement', and the mentor and 'alter ego' of the 'Alī brothers, Maulānā 'Abdal-Bārī, the founder of the 'Jama'īyyat al-'Ulamā'' ('Association of Religious Scholars') decrying these activities, decided to support the Sharīfian cause, an event briefly referred to earlier, such an effect were 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd's statements concerning the future administration of the Ḥejāz with the involvement of the Muslim 'Ummah' the world over were having on the minds of Shaukat 'Alī and Muḥammad 'Alī, that, they and 'Abdal-Bārī actually came to part ways over the issue of the hitherto extended support for 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd. 'Abdal-Bārī had then gone on to form a rival organisation in support of the Sharīf with the title of 'Jama'īyyat Khuddām al-Ḥaramayn' ('Association of Servants of the Two Holy Sanctaries'). Then, by the time the World Islāmic Conference was actually convened in Makkah, the split between the two Groups had become so serious, that, though they were representing the same country, both were to send separate delegations to it.

It has already been averred to above that, 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd, with the help of his advisers, had carefully scrutinised and adopted as his own the prime demands of these referred to international bodies, which constituted major pressure groups in the sight of the relevant Colonial powers, primarily the British. He had done this in short by first suggesting and consistently emphasising his willing-

ness to place the future of the Holy Land in the hands of the representatives of the world of Islām. Meanwhile, he was also discreetly promoting at the same time his own candidature as the most appropriate choice available for undertaking charge of the custodianship of the 'Ḥaramayn' and managing their affairs in accordance with the desires of the Ummah's representatives and in regular consultation with them.

Actually, so much were several parties taken up with him, that, soon after his conquest of Makkah, 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd was even to be considered, as a candidate worthy of the office of Caliph by a number of them. A prime example of this was when after a visit during 1343H(1924) by Shaykh Badral-dīn al-Ḥasanī, a renowned Syrian scholar, to a Najdī counterpart, Shaykh Sulaymān al-Mushayqīh, who also happened to be a confidante of the Sulṭān 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd, the former Shaykh had proceeded to prepare a manifesto that had been signed by a thousand of the most prominent Muslim citizens of Damascus, requesting 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd to assume the office of Caliph. As Shaykh Badral-dīn's son Tājal-dīn had then been appointed the new Qāḍī of Damascus over the heads of older and probably better qualified Shaykhs by the French authorities, the British Government, surprised by the news, had assumed French sponsorship of the move to propose the Najdī Sulṭān as a Caliphal Candidate. However, 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd, cautious, wary and aprehensive as ever of British reaction and with the lesson of Sharīf Ḥusayn's sorry experience and dénouement in this regard before him, did not rush forth to accept the proposal.[1018] Besides, it is also highly probable that, after fancying the idea and entertaining it for a while, he found himself not sufficiently interested in the title, viewing it as a major source of problems for him, which he was ill-equipped to handle.

Nevertheless, once he had secured the Holy Cities and become aware of Britain's lack of interest in acting against him, he had decided to let his ambitions come out into the open. For example, when the Indians tried to assert themselves again and get directly involved in the future management of the affairs of the two Holy Cities, 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd did not hesitate to inform them, that, as they were not a sovereign nation and still subject to colonial rule, hence to his regret, he could not entertain their involvement in this capacity.[1019]

'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd's initial refusal to push himself forward openly for the function of custodianship of the Holy Cities, when he was obviously in a position to do so had also proved reassuring to most of the active bodies representing the 'Ummah'. Though the Sharīf 'Alī ibn Ḥusayn too was willingly in acceptance of their terms and conditions, his father's treatment of the Ḥājīs in the past and his political antics in general, were too fresh in all minds for them to look at him and his dynasty kindly. In fact, the then newly constituted 'Khilāfat Committee' had even gone so far on occassions as to openly denounce Sharīf Ḥusayn as unfit for the Caliphal office. Thus did the political fortunes of the ancient Sharīfian dynasty flounder before the magnetic charm of the personality of this scion of the House of Sa'ūd of Najd.

The Prophet's City, which had been under siege for some ten months by 'Ikhwān' chieftains of the calibre of Fayṣal ibn Sulṭān al-Dawīsh of the Muṭayr and undergoing great hardship, now proposed to surrender to 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd or a son of his, if offered a general amnesty. This was granted. Thereupon, that City's gates were thrown open to the besieging Sa'ūdī forces, which was on 19th Jamād al-Awwal 1344H (5th December, 1925). The offer of submission, it is said, had been borne to 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd while he was still in al-Riyāḍ according to 'Alī Ḥāfeẓ, and if 'Aṭṭār is to be believed, then it was when he had reached Baḥrah, between Makkah and Jiddah. A deputation, namely, the Shaykhs Muṣṭafā 'Abdal-'Āl and Dhiāb Nāṣir, had been charged with presenting it to the Sulṭān. After his acceptance of their terms, his commanders Nāṣir ibn Sa'ūd and 'AbdAllāh ibn Faḍl were to receive the surrender on his behalf from the Sharīfs, Aḥmad ibn Manṣūr and 'Abdal-Majīd (Pāshā). The young 'Amīr' Muḥammad ibn 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd, sent specifically by his father to participate in the surrender ceremony, was to enter the City the next day and to graciously distribute two thousand bags of flour and a thousand of rice amongst the famished population in order to alleviate some of their distress.[1020]

Meanwhile, 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd's above senior 'Ikhwān' commander, the famous Fayṣal al-Dawīsh, who had been dreaming of being rewarded with that City's governorship for his role in this campaign, was to leave the scene in a huff upon seeing his ambitions in that direction thwarted. He was soon enough to become a major dissenting sore in 'Abdal-'Azīz's side for some years to come,

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by mounting the most serious challenge to his authority that the latter was ever to face in his career. Fayṣal al-Dawīsh was to do this by fomenting and leading the famous rebellion of the 'Ikhwān', which was to last for a good four years with varying intensity, until his final incarceration in the prison of al-Maṣmak in al-Riyāḍ during 1348H (1930) and death the following year. His partner in this rebellian was to be the other senior 'Ikhwān' commander, Sulṭān ibn Bijād of the 'Utaybah, who would style himself as "Sulṭān al-Dīn" and had been instrumental in the conquest of Makkah. In return for this, he too was hoping on his part to be awarded the governorship of that Holy City. However, like Fayṣal al-Dawīsh's ambitions in the case of al-Madīnah, his aspirations too were to remain unsubstantiated.[1021]

On the other hand, the siege of Jiddah was to continue from hope to hope, until, 'Alī and his government also had to bow before the inevitable will of fate and he was left with no option but to abdicate. In this case, the last straw that had actually broken the proverbial camel's back or 'Alī's will was the news of the outcome of the meeting between the British representative, the Chief Secretary to the Government of Palestine, Sir Gilbert Clayton and the Najdī Sulṭān. The Chief Secretary had been accompanied on this occasion by his Syrian Private Secretary, George Antonius (then Chief Inspector of Education in Palestine), who was also to acquire additional fame as the author of that great work "The Arab Awakening". This new Anglo-Sa'ūdī concord was to embody implicit British recognition of Najd's conquest of the Ḥejāz alongside the settlement of a number of border problems between 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd and al-'Irāq, as well as Transjordan, this in the guise of the Baḥrah and the Hadā' Agreements of mid-Rabī' al-Thānī 1344H (early November 1925). The Baḥrah Agreement had covered issues between Najd and al-'Irāq and the Hadā Agreement had dealt with those between Najd and Transjordan. Meanwhile, 'Alī's predicament had been officially ignored throughout by the British representative as a sign of support for the Najd Sulṭān and 'de facto' recognition of his position. By virtue of these negotiations, 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd's control over the Wādī Sirḥān was recognised in return for his agreement to maintain a 'status quo' regarding his claims concerning Ma'ān and al-'Aqabah, which had been transferred earlier on by King 'Alī to Transjordan. Since the crisis in the Wādī Sirḥān had been perpetuated by the officially unsanctioned

activities of the 'Ikhwān' as 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd then remonstrated, these two Agreements were also to set up the parameters for the settlement of disputes arising due to cross-border raiding and this by the establishment of a tribunal to deal with them.

During the course of these negotiations, 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd, who had been anticipating and keen all along to secure official British recognition of his annexation of the Ḥejāz, was found, at least outwardly, to be in a pleasant, generous and compliant mood. However that this was not all sincere and geniuine, but great diplomatic play, was to become apparent a little later on at the Islāmic Conference in Makkah during 1344/45H(1926), when he was quietly to incite the delegates to adopt a resolution seeking the restoration of Ma'ān and al-'Aqabah to his newly conquered domains as historically integral parts of the Ḥejāz, on their own accord, which goes on to constitute a vivid comment indeed on how quickly he was picking up the finer arts of modern politics and diplomacy!—On the question of the transfer of Ma'ān and al-'Aqabah to Transjordan, Rīḥanī mentions that, the reason 'Alī had agreed to the transaction was because of his brother 'AbdAllāh's offer to him to secure for the bankrupt and hard-pressed Ḥejāz Government in return, a sum of 300,000 Pounds (Sterling) in the guise of compensation, with an additional amount of 200,000 Pounds in lieu of immovable properties and an immediate loan of 500,000 Pounds. This was not all, for 'AbdAllāh had also promised to his brother 'Alī the removal of Ibn Sa'ūd "from the Ḥejāz up to Turabah and al-Khurmah" and also that "the Ḥejāz Railway was to be placed at his ('Alī's) disposal at all times". Rīḥānī also then goes further on to comment on 'AbdAllāh's above offer that, it was "mere figures in the book of dreams".[1022]

Faced now with no hope and impossible odds and challenges from all directions, 'Alī decided to place conditional terms of surrender before 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd via the British Vice-Consul Jordan. The former, desiring to see a swift end to this conflict in view of the possibility of future complications and the financial drain it was proving on his resources, was found to be compliant to all his seventeen humane conditions. These had nobly and selflessly covered the safety, offices and financial rights of his civil and military employees and other supporters.[1023]

'Alī was to leave the Ḥejāz on 'HMS Cornflower' for al-'Irāq via 'Adan on 20th December 1925 (4th Jamād al-Thānī 1344H)

never to return. His 'Qāim-Maqām' in Jiddah at the time, 'AbdAllāh 'Alī Reza (Riḍā) had officially been charged with handing over the keys of his Government to Ibn Sa'ūd the day after his departure. This was done without further incident.[1024]

'Alī's moving farewell message, literally distributed minutes before he left the wharf, is worth reproducing here, as it sheds light on the nature of this humane individual. He had said: "My brave army and my generous people—I thank God in prosperity and adversity. Ever since I first came to this Holy Land with my father, I have considered myself as a member of this community... until he abdicated and you selected me to take over. At that difficult time, when the enemy was at our door, you insisted I accept (his position). I brought what you have seen in soldiers and weapons and waited patiently with you until all our material and money were exhausted. I am obliged today to tell you proudly that, I prefer to withdraw from this war and that I have negotiated an agreement, which gives peace and preserves your rights. I ask you to comply with the agreement. I wish you a good future and I beg you to forgive my mistakes".[1025]

Thus did the rule of this last Sharīfian King of the Ḥejāz come to its end after long centuries of local authority, over Makkah 'the Blessed', traceable back to a thousand years and more, no less.

B: (ii) The Aftermath—Makkah, Ibn Sa'ūd and the Islāmic World

According to the already alluded to historian and biographer of 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd, Aḥmad 'Aṭṭār, whose account of that Najdī Monarch's life and of other events associated with it often closely resemble and even follow those in the writings of Amīn Rīḥānī, the Najdī Sulṭān's arrival in Makkah has been at the beginning of Rabī'al-Thānī 1343H (3rd December 1924). Adequately prior to it, in order to pacify and calm down public opinion in the Muslim world, he had been proclaiming in general terms from al-Riyāḍ that, "Makkah was for all the Muslims", therefore, "its organisation and administration ought to be in accordance with the desire of the Muslim world". Furthermore, he had also been promising alongside that: "We shall meet with the delegates of the Muslim world there (in Makkah) and exchange views with them".[1026] Again, in order to allay the fears of the Ḥejāzī National Party as well, he had also contacted them some time earlier and conveyed a message along

the same lines. Then, three days after his arrival in Makkah, Ḥāfiẓ Wahbah, the Sulṭān's close senior adviser during this episode as already indicated, had emphasised the same statements in proclamation on his ruler's behalf.[1027] All these developments, as previously depicted, had so excited 'the Khilāfat Committee' in India then, that, Shaukat 'Alī, it may be recalled, had cabled the Ḥejāzī National Party and 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd also to the effect that, the Indian Muslims desired to see the establishment of a democratic government for the Ḥejāz in Makkah, in which, Muslims the world over would have a say. It is also significant to note that, during the siege of Jiddah and around mid-1343H (early 1925), when a segment of 'the Khilāfat Committee' had offered to intermediate between King 'Alī and the Sulṭān 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd, this approach had then been rejected by the latter on the grounds that, he could not comply with this request, as he had then openly been proclaiming in speeches and statements, published or publicised by himself or on his behalf, prior to and since his arrival in Makkah, that, his prime concern was to: "purify the Holy Land of the enemies of the Faith, who hate the Islāmic world" and then implying or referring directly to "Ḥusayn and his sons and followers" as those "enemies". In actual fact, he was even to issue such a statement in published form for example, only four days after his entry into Makkah.[1028]

The next step by 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd, in keeping with his proclamations, had been to cable invitations to the governments and organisations of the Muslim world to send delegates for an Islāmic Conference, in order to decide upon the form of government that would be deemed most appropriate by them for ensuring the implementation of the Sharī'ah's tenets. A general referendum under the auspices of the attending representatives was also to be held in order to choose a suitable "Ḥākim" (Governor) for the Ḥejāz, as well as to decide on how best to ensure its internal autonomy and neutrality. The delegates were also to be charged with framing its administrative, financial and economic regulations. These invitations were dated 11th Rabī' al-Thānī 1344H (30th October 1925).[1029] It definitely appears that 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd had initially toyed with the idea of retaining, if need be, a member of the Sharīfian clan, preferably also of local choice, as Makkah's Governor on his behalf. This of course would have been in emulation of the policy of his ancestors, the two Amīrs cum Imāms of the First

Sa'ūdī State, Sa'ūd ibn 'Abdal-'Azīz and his son 'AbdAllāh ibn Sa'ūd, who, when in possession of Makkah, had restored the Sharīf Ghālib ibn Musā'id to that office on their behalf as may be recalled, after making him take an oath in the sanctity of the Makkan 'Ḥaram' to be loyal to them and their religious policies. To begin with, 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd in pursuance of this policy, did outwardly display at one stage a little sympathy for 'Alī and certainly appears to have also considered somewhat the candidature of 'Alī Ḥaidar as a possible alternative, by showing a positive inclination at first towards the latter's desire to be allowed to return to his native land and getting his representative in Syria, Shaykh Sulaymān al-Mushayqīh to call on 'Alī Ḥaidar and maintain friendly contact. This cordiality on the part of the Najdī Sulṭān may also have had something to do with the fact that, 'Alī Ḥaidar's former Secretary, Ṭaiyyib al-Hazzāz ("Taib Hazaze") was now serving the former in the same capacity. In fact, 'Alī Ḥaidar had even sailed from Beyrūt in Shawwāl 1344H(May 1926) to arrive at Jiddah via Egypt, being interviewed by British pro-Consuls Sir Ronald Storrs in al-Quds (Jerusalem) and Lord Lloyd in Cairo on the way. By the time he had arrived at Yanbu', the Sulṭān had changed his mind and was to convey to him: "We feel certain that your arrival will provoke incidents which would disturb you and mitigate against your comfort. We therefore find it more convenient if you did not land in the Hedjaz ... ". In the face of such a message, all 'Alī Ḥaidar could do in the end, was to comply and he ultimately returned to Beyrūt.[1030]

The responsibility for such of the changes and reforms as were to be implemented henceforth, was eventually to fall to the lot of local bodies 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd was to establish. During Jamād al-Thānī 1344H (January 1926), he was to summon the members of 'al-Majlis al-Ahlī' ('the National Assembly') and representative deputations from Jiddah and Makkah, to which notable representatives of other regions were also to join. This was following the ceremony of the acceptance of 'the Oath of Allegiance' ('al-Bay'ah') and they had specifically been called to create a constituent body, a "working committee" of sorts, whose function was to be to deliberate over a number of immediate issues. The most important of these were the title of the head of the new Ḥejāzī Government, the regulation of the relations between Najd and al-Ḥejāz and the creation of the local government's administrative format and structure, as well as institutions, the flag, the currency and of course, the Ḥejāz's

status from an international perspective. This vital body was to be elected by the assembled by secret ballot, with eight of its members from their midst, to serve as a "working committee" of sorts, while 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd was to add to it four members of his own choice and also to nominate its President. This happened to be none other than 'Abdal-Qādir al-Shībī, that very Custodian of the keys of the Ka'bah, who had managed to survive the episode of the entry of the 'Ikhwān' into al-Ṭā'if by the ruse recounted earlier. This body was later to take on the role of a 'Majlis al-Shūrā' ('Consultative Council') for the Ḥejāz, with similar local bodies styled 'Majālis Baladīyyah' ('Municipal Councils') for major Ḥejāzī towns such as Makkah, Jiddah, al-Ṭā'if, al-Madīnah and Yanbu'. This 'Majlis al-Shūrā', but with entirely new faces from the former Constituent body, was to replace the previous vociferous Ḥejāzī National Assembly or Parliament under King 'Alī, which had around eleven times as many members.[1031] Even as late as on 8th Jamād al-Thānī 1344H (24th December 1925), a day after Jiddah's surrender, 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd had seen to the issue of a proclamation emphasising his desire to see the Muslim world have its say on an immediate, as well as permenant basis in the affairs of the Ḥejāz due to its holy status and significance in the sight of all Muslims.[1032]

However, once he had secured the Holy Cities and become fully convinced of Britain's lack of interest in acting against him, within a fortnight of his last proclamation, he had changed his mind. He claimed to be justified in taking this step, as he felt that, his call to the Muslim world at large had gone mostly "unheeded". He had then proceeded to arrange to receive the 'Bay'ah' ('Oath of Allegiance') for himself as "King" from the citizens of the Ḥejāz in Islām's holiest city, Makkah. This was fixed for the 23rd Jamād al-Thānī 1344H(8th January 1926) and the assembled populace were to offer it universally without exception, happy in the know that, this crisis of faith, life and death, by which they had been afflicted for so long and suffering from its miseries, was finally nearing its God decreed end.[1033] It must nevertheless be clarified here that, 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd's decision to exclude the Islāmic world from involvement in Makkah's government, also had much to do with representations by local citizens, who did not desire to see their fate perenially in the hands of outsiders, albeit well-meaning Muslims.[1034]

The assumption of this crown by 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd, not unexpectedly, aroused the ire of the Muslim world, most vocifer-

ous amongst whom were the Egyptians and the Indians, who continued to insist on the convening of the proposed Islāmic Conference and for the same purposes and objectives as had formerly been proclaimed by the Sulṭān. However, since he was by now sure of his ground, he only agreed to go along with his former promise on the condition that, the delegates restricted their discussions to the subject of improving inter-relations between the Islāmic peoples.[1035]

B: (iii) The Muslim Conference in Makkah of 1344/45H(1926)

An Islāmic conference was indeed finally convened in the month of the Ḥajj of 1344H (June/July 1926). On this occasion, 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd in emphasis of his new proclaimed policy towards the status of the Ḥejāz and his desire to treat it as an integral part of his domains, was clearly to spell out the following messages to the congregation: "I have considered and I see that none of the Muslim peoples can guarantee the independence of the Ḥejāz. The Indians are under the English, the Syrians under the French and so on. Thus, if I give them control, the foreign Christian nations will control the Holy Cities through their subjects.... I alone have conquered by God and my own right arm and the loyalty of my people. I alone can rule the Holy Land as a free Islāmic State. It is my right and duty to be King". It is interesting to note here that, an Īrānian delegation visiting the Ḥejāz during Rabī'al-Thānī 1344H (October 1925) to survey the scene for itself, was to use the argument in reference to King Fu'ād and to Egypt that, it was not a fully independent state. This was when it had been informed of the Sulṭān's thoughts that the Egyptian King ought to issue the invitations in his name to the proposed Islāmic Conference, which he also preferred to be convened in Cairo.[1036] According to the Confidential Report by the British Vice-Consul in Jiddah, Jordan, when Muḥammad 'Alī had pointed out to the Najdī Sulṭān at a reception before the Conference, that he could never have conquered the Ḥejāz had it not been for the help he received from India, 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd's reply to this had also been: "I won the Ḥejāz by the sword". To this statement, Muḥammad 'Alī's reply was: "Yes, but with money we shall take it from you", and it had so angered the Sulṭān that he had left the room. George Stitt in his biography of the Sharīf 'Alī Ḥaidar ('A Prince of Arabia') presents a slightly different version of this event. He says: "At the Moslem Conference ... Ibn

Saoud was accused by some .... of breaking his promise to the Islamic World" in return for which, "Indian Moslems had provided financial and moral assistance in his war against Hussein". His reaction to this "according to an observer" was to show "disfomfiture" and to try "to side-track the accusation with pleasant words and flattery". However, upon his interrogators' persistence, "he was to say: 'I have taken the Hedjaz with my sword. I therefore consider I have right to anything I want'". To this, Muḥammad 'Alī is said to have replied: " 'One day, then, you will be forced to leave the Hedjaz by the sword!' ".[1037]

Be that as it may, earlier on during the Ḥajj of 1343H(1925), members of the pro-Sharīfian 'Jama'īyyat Khuddām al-Ḥaramayn', though welcomed at first, had been expelled for fomenting dissent against 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd in Makkah and al-Madīnah by the distribution of largesse. Then, upon expulsion, they had moved on to Cairo to initiate a vitriolic propaganda campaign against him and his regime and in favour of 'Alī, with no holds barred. However, with his customary good luck, 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd was to find those willing to raise their quills in his defence also, and one of these was Shukrī al-Quwwatlī, who was destined to go on to become the Head of State of Syria later on during the 1370sH (1950s).[1038]

As vouched by 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd's English translator, Muḥammad al-Māna', who, having joined the Sulṭān's service at about this time, was a contemporary eye-witness to many of these events, 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd was a keen follower of international news. Hence, he was just as well aware as his advisers of the ploy used by Ataturk to get rid of the threat of the last Caliph, the popular and good 'Abdal-Majīd II, along with the remnants of the Ottoman dynasty from Turkey "for ever". This had been done by portraying representations for the preservation of the Caliphal institution by Indian organisations of repute capable of exerting political pressure on the British Government, as a British inspired plot against the new Turkish Republic, the aim of which was to restore the Ottoman dynasty to its former status. Ataturk's major justification for this allegation had been the nationality of the members of these organisations as citizens of a major British colony, that is India and hence their subjection to British jurisdiction. It goes without saying that, the lesson of the effectiveness of this stratagem was still fresh, at least in all Muslim minds and seen then by the majority of the

Islāmic 'Ummah' in dismay as its unwelcome outcome. Thus, all this could also hardly be expected to have escaped the attention of 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd and his able advisers. Then, there was also the case of that particular incident during the inaugural session of the Islāmic Conference, when Muḥammad 'Alī, while proposing that the head of the Turkish delegation Adīb Tharwat (Edib Servet) Bey should be elected President of the Assembly, had also loudly reminded the congregation and others of his fellow countrymen's dilemma in his justification for this suggestion, by stating that, "the Turks had more right than any other nation to preside over this august assembly, as they are the only free Muslim nation in the world, not being ground down by the heel of any despotic foreign Power, like we poor Indian Muslims". He had also proposed in connection with this representation that, as "the Arabs and the Turks had parted company in Makkah some years ago", hence now, "as a sign of goodwill and friendship", they ought to "renew their friendship in this Holy City".[1039] The weight and potential utilitarian value of the earlier statement as an argument where his own pressing dilemma was concerned, were again not lost on 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd and his advisers and in the absence of Ataturk's Turkey's interest in any leading pan-Islāmic role, they were subsequently able to rebuff the demands of all the others by pointing out to their delegates that, as their countries were still under Colonial domination, political jurisdiction and hegemony over Makkah as Islām's holiest City can hardly be afforded to be compromised in any manner.

During the brief inaugural speech at the Conference, made by Ḥāfiẓ Wahbah on 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd's behalf, which reminded the delegates, if not spelt out for them in broad terms an outline of the agenda of the Conference, he was to say to the seventy odd assembled representatives from India, Jāvā, Egypt, Afghānistān, the USSR, Syria, Palestine, the Lebanon, the Sudān, the Yaman, not to mention Najd, the Ḥejāz, the 'Asīr and some other regions: "I invite you to the assembly to discuss and explore every avenue for the moral and religious betterment of the Ḥejāz, which may be satisfactory to God and man alike".[1040] Attention of the delegates had also been drawn to the misgovernment of the former regime, with bitter complaints against the Sharīfs Ḥusayn and 'Alī, and the improvements already wrought by his government in terms of safety of the roads and decreased fees charged from the Pilgrims. This was

indeed a most effective argument in the new regime's favour. On the other hand, warnings had also already been issued orally and in print in the official Gazette issued in Makkah, the 'Umm al-Qurā', that, the delegates were "not to consider or discuss questions of our domestic politics or any matters of a controversial religious nature". These were now repeated again as a reminder in the inaugural speech.[1041] This step, according to the British Vice-Consul Jordan, had been "rendered very necessary by Ibn Sa'ūd's relations with us and also in order to prevent his actions in the matter of the destruction of the various tombs and shrines within the 'Ḥaramayn' being called into question, together with his reasons for declaring himself King of the Ḥejāz after his many declarations to the effect that the Ḥejāz was for the Ḥejāzi and the Muslim world, and words to that effect".[1042]

Nevertheless, though the Conference had been packed and organised in a manner that would enable it to be controlled, it had still gone on boldly and in a rebellious mood to present the Najdī Sulṭān with proposals that were tantamount to seeking a restoration of many institutions and practices to their status prior to the Najdī invasion. These in the main were that: (1) all sacred monuments destroyed should be restored; (2) the preservation of the undamaged monuments should be left in the hands of the Shī'ah and Sunnī "Ulamā"; (3) Prayers in the 'Ḥaram' should be lead by "Ulamā" of the four Orthodox Schools—(Ḥanafī, Shāfi'ī, Mālikī and Ḥanbalī)—in rotation as in the past; (4) all Islāmic sects should be extended full religious liberty. The reaction to these in 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd's "Unitarian" circles can best be imagined.[1043]

Other resolutions such as dividing the Muslim world into thirty-four parts, allowing each one to send a delegate to future conferences that were to be held annually, were also adopted. Independent Muslim Governments were to be allowed to send two representatives each, whilst the Ḥejāz, China and Jāvā were to be allowed three, with Russia two and India four.[1044]

Each delegate was to pay the sum of £300 (Pounds) towards the expenses of these conferences. A paid Executive Committee of six, together with a Secretary, was to be elected to reside permanently in the Ḥejāz in order to supervise the arrangements for the convenience of the Pilgrims and to control (nominally) the 'Auqāf' (Endowments) of the Holy Places.[1045]

All funds of the 'Auqāf' for the benefit of the two Holy Sanctuaries the world over, amounting to considerably over £10 million (Pounds Sterling) per annum, were to be remitted to the Ḥejāz to be expended in improving the country for the greater comfort of the Pilgrims and towards facilitating their transport.[1046]

The Ḥejāz Railway, destroyed during the war by the British and the French, was deemed the property of the Muslims the world over as it had been financed by their subscriptions. An appeal was to be presented to these two Colonial Powers, asking them to restore it, failing which, the League of Nations was to be petitioned for justice in this regard.[1047]

The Conference's discussions also covered projects for water conservation for utilisation in the Holy Cities, as well as for irrigation purposes. This was alongside others for the development of the ports of Jiddah and Yanbu' to serve the Two Holy Cities.[1048]

No doubt upon 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd's directions, the great Syrian scholar Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā and the Indian scholar Sulaymān al-Nadawī had also moved the motion during one of the several sessions of the Conference that, since al-'Aqabah and Ma'ān had formerly constituted an integral part of the Ḥejāz, the (present) ruler of the Ḥejāz should "endeavour to re-annex" them "by all means, and to ask the Muslim world in general to help him in this thing". This motion too was passed.[1049] Vice-Consul Jordan was to mention in his covering letter to his report on the Conference that, Rashīd Riḍā, who had been a "tool of the Ḥejāz Government throughout the Conference", had "received a sum of £2,000 (Pounds) from Ibn Sa'ud for the prosecution of Sa'udist propaganda in Egypt" before his departure for that land.[1050]

As may be expected with any such congress, convened for the first time and without a prior commonly approved frame-work, nor mandate, powers and objectives, and not even an agenda, the role of such a gathering, regardless of the large number of its sessions, could only at best be exploratory, with emphasis on agreeing to the frame-work and the mandate and establishing the format and rules and regulations for such meetings in the future. Hence, during the course of the Conference, the delegates, without clearly fixed guidelines, had wrangled about one preliminary issue after another, such as the agenda to be tabled for discussion and the languages to be used, and day after day, with some even walking out eventually.[1051] Nevertheless, despite all these diverse obstacles and

challenges, one cannot help admiring the ground it managed to cover through sheer determination and persistency. Then, the incident of the the stoning of the Egyptian 'Maḥmal' by the Najdī tribesmen, who held it to be a 'Bid'ah' (an 'innovation') and whose ire was further aroused by the sound of the bugle, interpreted by them as music, was also considerably to overshadow the Conference's proceedings. On this occasion, the Egyptian escort of the 'Maḥmal', finding its regular form of warnings unheeded, and unable otherwise to stop the stoning, had gone on to retaliate with force by opening fire, killing several people.[1052]

As it was to turn out, this was also to prove to be the very last time, that the 'Maḥmal' would be seen in Makkah. It may be added that, this was a tradition, that dated back according to some to al-Ḥajjaj ibn Yūsuf and the Umaiyyad era, and at least in terms of the style of the highly decorated litter placed over the lead camel of the main annual Pilgrims Caravan from Egypt, to the famous Mamlūk Queen, Shajar al-Durr (d.655H/1257).[1053] The event was also to sour 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd's relations with Egypt for several years to come, until the demise of King Fu'ād and the accession of his son Fārūq.

Regardless of the tumult, the clamour and the incident, that were to mar the course of the Muslim World Conference, it was henceforth to become for some years and on a much lesser scale, an 'ad hoc' almost unofficial low-key affair associated with the Pilgrimage season, with important delegates from amongst the visiting Pilgrims, primarily opining on its arrangements and the facilities available during that particular year and on possible ways to improve them, while also raising and discussing alongside, any other important common Islāmic issues of the day, unofficially. This of course was in a manner much closer to King 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd's vision of the Conference's designated role, as far as he was concerned. The tradition of this first Great World Islāmic Conference, however, was to be officially revived on a grand scale in later years, during the reigns of 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd's sons, the Kings Sa'ūd and Fayṣal, particularly 1375H(1955) and 1384H(1964), in response to the general situation in the Islāmic world. As far as the convening of the next grand Muslim World Conference on such a scale as this one in Makkah was concerned, it was to take another five years before 150 delegates from 22 Muslim countries were to converge onto al-Quds (Jerusalem)—Islām's first 'Qiblah' (the direction faced

by Muslims during Prayers) and the next holiest of its shrines after Makkah and al-Madīnah, to participate in it.[1054]

Indeed, earlier on, an appeal had been launched to save the holy sites there, primarily the 'Masjid al-Aqṣā' (the 'Further Mosque') and the 'Qubbat al-Ṣakhrah' ('Dome of the Rock') from collapsing, as the plans that had been drawn up for their repair and restoration during the reign of the Ottoman Sulṭān Muḥammad V, could not be implemented due to the onslaught of the First World War. In this appeal, Mulsims the world over had been invited to have their names added to the illustrious list of those few select rulers, on whom fate and fortune had bestowed the honour of having their persons associated with such work throughout the thirteen centuries of Islāmic history, namely, the Caliphs 'Abdal-Malik (the Umaiyyad), al-Mā'mūn (the 'Abbāsid), as well as the Sulṭāns Ṣalāḥal-dīn (al-Aiyyūbī) and the Ottomans, Salīm I and Sulaymān I.[1055]

Somewhile after this work had been completed and on the eve of the launch of another equally important appeal emanating from the proceedings of this, the Second Muslim World Conference, the Grand Muftī and President of the Supreme Muslim Council in Palestine, al-Ḥāj Amīn al- Ḥusaynī, Muḥammad 'Alī Pāshā, a former Egyptian Minister of the 'Awqāf' and Muḥammad Murād, the Mufti of Ḥaifā, were to write to the Niẓām of Ḥaidarābād on 27th July 1933 (Rabī'al-Thānī 1352H) saying: "The Masjid al-Aqsa, which stands unique in beauty and grandeur, could not have withstood the shock of the last earthquake which wrought such a havoc in Jerusalem, but for the munificence of Your Exalted Highness..."[1056]

In keeping with the requirements and developments of the times, this latter appeal to the Muslim 'Ummah' for funding by this meeting of the grand Muslim World Conference, had envisaged the establishment of a modern university in al-Quds (Jerusalem) with faculties for: i) Theology; ii) Medicine; iii) Arts, Sciences and Technology and iv) Agriculture, costing over a million Pounds (Sterling), to serve, in addition to Palestinian requirements, as "the centre for the unification of Muslim education, broad(ly)-based on Arabian Culture", with special preparatory arrangements for students from those lands where Arabic is not spoken.[1057]

It should come as a surprise that, while the Hebrew Unviersity of Jerusalem had already been founded with international support in 1925(1343H), it was to be the fate of this great and vital proposal

never to open its eyes and the funds gathered for this grand and noble cause, to be appropriated and expended in other areas. For example, the donation made by the Niẓām of Ḥaidarābād for the University Project was transferred during late 1947(1366H) to 'The General Arab Committee for Orphans in Palestine' for utilisation as it saw fit.[1058] This was shortly prior to the division of that Holy Land by the United Nations and the creation of Israel, which was to lead to four regional wars and the military occupation of al-Quds (Jerusalem) by the Zionist State in 1387H(1967).

These incidents, particularly the last one, bring to memory what the great Sulṭān Ṣalāḥal-dīn had aptly told his Crusader foes more than eight centuries earlier, regarding the importance to Muslims of Islām's first 'Qiblah'. He had said: "Al-Quds is ours as much as yours. Indeed, it is even more sacred to us than it is to you, for it is the place from which our Prophet had accomplished his nocturnal journey, as well as where our 'Ummah' will gather on the 'Day of Judgement'. Do not imagine that we can ever renounce it or vacillate over this issue. This land was originally ours while you have merely just arrived and have only succeeded in taking over it because of the (military) weakness of the Muslims living there at the time". This statement almost seems to imply that, in addressing the Crusaders thus, the Sulṭān and his advisers were more than likely aware that, since Jesus in the New Testament was himself "the new Tabernacle" and "the new Temple" etc., with the Holy Spirit residing within his disciples unlike "the Lord" of the Old Testament, who had come down "to dwell in Jerusalem forever" (2 Chronicles, 23:25), hence, Jerusalem as such had no major role or theological significance in the teachings of Christ, but had only gone on to acquire it over three centuries later, during the reign of the Roman Emperor Constantine I (r.306 till 337CE). It may also be recalled here that, since the destruction of Jerusalem in 70CE along with the Temple built by King Herod (19BCE till 64CE), the home and the synagogue had both come to serve more and more in Judaism as replacements for the Temple, with greater study of the Torah, and the display of charity and compassion emerging as others besides in lieu of temple offerings and sacrifices.

After receiving the 'Oath of Allegiance' in Makkah, 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd, now 'Sulṭān of Najd and its Dependencies and King of the Ḥejāz', had sent messages of reassurance to a large number of Muslim heads of states like the rulers of Afghānistān, Egypt, Īrān,

al-'Irāq, Turkey and the Yaman, as well as bodies like 'the Khilāfat Committee' in India and the Supreme Islāmic Council in Jerusalem that, he would do his utmost to protect and care for the Holy Cities and persistently strive to improve conditions for the Pilgrims.

It is to 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd's credit that, he was never to forget this pledge till death separated him from his undertaking in the Rabī'al-Awwal of 1373H (November 1953). He was the first Sa'ūdī 'Imām' to enter Makkah since Sa'ūd "al-Kabīr" ('the Great') ibn 'Abdal-'Azīz had done so for the last time during 1227H(1812). After 'Abdal-'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd, his successors, Kings Sa'ūd, Fayṣal and Khālid were all to make this pledge of their father's a cardinal pillar of policy of their reigns to the best of their understanding and capability, and then King Fahd also, who, soon after his accession, was to drop the style and address of "His Majesty" on the basis that, such a title and attribute belonged to God the Eternal One alone and to go on to officially adopt the title of "Khādim al-Ḥaramayn al-Sharīfayn", literally "Servitor of the Two Holy Sanctuaries", but now generally translated as "Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques". At present, his brother 'AbdAllāh too is busy as the new king following him in the footsteps of their predecessors to the great pleasure and gratitude of the 'Ummah'.

APPENDIX A

List of Dynasties and Rulers who held sway over Makkah and al-Madīnah or had influential relations with them from the Era of the Prophet ﷺ till 1344H(1925).

I Al-Rāshidūn (the Orthodox Caliphs) 11–40H/632–661 CE

1.	Abū Bakr	11H (632)
2.	'Umar	13H (634)
3.	'Uthmān	23H (644)
4.	'Alī	35–40H (656–661)

II Banī Umaiyyah 41–132H/661–750 CE

1.	Mu'āwiyah I	41H (661)
2.	Yazīd I	60H (680)
3.	Mu'āwiyah II	64H (683)
4.	Marwān I	64H (683)
5.	'Abdal-Malik	65H (685)
6.	Al-Walīd I	86H (705)
7.	Sulaymān	96H (715)
8.	'Umar	99H (717)
9.	Yazīd II	101H (720)
10.	Hishām	105H (724)
11.	Al-Walīd II	125H (743)
12.	Yazīd III	126H (744)
13.	Ibrāhīm	126H (744)
14.	Marwān II	127-132H (744–750)

III Banī 'Abbās (in al-'Irāq) 132–656H/750–1258 CE

1.	Al-Saffāḥ	132H (750)
2.	Al-Manṣūr	136H (754)
3.	Al-Mahdī	158H (775)
4.	Al-Hādī	169H (785)
5.	Al-Rashīd	170H (786)
6.	Al-Amīn	193H (809)
7.	Al-Mā'mūn	198H (813)
8.	Al-Mu'taṣim	218H (833)
9.	Al-Wāthiq	227H (842)

10.	Al-Mutawakkil	232H (847)
11.	Al-Muntaṣir	247H (861)
12.	Al-Musta'īn	248H (862)
13.	Al-Mu'tazz	251H (866)
14.	Al-Muhtadī	255H (869)
15.	Al-Mu'tamid	256H (870)
16.	Al-Mu'taḍid	279H (892)
17.	Al-Muktafī	289H (902)
18.	Al-Muqtadir	295H (908)
19.	Al-Qāhir	320H (932)
20.	Al-Rāḍī	322H (934)
21.	Al-Muttaqī	329H (940)
22.	Al-Mustakfī	333H (944)
23.	Al-Muṭī'	334H (946)
24.	Al-Ṭāyi'	363H (974)
25.	Al-Qādir	381H (991)
26.	Al-Qā'im	422H (1031)
27.	Al-Muqtadī	467H (1075)
28.	Al-Mustaẓhir	487H (1094)
29.	Al-Mustarshid	512H (1118)
30.	Al-Rāshid	529H (1135)
31.	Al-Muqtafī	530H (1136)
32.	Al-Mustanjid	555H (1160)
33.	Al-Mustaḍī	566H (1170)
34.	Al-Nāṣir	575H (1180)
35.	Al-Ẓāhir	622H (1225)
36.	Al-Mustanṣir	623H (1226)
37.	Al-Musta'ṣim	640-656H (1242-1258)

IV Banī 'Ubayd (Fāṭimids) 297–567H/910–1171 CE

1.	Al-Mahdī (Muḥammad 'UbaydAllāh)	297H (910)
2.	Al-Qā'im	322H (934)
3.	Al-Manṣūr	334H (945)
4.	Al-Mu'izz	341H (953)
5.	Al-'Azīz	365H (975)
6.	Al-Ḥākim	386H (996)
7.	Al-Ẓāhir	411H (1021)
8.	Al-Mustanṣir	427H (1036)
9.	Al-Musta'lī	487H (1094)
10.	Al-'Āmer	495H (1101)
11.	Al-Ḥāfiẓ	524H (1130)
12.	Al-Ẓāfir	544H (1149)

13.	Al-Fā'iz	549H (1154)
14.	Al-'Āḍid	555-567H (1160-1171)

V Banī Ṣulayḥ (al-Yaman) 429–492 H/1037–1101 CE

1.	Abū'l Kāmil 'Alī ibn Muḥammad	429H (1037)
2.	(Also took Makkah around 455–6H/1063–64)	
3.	Al-Makram Aḥmad ibn 'Alī	473H (1080)
4.	Al-Manṣūr Sabā Aḥmad	484–492H⋆ (1091–1098)⋆

(⋆ the same year saw the rise of the Banī Hamdān, who were eclipsed by the Aiyyūbids under Ṣalāḥal-dīn's brother) Al-Mu'aẓẓam Turānshāh in 569 H/1173. The Aiyyūbids ruled in al-Yaman till 625 H/1228, making way for their vassal's dynasty, the Rasūlids.)

VI Banī 'Abbās (Egypt) 659–923H/1261–1517 CE

1.	Al-Mustanṣir	659H (1261)
2.	Al-Ḥākim I	660H (1261)
3.	Al-Mustakfī I	701H (1302)
4.	Al-Wāthiq I	740H (1340)
5.	Al-Ḥākim II	740H (1340)
6.	Al-Mu'taḍid I	753H (1352)
7.	Al-Mutawakkil I	763H (1362)
8.	Al-Mu'taṣim	779H (1377)
9.	Al-Mutawakkil I	779H (1377) (for a second term)
10.	Al-Wāthiq II	785H (1383)
11.	Al-Mu'taṣim	788H (1386) (for a second term)
12.	Al-Mutawakkil I	791H (1389) (for a third term)
13.	Al-Musta'īn	808H (1406)
14.	Al-Mu'taḍid II	817H (1414)
15.	Al-Mustakfī II	845H (1441)
16.	Al-Qā'im	855H (1451)
17.	Al-Mustanjid	859H (1455)
18.	Al-Mutawakkil II	884H (1479)
19.	Al-Mustamsik	903H (1497)
20.	Al-Mutawakkil III	915H (1509)
21.	Al-Mustamsik (for a second term, deputising for his son al-Mutawakkil III)	922–923H (1516–1517)

VII The Aiyyūbids (Egypt) 569–650H/1174–1252 CE

Note: Al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥal-dīn was governor of Egypt on behalf of the Zangid Sulṭān Nūral-dīn between 564H (1169) and 569H (1174) before becoming independent ruler of Egypt in 569H (1174). Mean-

while, his brother Shamsal-dīn Turānshāh had established Aiyyūbid authority over al-Yaman a little earlier in 569H (1173).

1.	Al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ-dīn	569H (1174)
2.	Al-'Azīz 'Imādal-dīn	589H (1193)
3.	Al-Manṣūr Muḥammad	595H (1198)
4.	Al-'Ādil I Saifal-dīn	596H (1199)
5.	Al-Kāmil Nāṣiral-dīn	615H (1218)
6.	Al-'Ādil II Saifal-dīn	635H (1238)
7.	Al-Ṣāleḥ Najmal-dīn	637H (1240)
8.	Al- Mu'aẓẓam Turānshāh	647H (1249)
9.	Shajarat al-Durr (Consort of al-Ṣāleḥ Najmal-dīn)	648H (1250)
10.	Al-Ashraf Muẓaffaral-dīn	648–650H (1250–1252)

VIII The Aiyyūbids (al-Yaman) 569–626H/1173–1229 CE

1.	Al-Mu'aẓẓam Shamsal-dīn Turānshāh	569H (1173)
2.	Saifal-Islām Tughtūkin	577H (1181)
3.	Mu'Iẓẓal-dīn Ismā'īl	593H (1196)
4.	Al-Nāṣir Aiyyūb	598H (1201)
5.	Al-Muẓaffar Sulaymān	611H (1214)
6.	Al-Mas'ūd Yūsuf	612–626H (1215–1229)

IX Banī Rasūl (al-Yaman) 626–858H/1229–1454 CE

'Alī, a "Rasūl" (envoy) of the 'Abbāsids was appointed Governor over Makkah by the Aiyyūbid al-Mas'ūd Yūsuf around 619 H (1222). Upon the death of the latter, his son (al-Manṣūr) Nūral-dīn 'Umar established the Rasūlid dynasty in al-Yaman.

1.	Al-Manṣūr Nūral-dīn 'Umar	626H (1229)
2.	Al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf ibn 'Umar	647H (1249)
3.	Al-Ashraf 'Umar ibn Yūsuf	694H (1295)
4.	Al-Mu'ayyad Dā'ūd ibn Yūsuf	696H (1297)
5.	Al-Mujāhid 'Alī ibn Dā'ūd	721H (1321)
6.	Al-Afḍal 'Abbās ibn 'Alī	764H (1363)
7.	Al-Ashraf Ismā'īl I ibn 'Abbās	778H (1376)
8.	Al-Nāṣir Aḥmad ibn Ismā'īl	803H (1400)
9.	Al-Manṣūr 'AbdAllāh ibn Aḥmad	827H (1424)
10.	Al-Ashraf Ismā'īl II ibn 'AbdAllāh	830H (1427)
11.	Al-Ẓāhir Yayhā ibn Ismā'īl I	831H (1428)
12.	Al-Ashraf Ismā'īl III ibn Yaḥyā	842H (1438)
13.	Al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf ibn 'Umar ibn Ismā'īl	845–854H (1441–1450)

14.	Al-Mufaḍḍal Muḥammad (rival claimant)	846H (1442)
15.	Al-Nāṣir 'AbdAllāh (rival claimant)	846H (1442)
16.	Al-Mas'ūd (rival claimant)	847–858H (1443–1454)
17.	Al-Mu'ayyad Ḥusayn (rival claimant)	855H (1451)

X The Baḥrid (Turkish) Mamlūks 648–792H/1250–1390 CE

1.	Al-Mu'izz 'Izzal-dīn Aibak	648H (1250)
2.	Al-Manṣūr Nural-dīn 'Alī	655H (1257)
3.	Al-Muẓaffar Saifal-dīn Quṭuz	657H (1259)
4.	Al-Ẓāhir Ruknal-dīn Baibars I	658H (1260)
5.	Al-Sa'īd Nāṣiral-dīn Barakah Khān	676H (1277)
6.	Al-'Ādil Badral-dīn Salāmish	678H (1279)
7.	Al-Manṣūr Saifal-dīn Qala'ūn	678H (1279)
8.	Al-Ashraf Ṣalāḥal-dīn Khalīl	689H (1290)
9.	Al-Nāṣir Nāṣiral-dīn Muḥammad	693H (1293)
10.	Al-'Ādil Zaynal-dīn Kitbughā	694H (1294)
11.	Al-Manṣūr Ḥisāmal-dīn Lājīn	696H (1297)
12.	Al-Nāṣir (for a second term)	698H (1299)
13.	Al-Muẓaffar Ruknal-dīn Baibars II	708H (1309)
14.	Al-Nāṣir (for a third term)	709H (1310)
15.	Al-Manṣūr Saifal-dīn Abū Bakr	741H (1341)
16.	Al-Ashraf 'Alā'al-dīn Kūchak	742H (1341)
17.	Al-Nāṣir Shihābal-dīn Aḥmad	742H (1342)
18.	Al-Nāṣir 'Imādal-dīn Ismā'īl	743H (1342)
19.	Al-Kāmil Saifal-dīn Sha'bān I	746H (1345)
20.	Al-Muẓaffar Saifal-dīn Ḥājī I	747H (1346)
21.	Al-Nāṣir Nāṣiral-dīn Ḥasan	748H (1347)
22.	Al-Ṣāleḥ Ṣalāḥal-dīn al-Ṣāleḥ	752H (1351)
23.	Al-Nāṣir Ḥasan (for second term)	755H (1354)
24.	Al-Manṣūr Ṣalāḥal-dīn Muḥammad	762H (1361)
25.	Al-Ashraf Nāṣiral-dīn Sha'bān II	764H (1363)
26.	Al-Manṣūr 'Alā'al-dīn 'Alī	778H (1377)
27.	Al-Ṣāleḥ Ṣalāḥal-dīn Ḥājī II	783H (1381)
28.	*Barqūq (also features amongest the Burjid/Circassians)	784H (1382)
29.	*Al-Manṣūr Nāṣiral-dīn Ḥājī II	791–792H (1389–1390)

(The last two, Barqūq and Ḥājī feature in some lists at the bottom of the Baḥrids and in others at the beginning of the Burjids).

while, his brother Shamsal-dīn Turānshāh had established Aiyyūbid authority over al-Yaman a little earlier in 569H (1173).

1.	Al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ-dīn	569H (1174)
2.	Al-'Azīz 'Imādal-dīn	589H (1193)
3.	Al-Manṣūr Muḥammad	595H (1198)
4.	Al-'Ādil I Saifal-dīn	596H (1199)
5.	Al-Kāmil Nāṣiral-dīn	615H (1218)
6.	Al-'Ādil II Saifal-dīn	635H (1238)
7.	Al-Ṣāleḥ Najmal-dīn	637H (1240)
8.	Al- Mu'aẓẓam Turānshāh	647H (1249)
9.	Shajarat al-Durr (Consort of al-Ṣāleḥ Najmal-dīn)	648H (1250)
10.	Al-Ashraf Muẓaffaral-dīn	648–650H (1250–1252)

VIII The Aiyyūbids (al-Yaman) 569–626H/1173–1229 CE

1.	Al-Mu'aẓẓam Shamsal-dīn Turānshāh	569H (1173)
2.	Saifal-Islām Tughtūkin	577H (1181)
3.	Mu'Iẓẓal-dīn Ismā'īl	593H (1196)
4.	Al-Nāṣir Aiyyūb	598H (1201)
5.	Al-Muẓaffar Sulaymān	611H (1214)
6.	Al-Mas'ūd Yūsuf	612–626H (1215–1229)

IX Banī Rasūl (al-Yaman) 626–858H/1229–1454 CE

'Alī, a "Rasūl" (envoy) of the 'Abbāsids was appointed Governor over Makkah by the Aiyyūbid al-Mas'ūd Yūsuf around 619 H (1222). Upon the death of the latter, his son (al-Manṣūr) Nūral-dīn 'Umar established the Rasūlid dynasty in al-Yaman.

1.	Al-Manṣūr Nūral-dīn 'Umar	626H (1229)
2.	Al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf ibn 'Umar	647H (1249)
3.	Al-Ashraf 'Umar ibn Yūsuf	694H (1295)
4.	Al-Mu'ayyad Dā'ūd ibn Yūsuf	696H (1297)
5.	Al-Mujāhid 'Alī ibn Dā'ūd	721H (1321)
6.	Al-Afḍal 'Abbās ibn 'Alī	764H (1363)
7.	Al-Ashraf Ismā'īl I ibn 'Abbās	778H (1376)
8.	Al-Nāṣir Aḥmad ibn Ismā'īl	803H (1400)
9.	Al-Manṣūr 'AbdAllāh ibn Aḥmad	827H (1424)
10.	Al-Ashraf Ismā'īl II ibn 'AbdAllāh	830H (1427)
11.	Al-Ẓāhir Yayhā ibn Ismā'īl I	831H (1428)
12.	Al-Ashraf Ismā'īl III ibn Yaḥyā	842H (1438)
13.	Al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf ibn 'Umar ibn Ismā'īl	845–854H (1441–1450)

14.	Al-Mufaḍḍal Muḥammad (rival claimant)	846H (1442)
15.	Al-Nāṣir 'AbdAllāh (rival claimant)	846H (1442)
16.	Al-Mas'ūd (rival claimant)	847–858H (1443–1454)
17.	Al-Mu'ayyad Ḥusayn (rival claimant)	855H (1451)

X The Baḥrid (Turkish) Mamlūks 648–792H/1250–1390 CE

1.	Al-Mu'izz 'Izzal-dīn Aibak	648H (1250)
2.	Al-Manṣūr Nural-dīn 'Alī	655H (1257)
3.	Al-Muẓaffar Saifal-dīn Quṭuz	657H (1259)
4.	Al-Ẓāhir Ruknal-dīn Baibars I	658H (1260)
5.	Al-Sa'īd Nāṣiral-dīn Barakah Khān	676H (1277)
6.	Al-'Ādil Badral-dīn Salāmish	678H (1279)
7.	Al-Manṣūr Saifal-dīn Qala'ūn	678H (1279)
8.	Al-Ashraf Ṣalāḥal-dīn Khalīl	689H (1290)
9.	Al-Nāṣir Nāṣiral-dīn Muḥammad	693H (1293)
10.	Al-'Ādil Zaynal-dīn Kitbughā	694H (1294)
11.	Al-Manṣūr Ḥisāmal-dīn Lājīn	696H (1297)
12.	Al-Nāṣir (for a second term)	698H (1299)
13.	Al-Muẓaffar Ruknal-dīn Baibars II	708H (1309)
14.	Al-Nāṣir (for a third term)	709H (1310)
15.	Al-Manṣūr Saifal-dīn Abū Bakr	741H (1341)
16.	Al-Ashraf 'Alā'al-dīn Kūchak	742H (1341)
17.	Al-Nāṣir Shihābal-dīn Aḥmad	742H (1342)
18.	Al-Nāṣir 'Imādal-dīn Ismā'īl	743H (1342)
19.	Al-Kāmil Saifal-dīn Sha'bān I	746H (1345)
20.	Al-Muẓaffar Saifal-dīn Ḥājī I	747H (1346)
21.	Al-Nāṣir Nāṣiral-dīn Ḥasan	748H (1347)
22.	Al-Ṣāleḥ Ṣalāḥal-dīn al-Ṣāleḥ	752H (1351)
23.	Al-Nāṣir Ḥasan (for second term)	755H (1354)
24.	Al-Manṣūr Ṣalāḥal-dīn Muḥammad	762H (1361)
25.	Al-Ashraf Nāṣiral-dīn Sha'bān II	764H (1363)
26.	Al-Manṣūr 'Alā'al-dīn 'Alī	778H (1377)
27.	Al-Ṣāleḥ Ṣalāḥal-dīn Ḥājī II	783H (1381)
28.	*Barqūq (also features amongest the Burjid/Circassians)	784H (1382)
29.	*Al-Manṣūr Nāṣiral-dīn Ḥājī II	791–792H (1389–1390)

(The last two, Barqūq and Ḥājī feature in some lists at the bottom of the Baḥrids and in others at the beginning of the Burjids).

XI The Burjid (Circassian) Mamlūks 784–923H /1382–1517 CE

1.	*Al-Ẓāhir Saifal-dīn Barqūq	784H (1382)
2.	*Ḥājī II	791–792H (1389–1390)
3.	Al-Nāṣir Nāṣiral-dīn Faraj (ibn Barqūq)	801H (1399)
4.	Al-Manṣūr 'Izzal-dīn (ibn Barqūq)	808H (1405)
5.	Al-Naṣir Naṣiral-dīn Faraj (ibn Barqūq, for a second term)	809H (1406)
6.	Al-'Ādil Abū'l Faḍl al-Musta'īn Bi'llāh ('Abbāid Caliph)	815H (1412)
7.	Al-Mu'ayyad Saifal-dīn Shaykh	815H (1412)
8.	Al-Muẓaffar Shihābal-dīn Aḥmad (ibn al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh)	824H (1421)
9.	Al-Ẓāhir Saifal-dīn Ṭaṭar	824H (1421)
10.	Al-Ṣāleḥ Nāṣiral-dīn Muḥammad (ibn al-Ẓāhir Ṭaṭar)	824H (1421)
11.	Al-Ashraf Saifal-dīn Barsbey	825H (1422)
12.	Al-'Azīz Jamālal-dīn Yūsuf (ibn Barsbey)	841H (1438)
13.	Al-Ẓāhir Saifal-dīn Jaqmaq	842H (1438)
14.	Al-Manṣūr Fakhral-dīn 'Uthmān (ibn Jaqmaq)	857H (1453)
15.	Al-Ashraf Saifal-dīn Aynāl	857H (1453)
16.	Al-Mu'ayyad Shihābal-dīn Aḥmad (ibn Aynāl)	865H (1461)
17.	Al-Ẓāhir Saifal-dīn Khūshqadam	865H (1461)
18.	Al-Ẓāhir Saifal-dīn Barsbey	872H (1467)
19.	Al-Ẓāhir Taymūrbughā	872H (1467)
20.	Al-Ashraf Saifal-dīn Qā'it Bey	872H (1468)
21.	Al-Nāṣir Nāṣiral-dīn Muḥammad (ibn Qā'it Bey)	901H (1496)
22.	Al-Ẓāhir Qānṣūh	904H (1498)
23.	Al-Ashraf Janblāṭ	905H (1500)
24.	Al-'Ādil Saifal-dīn Ṭūmān Bey	906H (1501)
25.	Al-Ashraf Qānṣūh al-Ghaurī	906H (1501)
26.	Al-Ashraf Ṭūmān Bey	922H–923H (1516–1517)

XII The Ṣafavids (Īrān) 907–1148H/1502–1736 CE

1.	Ismā'īl I	907H (1502)
2.	Ṭahmāsp I	930H (1524)
3.	Ismā'īl II	984H (1576)
4.	Muḥammad Khudā Bandah	985H (1578)
5.	'Abbās I	995H (1587)
6.	Ṣafī I	1037H (1628)
7.	'Abbās II	1052H (1642)
8.	Ṣafī II (Officially Known as Sulaymān I)	1077H (1667)
9.	Ḥuṣayn I	1105H (1694)
10.	Ṭahmāsp II	1135H (1722)
11.	'Abbās III	1144–1148H (1731–1736)

(The names of the Ṣafavid rulers were officially cited by the Shī'ah in the Friday 'Khuṭbah').

XIII The Āfshārids (Īrān) 1148–1210 H/1736–1796 CE

1.	Nādir (ibn Imām Qulī) Shāh	1148H (1736)
2.	'Ādil Shāh	1160H (1747)
3.	Ibrāhīm	1161H (1748)
4.	Shāh Rukh	1161–1210H (1748–1796)

XIV The Taymūrids (in India) 932–1275 H/1526–1858 CE

1.	Ẓahīral-dīn Muḥammad Bābur	932H (1526)

(A descendant of the Amīr Taymūr, he had succeeded his father in Farghānah in 899H (1494). Seizing Kābul in 910H (1504), he had invaded India in 931H (1525) to lay the foundations of the Moghul Empire there a year later).

2.	Naṣīral-dīn Muḥammad Humāyūn	937H (1530)

(forced by Shīr—pronounced 'Shayr' in India—Shāh Sūrī into spending 15 years in exile in Īrān between 947 H/1540 and 962 H/1555, he was to recapture his Capital, Delhī with Ṣafavid aid).

3.	Jalālal-dīn Muḥammad Akbar	963H (1556)
4.	Nūral-dīn Muḥammad Jahāngīr	1014H (1605)
5.	Shihābal-dīn Muḥammad Shāh Jahān I	1037H (1628)
6.	Muḥīal-dīn Muḥammad 'Ālamgīr I	1069H (1659)
7.	Muḥammad A'ẓam (Shāh)	1118H (1707)

8.	Quṭubal-dīn Muḥammad Shāh ʻĀlam I (Bahādur Shāh I)	1119H (1708)
9.	Muʻizzal-dīn Muḥammad Jahāndār Shāh	1124H (1712)
10.	Farrukh Siyar	1124H (1713)
11.	Shamsal-dīn Muḥammad Rafiʻal-Darajāt	1131H (1719)
12.	Rafiʻal-Daulah Shāh Jahān II	1131H (1719)
13.	Nāṣiral-dīn Muḥammad Shāh	1131H (1719)
14.	Aḥmad Shāh	1161H (1748)
15.	ʻAzīzal-dīn Muḥammad ʻĀlamgīr II	1167H (1754)
16.	Jalālal-dīn Muḥammad Shāh ʻĀlam II	1173H (1759)
17.	Muḥammad Akbar II	1221H (1806)
18.	Sirājal-dīn Muḥammad Bahādur Shāh II	1253–1275H (1837–1858)

(The names of the Moghul rulers were officially cited in the Friday sermons in the Indian sub-continent and Afghānistān barring the Shīʻah Sultanates of the Dakkan etc., where the name of the Ṣafavid rulers would be cited instead).

XV The Āl ʻUthmān (Ottomans) 699–1341 H/1299–1922 CE

1.	ʻUthmān (Osman) I	699H (1299)
2.	Orkhān (Orhan)	726H (1326)
3.	Murād (Murat) I	761H (1359)
4.	Bāyazīd (Bayezit) I	792–805H (1389–1402)

(commonly remembered by the title of "Yildirim" or "the Thunderbolt", he was defeated and taken captive by the Amīr Taymūr).

5.	Sulaymān	806–813H (1403–1410)
6.	Muḥammad (Mehmet) Çelebi	806–816H (1403–1413)
7.	Mūsā Çelebi Interregnum	813–816H (1410–1413)
8.	Muṣṭafā Çelebi	822–825H (1419–1422)
9.	Muḥammad (Mehmet) Çelebi	816H (1413)
10.	Murād (Murat) II (for the first time)	824H (1421)
11.	Muḥammad (Mehmet) II (for the first time)	848H (1444)
12.	Murād (Murat) II (for the second time)	848H (1444)
13.	Muḥammad (Mehmet) II (for the second time)	855H (1451)
14.	Bāyazīd (Bayezit) II	886H (1481)
15.	Salīm (Selim) I	918H (1512)

(The Caliphate was transferred to Constantinople from Cairo following the conquest of Egypt and the acquisition of the Holy Cities by him).

16.	Sulaymān I	926H (1520)
17.	Salīm (Selim) II	974H (1566)
18.	Murād (Murat) III	982H (1574)
19.	Muḥammad (Mehmet) III	1003H (1595)
20.	Aḥmad (Ahmet) I	1012H (1603)
21.	Muṣṭafā I (for the first time)	1026H (1617)
22.	ʻUthmān (Osman) II	1027H (1618)
23.	Muṣṭafā I (for the second time)	1031H (1622)
24.	Murād (Murat) IV	1032H (1623)
25.	Ibrāhīm	1049H (1640)
26.	Muḥammad (Mehmet) IV	1058H (1648)
27.	Sulaymān II	1099H (1687)
28.	Aḥmad (Aḥmet) II	1102H (1691)
29.	Muṣṭafā II	1106H (1695)
30.	Aḥmad (Ahmet) III	1115H (1703)
31.	Maḥmūd (Mahmut) I	1143H (1730)
32.	ʻUthmān (Osman) III	1168H (1754)
33.	Muṣṭafā III	1171H (1757)
34.	ʻAbdal-Ḥamīd (Abdulhamit) I	1187H (1774)
35.	Salīm (Selim) III	1203H (1789)
36.	Muṣṭafā IV	1222H (1807)
37.	Maḥmūd (Mahmut) II	1223H (1808)
38.	ʻAbdal-Majīd (Abdulmejit) I	1255H (1839)
39.	ʻAbdal-ʻAzīz (Abdulaziz)	1277H (1861)
40.	Murād (Murat) V	1293H (1876)
41.	ʻAbdal-Ḥamīd (Abdulhamit) II	1293H (1876)
42.	Muḥammad "Rashād" (Mehmet Resat) V	1327H (1909)
43.	Muḥammad "Waḥīdal-dīn" (Mehmet Vahiddin) VI (Sultanate abolished).	1336–1341H (1918–1922)
44.	ʻAbdal-Majīd (Abdulmejit) II Caliph only till 1342H (1924). (Caliphate abolished).	

XVI Āl Muḥammad ʻAlī (Egypt) 1220–1371 H/1805–1952 CE

1.	Muḥammad ʻAlī	1220H (1805)
2.	Ibrāhīm	1264H (1848)
3.	ʻAbbās	1265H (1848)
4.	Saʻīd	1271H (1854)
5.	Ismāʻīl	1279H (1863)

6.	Taufiq	1296H (1879)
7.	ʻAbbās Ḥilmī	1310H (1892)
8.	Ḥusayn Kāmil	1333H (1914)
9.	Aḥmad Fu'ād I	1335H (1917)
10.	Fārūq	1355H (1936)
11.	Aḥmad Fu'ād II	1371H (1952)–1373 (1954)

XVII Āl Saʻūd (al-Dirʻīyyah) 1158–1233 H/1745–1818 CE

i). The First Saʻūdī State: 1158–1233H/1745–1818 CE

1.	Muḥammad ibn Saʻūd (forcibly takes over in) (Pact with the Imām Muḥammad ʻAbdal-Wahhāb★)	1139H (1726/7) 1158H (1745) ★(d.1206H/1792)
2.	ʻAbdal-ʻAzīz	1179H (1765)
3.	Saʻūd	1218H (1803)
4.	ʻAbdAllāh	1229H (1814)–1233H (1818)

ii). Egyptian Presence in Arabia (including the Interregnum in Najd) 1226H/1811– 1256H/1840 CE

iii). The Second Saʻūdī State:

5.	Turkī ibn ʻAbdAllāh ibn Muḥammad	1238H (1823)
6.	★Fayṣal ibn Turkī (first term)	1249H (1834)
7.	Khālid ibn Saʻūd	1253H (1837)

(Complete Egyptian withdrawal from Arabia 1256H/1840)

8.	ʻAbdAllāh ibn Thunaiyyān (great-grandson of the first Imām's brother)	1257H (1841)
9.	★Fayṣal ibn Turkī (second term)	1259H (1843)
10.	★ʻAbdAllāh ibn Fayṣal (first term)	1282H (1865)
11.	★Saʻūd ibn Fayṣal (first term)	1288H (1871)
12.	ʻAbdAllāh ibn Fayṣal (second term)	1288H (1872)
13.	Saʻūd ibn Fayṣal (second term)	1289H (1873)
14.	ʻAbdal-Raḥmān ibn Fayṣal (first term)	1291H (1875)
15.	ʻAbdAllāh ibn Fayṣal (third term)	1292H (1876)
16.	ʻAbdal-Raḥmān ibn Fayṣal (second term)	1304H (1887)–1309H (1891)

iv). The Third Saʻūdī State:

17.	ʻAbdal-ʻAzīz ibn ʻAbdal-Raḥmān	1318H (1901)–1373 H (1953).

APPENDIX B

The Amīrs (Governors) of Makkah

(A) The Era of the Prophet ﷺ and the Orthodox Caliphs:

1. ʻItāb ibn Usayd—appointed by the Prophet in 8H (630) and continued with by Abū Bakr.
2. Al-Miḥriz ibn Ḥārith al-Khuzāʻī—appointed in 14H (635) by ʻUmar and followed by:
3. Qunfidh ibn ʻUmayr al-Taymī.
4. Nāfiʻ ibn al-Ḥārith al-Khuzāʻī.
5. Khālid ibn al-ʻĀṣ.
6. Aḥmad ibn Khālid.
7. Ṭāriq ibn al-Murtafiʻ.
8. Al-Ḥārith ibn Naufal.
9. ʻAlī ibn ʻUdai—appointed in 24H (644) by ʻUthmān and followed by:
10. Khālid ibn al-ʻĀṣ (for a second term).
11. Al-Ḥārith ibn Naufal (for a second term).
12. ʻAbdAllāh ibn Khālid ibn Usayd.
13. ʻAbdAllāh ibn ʻĀmer al-Ḥaḍramī.
14. Nāfiʻ ibn al-Ḥārith al-Khuzāʻī (for a second term).
15. Khālid ibn al-ʻĀṣ (for a third term).
16. Abū Qatādah al Anṣarī—appointed in 36H (656/7) by ʻAlī and followed by:
17. Quthm ibn al-ʻAbbās.
18. ʻUtbah ibn Abū Sufiyān—appointed in 39H (659-60) and followed by:

(B) The Era of Banī Umaiyyah:

19. Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam.
20. Saʻīd ibn al-ʻĀṣ.
21. ʻAmr ibn Saʻīd.
22. Khālid ibn al-ʻĀṣ (for a fourth term).
23. ʻAbdAllāh ibn Khālid ibn Usayd (for a second term).
24. ʻAmr ibn Saʻīd—appointed in 61H(681) by Yazīd I for a second term and followed by:
25. Al-Walīd ibn ʻUtbah ibn Abū Sufiyān.
26. ʻUthmān ibn Muḥammad ibn Abū Sufiyān.

27. Al-Ḥārith ibn Khālid al-Makhzūmī—appointed in 61H (681) by Yazid I and followed by:
28. ʻAbdal-Raḥmān ibn Zayd al-Khaṭṭāb.
29. Yaḥyā ibn Ḥakīm.
30. Al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf al-Thaqafī—appointed in 73H (692 /3) by ʻAbdal-Malik and followed by:
31. Maslamah ibn ʻAbdal-Malik ibn Marwān.
32. Al-Ḥārith ibn Khālid al-Makhzūmī (for a second term) and followed by:
33. Khālid ibn ʻAbdAllāh al-Qisrī.
34. Nāfiʻ ibn ʻAlqamah al-Kinānī.
35. Yaḥyā ibn al-Ḥakam ibn abi al-ʻĀṣ.
36. ʻUmar ibn ʻAbdal-ʻAzīz—appointed in 86H (705) by Walīd I and followed by:
37. Khālid ibn ʻAbdAllāh al-Qisrī in 89H (708) (for his second term).
38. Ṭalḥah ibn Dā'ūd—appointed by Sulaymān and followed by:
39. ʻAbdal-ʻAzīz ibn ʻAbdAllāh ibn Khālid ibn Usayd.
40. Muḥammad ibn Ṭalḥah ibn ʻAbdAllāh—appointed by ʻUmar II and followed by:
41. ʻUrwah ibn ʻAyāḍ.
42. ʻAbdAllāh ibn Qays ibn Makhramah.
43. ʻUthmān ibn ʻUbaydAllāh (pronounced ʻUbaydillāh) al-ʻUdawī.
44. ʻAbdal-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk al-Qurashī—appointed in 101H (719-20) by Yazīd II and followed by:
45. ʻAbdal-Wāḥīd ibn ʻAbdAllāh al-Anṣarī.
46. Ibrāhīm ibn Hishām al-Makhzūmī —appointed by Hishām and followed by:
47. Muḥammad ibn Hishām.
48. Nāfiʻ ibn ʻAlqamah al Kinānī—(for a second term).
49. Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad al-Thaqafī—appointed in 125 H (743) by Wālīd II.
50. ʻAbdal-ʻAzīz ibn ʻUmar ibn ʻAbdal-ʻAzīz—appointed in 126 H (744) by Yazīd III.
51. ʻAbdal-Wāḥid ibn Sulaymān ibn ʻAbdal-Malik—appointed in 126 H (744) by Marwān II and followed by:
52. Abū Ḥamzah al-Khārijī (who had forcibly taken over Makkah. Killed by Marwān II's forces).
53. ʻAbdal-Malik ibn Muḥammad ibn ʻAṭīyah—appointed by Marwān II after the killing of Abū Ḥamzah and followed by:
54. Al-Walīd ibn ʻUrwah al-Saʻdī.
55. Muḥammad ibn ʻAbd al-Malik ibn Marwān.

(C) The Era of the ʻAbbāsids of Baghdād:

56. Dā'ūd ibn ʻAlī ibn ʻAbdAllāh ibn ʻAbbās—appointed in 132 H (750) by al-Ṣaffāḥ and followed by:
57. ʻUmar ibn ʻAbdal-Ḥamīd.
58. Al-ʻAbbās ibn ʻAbdAllāh ibn Saʻīd—appointed in 136 H (754) by al-Manṣūr and followed by:
59. Ziyād ibn ʻAbdAllāh al-Ḥārithī.
60. Al-Haytham ibn Muʻāwiyah al-ʻItkī.
61. Al-Sirī ibn ʻAbdAllāh ibn al-Ḥārith—appointed in 143 H (760/1) by al-Manṣūr and followed by:
62. Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Muʻāwiyah ibn ʻAbdAllāh ibn Jaʻfar—appointed in 145H (762) by "al-Nafs al-Zakīyyah" (Muḥammad ibn ʻAbdAllāh) who had rebelled against al-Manṣūr.
63. Al-Sirī ibn ʻAbdAllāh ibn al-Ḥārith—appointed in 145 H (763) for a second term and followed by:
64. ʻAbdal-Ṣamad ibn ʻAlī ibn ʻAbdAllāh ibn al-ʻAbbās in 146 H (763) for a second term. Followed by:
65. Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm (al-Imām) appointed in 149 H (766).
66. Ibrāhīm ibn Yaḥyā ibn Muḥammad—appointed in 158 H (775) by al-Mahdī and followed by:
67. Jaʻfar ibn Sulaymān ibn ʻAlī—appointed in 161 H (778).
68. ʻUbaydAllāh (pronounced ʻUbaydillāh) ibn Qithm ibn al-ʻAbbās—appointed in 166 H (782/3).
69. Al-Ḥusayn ibn ʻAlī ibn al-Ḥasan ibn al-Muthannā. In 169 H (785/6), he had forcibly taken possession of Makkah against the ʻAbbāsids during al-Hādi's reign, but was killed shortly afterwards.
70. Aḥmad ibn Ismāʻīl—Governor during the reign of al-Rashīd.
71. Hammād al-Barbarī—as above.
72. Sulaymān ibn Jaʻfar—as above.
73. Al-ʻAbbās ibn Mūsā—as above.
74. Al-ʻAbbās ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm—as above.
75. ʻAbdAllāh ibn Qithm—appointed in 169 H (785/6) by al-Rashīd.
76. ʻAlī ibn Mūsā—Governor during the reign of al-Rashīd.
77. Al-Faḍl ibn al-ʻAbbās—as above.
78. Muḥammad ibn ʻUbaydAllāh as above.
79. Mūsā ibn ʻĪsā ibn Mūsā-as above.
80. Dā'ūd ibn ʻĪsā ibn Mūsā—Governor during the reign of al-Amīn.

81. Al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Ḥasan (known as "al-Afṭas" or "Flat-nosed")—Ruled on behalf of the 'Alīds. Reputedly harsh and crude.
82. 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Ja'far al-Ṣādiq—appointed in 200 H (815) by the 'Alīd al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Ḥasan. Also harsh and crude.
83. Muḥammad ibn 'Īsā ibn Yazīd al-Khulūdī- appointed in 200 H (816) by al-Mā'mūn and followed by:
84. Yazīd ibn Muḥammad al-Makhzūmī.
85. Ibrāhīm ibn Mūsā al-Kāẓim—appointed in 202 H (817). He had arrived from the Yaman, killed the former and replaced him on behalf of the 'Alīds. He was followed during al-Mā'mūn's reign by:
86. 'UbaydAllāh (pronounced 'Ubaydillāh) ibn al-Ḥasan.
87. Ṣāleḥ ibn al-'Abbās.
88. Sulaymān ibn 'AbdAllāh.
89. Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān.
90. Al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl.
91. 'UbaydAllāh (pronounced 'Ubaydillāh) ibn 'AbdAllāh ibn al-Ḥasan.
92. Ṣāleḥ ibn al-'Abbās—appointed in 218 H (833) by al-Mu'taṣim for second term and followed by:
93. Ashāsh al-Turkī.
94. Muḥammad ibn Dā'ūd ibn 'Īsā—appointed by al-Wāthiq after 228 H (843) and continued with until his death in 232 H (847).
95. 'Alī ibn 'Īsā ibn Ja'far—appointed in 232 H (846/7) by al-Mutawakkil and followed by:
96. 'AbdAllāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Dā'ūd—appointed in 239 H (853) and followed by:
97. 'Abdal-Ṣamad ibn Mūsā.
98. Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān ibn 'AbdAllāh—appointed in 239 H (854) by al-Mutawakkil.
99. Muḥammad al-Muntaṣar ibn al-Mutawakkil—as above.
100. Aytāḥ Maulā al-Mu'taṣim—as above.
101. 'Abdal-Ṣamad ibn Mūsā—appointed in 247 H (861/2) by al-Muntaṣir for a second term. Followed by:
102. Ja'far ibn al-Faḍl—(who absented himself from Makkah. Died of Smallpox in 252 H/866).
103. Ismā'īl ibn Yūsuf.
104. Al-'Abbās ibn al-Musta'īn—appointed in 252 H (866) by al-Musta'īn, but failed to take office. He was followed by:

105. Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn—Also appointed by al-Musta'īn.
106. 'Īsā ibn Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl—appointed by al-Mu'tazz after 252 H (866).
107. Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Īsā—appointed by al-Mu'tazz before 255 H (869).
108. 'Alī ibn al-Ḥasan al-Hāshimī—appointed in 255 H (869) by al-Muhtadī (d.256 H/870).
109. Al-Muwaffaq Ṭalḥah ibn al-Mutawakkil—first of the 9 following appointments by al-Mu'tamid (R. 256 H/870–279 H/892).
110. Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl.
111. Abū al-Mughīrah Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad.
112. Abū 'Īsā Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā.
113. Al-Faḍl ibn al-'Abbās.
114. Hārūn ibn Muḥammad.
115. Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn.
116. Muḥammad ibn Abī al-Sāj.
117. Yūsuf ibn Abī al-Sāj.
118. Al-Mu'annis al-Khādim.
119. Mu'annis al-Khādim.
120. Ibn Mulāḥiẓ.
121. Ibn Muḥallab or Ibn Muḥārib.

(The only names known for the period between the years 279 H/892 and 317H/929 are from 119 to 121above).

122. Abū Ṭāhir al-Qarmaṭī—seized Makkah in 317 H (929) during the reign of al-Muqtadir (r. 295H/908–320 H/392). Played havoc until his death.
123. Muḥammad ibn Ṭa'j al-Ikhshīd, jointly with his sons Abū'l Qāsim and 'Alī—nominated in 331 H (943) by al-Muttaqī (d. 333H/944). Held authority during the reign of al-Mustakfī (d. 334 H/946) and into 4 years of the reign of al-Muṭī'—till 338 H (949).
124. Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn 'Abdal-'Azīz—appointed in 338 H (950) during the reign of al-Muṭī' that ended in 363H (974).

(D) The Era of the Fāṭimids:

125. Ja'far ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn (al-Sharīf) appointed in 358H/969 under al-Mu'izz (r-341H/953 till 365 H/975). During this year, Egypt was lost by the 'Abbāsids to the Fāṭimids until their fall in 577 H(1171–2). Almost till then, Makkah was mostly to remain under their suzerainty. The

above event was also instrumental in the introduction of, Sharīfian rule over the Holy Cities, that was to last for over a millennium.

126. ʻĪsā ibn Jaʻfar—meanwhile, the Fāṭimid al-ʻAzīz had succeeded in 365 H (975) and reigned till 411 H (996).
127. Abū'l Futūḥ al-Ḥasan ibn Jaʻfar was appointed in 384 H (994) and followed by:
128. Abū'l Ṭaiyyib Dā'ūd ibn ʻAbdal-Raḥmān. He had replaced the former, who had rebelled against the Fāṭimids. Al-ʻAzīz in the meanwhile had been succeeded in 386 H (996) by al-Ḥākim (d.411 H/1021).
129. Tāj al-Maʻālī Muḥammad Shukr ibn Abū'l Fūtūḥ. Appointed in 430H/1039 (during the reign of al-Mustanṣir) (427 H/1036–487 H/1094).
130. ʻAbd Tāj al-Maʻālī—appointed during 453 H (1061) and followed by:
131. Muḥammad ibn Abū al-Fātik takes over Makkah 455H/1063.
132. ʻAlī ibn Muḥammad al-Ṣulayḥī—takes over Makkah in 455 H (1063) after arriving from the Yaman. Followed by:
133. Muḥammad ibn Jaʻfar ibn Muḥammad—a Sharīf by origin. Also appointed by the Ṣulayḥids of the Yaman the same year.
134. Ḥamzah ibn Dahhās ibn Abi'l-Ṭaiyyib siezes Makkah from the former, who however retrieves it.
135. Muḥammad ibn Jaʻfar ibn Muḥammad—appointed for a second term and followed by:
136. Al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad ibn Jaʻfar—appointed in 484 H (1091).
137. Al-Iṣpahbād ibn Sartigīn—Seizes Makkah from al-Qāsim, who manages to take it back.
138. Al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad ibn Jaʻfar starts his next term from 488 H (1095). Meanwhile, al-Mustaʻlī had succeeded in Cairo a year earlier and ruled till 495 H (1101), to be followed by al-'Āmer (d. 524 H/1130).
139. Flaytah ibn al-Qāsim—succeeded in 518 H (1124). An individual of literary and political merit, who was to continue in authority till into the first years of al-Ẓāfir reign, who was succeeded in 544 H (1149) by al-Ẓāfir.
140. Hāshim ibn Flaytah—took over 527 H (1133). Plundered the ʻIrāqī Ḥajj Caravan even as it performed the "Ṭawāf".
141. Al-Qāsim ibn Ḥāshim succeeded in 549 H (1154). Contemporary of al-Fā'iz (r. 549 H/1154–555 H/1160). Sequestrated the property of Makkans.

142. ʻĪsā ibn Flaytah—took over in 553 H (1158) after expelling his above nephew from Makkah. Meanwhile, in Cairo, the last of the Fāṭimids—al-ʻĀḍid took over during 558 H (1160) and reigned until Ṣalāḥal-dīn decided in 567 H (1171) to derecognise him and opt for the Sunnī ʻAbbāsid contender.
143. Al-Qāsim ibn Ḥāshim—appointed in 557 H (1162). Assassinated by soldiery for killing one of his commanders.
144. ʻĪsā ibn Flaytah in authority for a second term in 565 H (1170). Though replaced by his brother Mālik, he was soon to be reinstated.
145. Mālik ibn Flaytah.
146. ʻĪsā ibn Flaytah—appointed for a third term.

(E) The Later ʻAbbāsids (in Cairo) with the Aiyyūbids:

147. Dā'ūd ibn ʻĪsā—appointed in 570 H (1174–5), he was dismissed by the new Abbāsid Caliph al-Nāṣir a year later in (571H/1175).
148. Mukthir ibn ʻĪsā—appointed in 571 H (1175–6), he was dismissed by the ʻIrāqī Amīr al-Ḥajj named below for plundering the Pilgrims.
149. Ṭāshtakīn.
150. Al-Qāsim ibn Muhannā al-Ḥusaynī.
151. Dā'ūd ibn ʻĪsā—appointed for a second term by Ṭāshtakīn upon al-Qāsim's failure to control Makkah.
152. Mukthir ibn ʻĪsā—appointed in 587H (1191) for a second term. This year, Ṣalāḥal-dīn amended the right of the Amīr to levy seven Egyptian Dināars on every Egyptian Pilgrim from ʻAidhāb and compensated him handsomely for this loss with an annual grant of 8,000 ʻIrdab' of wheat for the populace.
153. Qatādah ibn Idrīs—seized Makkah in 597H (1201) to the end the rule of the Banī Flaytah (also known as al-Hawāshim). His progeny were ruled in Makkah till the end of the Sharīfian legecy there in 1343H (1925).
154. Al-Ḥasan ibn Qatādah—took over in 617H (1220) after allegedly suffocating his sick father.
155. ʻAlī ibn Rasūl—appointed viceroy over Makkah in 619H (1222) by the Yamanī ruler, al-Masʻūd, who had siezed it.
156. Ṣārimal-dīn Yākūt (ʻAtīq al-Masʻūd)—was also appointed viceroy over Makkah by al-Masʻūd in 626H(1229).
157. Ṭughtakīn al-Turkī—appointed governor over Makkah by the Rasūlid, al-Kāmil.

158. Rājeḥ ibn Qatādah—took over Makkah with Rasūlid aid during 630H(1233). He was destined to be appointed ruler over Makkah eight times. On the last occasion, he was replaced by his son Ghānem in 652H(1254) ad died in 654H(1256). During this period, the first to replace him was:
159. Al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Qatādah—in 639H(1241-2). He was followed in his office by his son, who enjoyed the support of the ruler of Egypt, al-Malik al-Nāṣir.

(F) The 'Abbāsids (in Cairo) with the Baḥrid Mamlūks:

160. Jammāz ibn Ḥasan ibn Qatādah—appointed in 651H(1253), he was however to be expelled without bloodshed by his uncle Rājeḥ, who in turn had to vacate his office under pressure from his own son Ghānem.
161. Ghānem ibn Rājeḥ—took over the office of governor in 652H(1254).
162. Idrīs ibn Qatādah and Muḥammad Abū Numai—jointly succeeded in 654H(1256) in seizing power.
163. Muḥammad Abū Numai I—became sole ruler in 667H(1268-9) by killing his partner Idrīs.
164. Ghānem ibn Idrīs—succeeded with the aid of the Amīr of al-Madīnah, Jammāz ibn Shayḥah in expelling Muḥammad Abū Numai, only to be turned out again.
165. Jammāz ibn Shayḥah—succeeded in 688H(1289) in occupying Makkah and ruling over it with the assent of the Mamlūk Sulṭān Qala'ūn, but failed to retain it.
166. Rumaythah and Ḥumayḍah (sons of Abū Numai)—jointly took over as rulers of Makkah in 701H(1302) after their father had abdicated in their favour.
167. 'Uṭayfah and Abū'l Ghaith (sons of Abū Numai)—replace the former two upon the orders of Baybars (then Amīr of Karak), who then took them with him.
168. Rumaythah and Ḥumayḍah (sons of Abū Numai)—succeeded in taking over office in 703H(1303-4) after returning from captivity. The latter was to kill Abū'l Ghaith later on in 714H(1314) and then, Ḥumayḍah also in 718H(1318). However, his dispute with 'Uṭayfah was to continue till 737H (1336).
169. Rumaythah ibn Abū Numai—succeeded as ruler in 737H(1336-7) for third term, but alone.
170. 'Ijlān ibn Rumaythah—took over from his father in 745H(1344-5).

171. 'Ijlān and Thuqbah (both sons of Rumaythah) took over from their father in 746H(1344-5).
172. Musnid and Mughāmis (sons of Rumaythah) were jointly appointed governors in 747H(1346-7) by the Mamlūk Sulṭān al-Nāṣir. Mughāmis was to be killed in 761H(1360).
173. Aḥmad ibn 'Ijlān—took over as governor in 777H(1375-6) and died in 788H(1386). He had decided to introduce his son Muḥammad as joint-ruler a year after his appointment.

(G) The 'Abbāsids (in Cairo) with the Burjid Mamlūks:

174. Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Ijlān—became sole ruler after his father in 788H(1386), only to be killed by the Egyptian Amīr al-Ḥajj 100 days later.
175. 'Inān ibn Mughāmis—Appointed by the first Circassian Sulṭān, al-Ẓāhir Barqūq, then replaced the following year by 'Alī ibn 'Ijlān. 'Inān, in order to pacify his rivals had included with him in sharing authority Aḥmad ibn Thuqbah and 'Aqīl ibn Mubārak.
176. 'Alī ibn 'Ijlān—upon his nomination in 789H(1387), had decided to invite the deposed 'Inān to act as joint-ruler. This was to continue till 794H (1392).
177. Muḥammad ibn 'Ijlān—succeeded his brother 'Alī in 797H(1394-5) following the latter's assasination.
178. Ḥasan ibn 'Ijlān—was next to be appointed to sole office in 798H(1395-6) by the second Circassian Sulṭān, Ḥājī.
179. Barakāt ibn al-Ḥasan—was introduced by his father in 809H (1405) as joint-ruler.
180. Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥasan—was in turn inducted in 810H (1405-6) by his father into sharing authority with his above brother Barakāt over Makkah.
181. Rumaythah ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Ijlān—was appointed governor in 818H (1415-6) by the Sulṭān al-Mu'ayyad, but removed from contention after al-Ḥasan had dispatched his son Barakāt to Egypt to plead for his restoration.
182. Al-Ḥasan ibn 'Ijlān—was hence re-appointed in 819H (1416-7) for a second term.
183. 'Alī ibn 'Inān ibn Mughāmis—was then experimented with in office in 827H(1424) by the Sulṭān Barsbay before the former's of restoration once again the next year.
184. Al-Ḥasan ibn 'Ijlān—was next restored in 828H (1425) for a third term. Esteemed as pious scholar, he was to pass away in Egypt during 829H (1426).

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167. 'Uṭayfah and Abū'l Ghaith (sons of Abū Numai)—replace the former two upon the orders of Baybars (then Amīr of Karak), who then took them with him.
168. Rumaythah and Ḥumayḍah (sons of Abū Numai)—succeeded in taking over office in 703H(1303-4) after returning from captivity. The latter was to kill Abū'l Ghaith later on in 714H(1314) and then, Ḥumayḍah also in 718H(1318). However, his dispute with 'Uṭayfah was to continue till 737H (1336).
169. Rumaythah ibn Abū Numai—succeded as ruler in 737H(1336-7) for third term, but alone.
170. 'Ijlān ibn Rumaythah—took over from his father in 745H(1344-5).

171. 'Ijlān and Thuqbah (both sons of Rumaythah) took over from their father in 746H(1344-5).
172. Musnid and Mughāmis (sons of Rumaythah) were jointly appointed governors in 747H(1346-7) by the Mamlūk Sulṭān al-Nāṣir. Mughāmis was to be killed in 761H(1360).
173. Aḥmad ibn 'Ijlān—took over as governor in 777H(1375-6) and died in 788H(1386). He had decided to introduce his son Muḥammad as joint-ruler a year after his appointment.

(G) The 'Abbāsids (in Cairo) with the Burjid Mamlūks:

174. Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Ijlān—became sole ruler after his father in 788H(1386), only to be killed by the Egyptian Amīr al-Ḥajj 100 days later.
175. 'Inān ibn Mughāmis—Appointed by the first Circassian Sulṭān, al-Ẓāhir Barqūq, then replaced the following year by 'Alī ibn 'Ijlān. 'Inān, in order to pacify his rivals had included with him in sharing authority Aḥmad ibn Thuqbah and 'Aqīl ibn Mubārak.
176. 'Alī ibn 'Ijlān—upon his nomination in 789H(1387), had decided to invite the deposed 'Inān to act as joint-ruler. This was to continue till 794H (1392).
177. Muḥammad ibn 'Ijlān—succeeded his brother 'Alī in 797H(1394-5) following the latter's assasination.
178. Ḥasan ibn 'Ijlān—was next to be appointed to sole office in 798H(1395-6) by the second Circassian Sulṭān, Ḥājī.
179. Barakāt ibn al-Ḥasan—was introduced by his father in 809H (1405) as joint-ruler.
180. Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥasan—was in turn inducted in 810H (1405-6) by his father into sharing authority with his above brother Barakāt over Makkah.
181. Rumaythah ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Ijlān—was appointed governor in 818H (1415-6) by the Sulṭān al-Mu'ayyad, but removed from contention after al-Ḥasan had dispatched his son Barakāt to Egypt to plead for his restoration.
182. Al-Ḥasan ibn 'Ijlān—was hence re-appointed in 819H (1416-7) for a second term.
183. 'Alī ibn 'Inān ibn Mughāmis—was then experimented with in office in 827H(1424) by the Sulṭān Barsbay before the former's of restoration once again the next year.
184. Al-Ḥasan ibn 'Ijlān—was next restored in 828H (1425) for a third term. Esteemed as pious scholar, he was to pass away in Egypt during 829H (1426).

185. Barakāt ibn al-Ḥasan—took over following his father's death in 829H (1426). He was another scholar, well versed in Jurisprudence and this was the second of many terms for him in office.
186. 'Alī ibn al-Ḥasan—was appointed in lieu of his above brother in 845H (1441-2) but the latter was restored the same year.
187. Barakāt ibn al-Ḥasan—took over office in 845H (1442) for a third term. On this occasion, he was replaced a year later by his brother, Abū'l-Qāsim.
188. Abū'l-Qāsim ibn al-Ḥasan—was appointed to office in 846H (1442-3) and ruled till 849H (1445). Expelled by Barakāt that year, he was to be restored soon enough, continuing to hold his post for another two years till 851H (1447), when he left for Egypt, there to die a couple of years later.
189. Barakāt ibn al-Ḥasan—found himself appointed governor again for a fourth term in 851H (1447-8) by the Sulṭān Jaqmāq and continued to hold the office till his death.
190. Muḥammad ibn Barakāt—a pious scholar, was appointed to office in 859H (1455). It was during his tenure that the Sulṭān Qā'it Bey was to perform his famous Ḥajj. He was to appoint his son Barakāt as joint-ruler in 878H (1473-4).
191. Barakāt ibn Muḥammad—following his father's death in 901H (1495-6), was to become the sole ruler. However, his authority was challenged briefly by his three following brothers, Hazzā', Aḥmad and Ḥumayḍah between 907H (1501) and 908H (1503). After this, he was to continue in lone authority till 931H(1524) as indicated.
192. Hazzā' ibn Muḥammad—907H(1501-2).
193. Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad—907H(1502).
194. Ḥumayḍah ibn Muḥammad 908H(1502-3).
195. Barakāt ibn Muḥammad—served for another term, this time unchallanged, from 908H (1503) till 931H (1524).

(H) The Ottoman Era:

196. Abū Numay II (Muḥammad ibn Barakāt)—was to take over in 931H(1525). He had been joint-ruler with his father since 918H(1512) and his rights as heir were also acknowledged by the Ottoman Sulṭān Salīm during 922H (1516), after his conquest of Egypt.
197. Aḥmad ibn Abū Numay II—had been acknowledged by the Sulṭān Sulaymān since 945H(1538-9) as joint-ruler with his father and he was to continue till his death in 961H(1554), which was in his father's life-time.

198. Ḥasan ibn Abū Numay II—was to replace his deceased brother as joint-ruler with his father until the latter's death in 992H(1584), after which, he was to assume sole authority.
199. Ḥusayn and Mas'ūd (sons of Ḥasan)—had also become joint-rulers with their father, but were destined to die in his life time.
200. Abū Ṭālib ibn al-Ḥasan—the eldest of his father's sons, took over in 1010H(1601-2), but left no issue.
201. Idrīs ibn al-Ḥasan—succeeded his brother in 1012H(1603-40) upon the former's death.
202. Fahayd ibn al-Ḥasan—imposed upon his above brother by the feuding Sharīfian clans, he was to continue in office till deposed in 1019H(1610).
203. Muḥsin ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Ḥasan—had earlier on been involved in power-sharing with his uncles Idrīs and Fahayd till 1032H(1625), when he became sole ruler.
204. Aḥmad ibn 'Abdal-Muṭṭalib ibn al-Ḥasan—during 1037H(1627-28), was to be confirmed in his position as governor of Makkah by Aḥmad Pāshā Wālī of al-Yaman, after fighting and defeating his brother Muḥsin.
205. Mas'ūd ibn Idrīs ibn al-Ḥasan—was appointed governor next in 1039H(1629-30) by Qānṣūh Pāshā after the execution of his brother Aḥmad for having the Qāḍī of Makkah, Shaykh 'Abdal-Raḥmān al-Murshidī, killed for personal reasons.
206. 'AbdAllāh ibn al-Ḥasan—was then to take over in 1040H(1630-1), but soon abdicated in favour of his son Muḥammad and summoned Muḥsin ibn Zayd from exile in al-Yaman to support him as joint-ruler.
207. Muḥammad ibn 'AbdAllāh ibn al-Ḥasan—shortly after his appointment, was killed in 1041H(1631-2) by Nāmī ibn 'Abdal-Muṭṭalib, who had then looted Makkah.
208. Nāmī ibn 'Abdal-Muṭṭalib—was also killed during 1041H(1632) after a 100 days since seizing power.
209. Zayd ibn Muḥsin—became ruler in 1041H(1632) and remained so till his death in 1077H(1666).
210. Sa'd ibn Zayd—succeeded his father in 1077H(1666-7). After this, he was destined to hold office on another three occasions for a total duration of fifteen years and seven months.
211. Aḥmad ibn Zayd (with his above brother, Sa'd)—took over in 1080H(1669-70). However, both brothers were to decide in 1082H(1671-2) to flee from their seat under pressure.

212. Barakāt ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Barakāt ibn Abū Numay—a gracious character, he took over office in 1082H(1671-2) following the flight of the brothers Aḥmad and Sa'd. He was to remain in authority till his death in 1094H(1683).
213. Sa'īd ibn Barakāt—took over office in 1094H(1683) after his father, but had trouble to face with his fellow Sharīfs, who compelled him soon enough to abdicate.
214. Aḥmad ibn Zayd—was appointed governor in 1095H(1684) for a second term and remained in office till death in 1099H(1688).
215. Aḥmad ibn Ghālib—ultimately took over in 1099H(1688) after a decision in his favour by the Sulṭān Sulāymān II in his dispute with Sa'īd ibn Sa'd ibn Zayd, which the latter obeyed.
216. Sa'īd ibn Sa'd ibn Zayd—as indicated earlier, had disputed with the former over the Sharīfian's office until compelled to accept his rival's appointment by supreme authority.
217. Muḥsin ibn Ḥusayn ibn Zayd—was appointed ruler next by the governor of Jiddah as Aḥmad ibn Ghālib's replacement, which compelled the latter to leave Makkah in 1101H(1690). However, this decision was disputed by Sa'īd ibn Sa'd ibn Zayd, ultimately paving the way for the appointment of Musā'īd ibn Sa'd.
218. Musā'īd ibn Sa'd—took over the Sharīfate in 1103H(1691-2), but soon enough relinquished it in favour of his brother Sa'īd ibn Sa'd.
219. Sa'īd ibn Sa'd—unfortunately, his second term in office also did not last long, for he was replaced by his father, then in Istanbul, by an imperial command. Neverthless, due to his father's absence, from Makkah, Sa'īd did act on his father Sa'd's behalf for some time.
220. 'AbdAllāh ibn Ḥāshim—he had meanwhile been put up for the office during 1105H(1693-4) by the Governor of Jiddah. However, Sa'd ibn Zayd was successful in seizing Makkah from him by force of arms.
221. Sa'd ibn Zayd—assumed office for a second term, before abdicating in favour of his son Sa'īd.
222. Sa'īd ibn Sa'd—took over the reins of his office's full authority after father's abdication in 1113H(1701-2). This was his third term as governor. However, he was again to fall a victim to such internecne feuding, that he was compelled to vacate office during 1116H(1704-5).

223. 'Abdal-Muḥsin ibn Aḥmad ibn Zayd—succeeded Sa'īd ibn Sa'd in 1116(1704-5), but only for nine days before abdicating in favour of 'Abdal-Karīm ibn Ya'lā.
224. 'Abdal-Karīm ibn Ya'lā—his reign also did not last for long, as he was shortly to be expelled from Makkah by Sa'd ibn Zayd, but only temporarily as it turned out.
225. Sa'd ibn Zayd—after taking office for a fourth time, was shortly to be stabbed to death by 'Abdal-Karīm.
226. Abdal-Karīm ibn Ya'lā—took over again in 1116H(1705), though intermittently challenged in the exercise of authority by Sa'īd ibn Sa'd ibn Zayd. Their rivalry was to continue till 1129H(1717). During this period, the total duration of the former's authority, held thrice, adds up to six years and ten months.
227. Sa'īd ibn Sa'd—was to hold office five times between 1116H(1705) and his death in 1129H(1717). The total of his duration in power is ten years seven months.
228. AbdAllāh ibn Sa'īd—took over office after his father's death in 1129H(1717), but stepped down due to a rise in Sharīfian intrigues. These were initially in favour of 'Abdal-Muḥsin ibn Aḥmad, then his brother Mubārak ibn Aḥmad and lastly, AbdAllāh's own brother 'Alī.
229. 'Alī ibn Sa'īd—took over office in 1130H(1718) from his brother, but did not remain for long.
230. Yaḥyā ibn Barakāt—succeeded 'Alī shortly in office, but only for a while.
231. Mubārak ibn Aḥmad ibn Zayd—was appointed next in 1132H(1720).
232. Yaḥyā ibn Barakāt—was then appointed in 1134H (1722) for a second term, but stepped down in favour of his father Barakāt ibn Yaḥyā after a couple of years.
233. Barakāt ibn Yaḥyā—after taking over in 1136H(1723-4), had to contend with opposition from Mubārak ibn Aḥmad ibn Zayd and 'AbdAllāh ibn Sa'īd, both of whom had held office earlier.
234. Mubārak ibn Aḥmad ibn Zayd—for a second term.
235. 'AbdAllāh ibn Sa'īd—for a second term.
236. Muḥammad ibn 'AbdAllāh ibn Sa'īd—succeeded to the Sharīfate in 1143H(1730-1) thanks chiefly to the support of his uncle, Mas'ūd ibn Sa'īd.

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234. Mubārak ibn Aḥmad ibn Zayd—for a second term.
235. 'AbdAllāh ibn Sa'īd—for a second term.
236. Muḥammad ibn 'AbdAllāh ibn Sa'īd—succeeded to the Sharīfate in 1143H(1730-1) thanks chiefly to the support of his uncle, Mas'ūd ibn Sa'īd.

237. Mas'ūd ibn Sa'īd—decided after a couple of years to forcibly seize the Sharīfate for himself from his nephew. This was during 1145H(1732-3).
238. Muḥammad ibn 'AbdAllāh ibn Sa'īd—however, was to manage the same year (1145H/1733) to retrieve the office for himself for a second term.
239. Mas'ūd ibn Sa'īd—managed nevertheless, during 1146H(1734), to recover the office and come to an arrangement with his nephew Muḥammad ibn 'AbdAllāh ibn Sa'īd, which was to last from 1151H(1738-9) till his death in 1169H(1756).
240. Musā'id ibn Sa'īd—a brother of Mas'ūd, neverthless managed to take over from him in 1165H(1752).
241. Ja'far ibn Sa'īd—another brother, was also appointed to the Sharīfate by the Amīr of the Syrian Ḥajj Caravan in 1172H(1758-9). However, he decided to offer it back in less than a month to Musā'id in lieu of a payment.
242. Musā'id ibn Sa'īd—then held the office for a second term, from 1173H (1759-60) onwards till 1184H (1770).
243. 'AbdAllāh ibn Sa'īd—now took over office in 1184H (1770) for a third term. However, his authority was challanged by another brother Aḥmad ibn Sa'īd, in whose favour he was to decide to abdicate after a short while.
244. Aḥmad ibn Sa'īd—destined to hold the office twice, he nevertheless found his tenure challenged soon enough by another rival, 'AbdAllāh ibn Ḥusayn ibn Yaḥyā ibn Barakāt.
245. 'AbdAllāh ibn Ḥusayn ibn Yaḥyā ibn Barakāt—in 1184H (1770), managed to seize the Sharīfate with the aid of Egyptian troops, only to be taken prisoner later on by Aḥmad's nephew, Surūr ibn Musā'id and to die in incarceration in 1195H (1781).
246. Aḥmad ibn Sa'īd—now took office for his second term with Surūr ibn Musā'id in tow. This was during 1185H (1771).
247. Surūr ibn Musā'id—a highly capable ruler, was to continue to hold office till his death in 1202H (1788).
248. Ghālib ibn Musā'id—succeeded his brother upon his death in 1202H (1788). Ultimately removed from office by Muḥammad 'Alī Pāshā in 1228H (1813), he was to die in Salonika two years later.
249. Yaḥyā ibn Surūr—he was appointed to the office in 1228H (1813), but lost it in 1242H (1826) due to his involvement in the muder of Sharīf Shanbar al-Mun'amī.
250. 'Abdal-Muṭṭalib ibn Ghālib ibn Musā'id—laid claims to the office next, during 1242H (1826-7), but failed to gain official

Ottoman approval, since his rival Muḥammad ibn 'Abdal-Mu'īn ibn 'Aun enjoyed the support of Muḥammad 'Alī Pāshā of Egypt.
251. Muḥammad ibn 'Abdal-Mu'īn ibn 'Aun—hence took office in 1243H (1827-8), while his above rival headed for Istānbul to plead his cause.
252. 'Abdal-Muṭṭalib ibn Ghālib ibn Musā'id—was finally appointed officially in 1267H (1851) and left in office for some years.
253. Muḥammad ibn 'Abdal-Mu'īn ibn 'Aun—was then re-appointed Grand Sharīf in 1272H (1856) for a second term, while his above rival headed again for Istānbul.
254. 'AbdAllāh Pāshā ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abdal-Mu'īn—was appointed next to succeed his father upon his death in 1274H (1857-8).
255. Ḥusayn Pāshā ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abdal-Mu'īn—a brother of 'AbdAllāh Pāshā, was to take over after him in 1294H (1877). However, he was killed in Jiddah during 1297H (1880) by a deranged Afghān .
256. Abdal-Muṭṭalib ibn Ghālib ibn Musā'id—appointed next for a third term in 1297H (1880), he was to be deposed a couple of years later.
257. 'Aun al-Rafiq Pāshā ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abdal-Mu'īn—was appointed to office next during late 1299H (1882) and was to hold it for 23 years.
258. 'Alī Pāshā—was appointed in 1323H (1905) with the exalted rank of a Minister, but only to be replaced by Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī three years later.
259. Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī—took over in 1326H (1908), but rebelled against the Ottoman administration in Sha'bān 1334H (June 1916).
260. 'Alī Ḥaidar Pāshā—appointed by the Ottoman authorities in 1334H (1916) to replace Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī, was destined however, not to enter Makkah (then held by the rival), but to remain in al-Madīnah till Jamād al-Awwal 1335H (March 1917), marking the beginning of the Ottoman withdrawal from Arabia.

(I) The Hāshimite Kingdom:

261. Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī—continued till Ṣafar 1393H (October 1924) as King and self-proclaimed Caliph until his abdication in 1343H (1924) in favour of his eldest son, 'Alī.
262. 'Alī ibn Ḥusayn—elected King in 1343H (1924) by popular legislative demand upon the abdication of his father. He

functioned nobly as an elected monarch for 11 months until the negotiated surrender of the Ḥejāz to ʻAbdal-ʻAzīz Ibn Saʻūd (Sulṭān of Najd), during Jamād al-Awwal 1344H (December 1924).

APPENDIX C

The Amīrs (Governors) of al-Madīnah

(A) The Era of the Prophet ﷺ and the Orthodox Caliphs:

1.	The Prophet Muḥammad	1H (622)
2.	The Caliph Abū Bakr	11H (632)
3.	The Caliph ʻUmar	13H (634)
4.	The Caliph ʻUthmān	23H (644)
5.	The Caliph ʻAlī	35H (656)
6.	Qithm ibn al-ʻAbbās	37H (657)
7.	Sahl ibn Ḥanīf	37H (658)
8.	Abū Aiyyūb	40H (660)

(B) The Era of the Banī Umaiyyah:

9.	Abū Hurayrah	40H (661)
10.	Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam	41H (662)
11.	Saʻīd ibn al-ʻĀṣ	49H (669)
12.	Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam (second term)	56H (676)
13.	Al-Walīd ibn ʻUtbah ibn Abī Sufiyān	57H (677)
14.	ʻAmr ibn Saʻīd ibn al-ʻĀṣ (Also Governor of Makkah)	60H (680)
15.	Al-Walīd ibn ʻUtbah (second term)	61H (681)
16.	ʻUthmān ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Sufiyān	62H (682)
17.	ʻUbaydAllāh ibn al-Zubayr (Appointed by Ibn al-Zubayr)	64H (683)
18.	Jābir ibn al-Aswad ibn al-ʻAuf (Appointed by Ibn al-Zubayr)	65H (684)
19.	Al-ʻAbbās ibn Sahl (Appointed by Ibn al-Zubayr)	65H (685)
20.	Muṣʻab ibn al-Zubayr (Appointed by Ibn al-Zubayr)	65H (685)
21.	Jābir ibn al-Aswad (second term) (Appointed by Ibn al-Zubayr)	68H (687)
22.	Ṭalḥah ibn ʻUbaydAllāh ibn ʻAuf (Appointed by Ibn al-Zubayr)	72H (691)
23.	Ṭārīq ibn ʻAmr (Appointed by ʻAbdal-Malik ibn Marwān)	72H (692)
24.	Al-Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf	74H (693)

25.	Abbān ibn ʻUthmān	75H (694)
26.	Hishām ibn Ismāʻīl al-Makhzūmī	82H (701)
27.	ʻUmar ibn ʻAbdal-ʻAzīz	86H (705)
28.	ʻUthmān ibn Ḥaiyyān	93H (712)
29.	Abū Bakr ibn Muḥammad (Appointed by Sulaymān)	96H (715)
30.	ʻAbdal-ʻAzīz ibn Arṭāʼah	?
31.	ʻAbdal-Raḥmān ibn Ḍaḥḥāk al-Fihrī (Also Governor of Makkah)	101H (719)
32.	ʻAbdal-Wāḥid ibn ʻAbdAllāh al-Nuḍarī (Also Governor of Makkah)	104H (722)
33.	Ibrāhīm ibn Hishām al-Makhzūmī (Also Governor of Makkah)	106H (724)
34.	Khālid ibn ʻAbdal-Malik	114H (732)
35.	Muḥammad ibn Hishām al-Makhzūmī (Also Governor of Makkah)	117H (735)
36.	Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad al-Thaqafī	125H (743)
37.	ʻAbdal-ʻAzīz ibn ʻAbdAllāh ibn ʻUmar ibn ʻUthmān ibn ʻAffān	?
38.	ʻAbdal-ʻAzīz ibn ʻUmar ibn ʻAbdal-ʻAzīz	126H (744)
39.	ʻAbdal-Wāḥid ibn Sulaymān ibn ʻAbdal-Malik	127H (745)
40.	Muḥammad ibn ʻAbdal-Malik ibn Marwān	130H (748)
41.	Al-Walīd ibn ʻUrwah al-Saʻdī	131H (749)
42.	Yūsuf or ʻĪsā ibn ʻUrwah	132H (749–50)

(C) The Era of the Banī ʻAbbās :

43.	Dāʼūd ibn ʻAlī (grandson of al-ʻAbbās) (Died the same year)	132H (750)
44.	Ziyād ibnʻUbaydAllāh al-Ḥārithī	133H (751)
45.	Al-ʻAbbās ibn ʻAbdAllāh (Al-ʻAbbās's great-grandson)	136H (753)
46.	Ziyād ibnʻUbaydAllāh al-Ḥārithī 1 (second term)	37H (754)
47.	Muḥammad ibn Khālid al-Qisrī	141H (758)
48.	Rabāḥ ibn ʻUthmān al-Murrī (Rebellion of "al-Nafs al-Zakīyyah"— Incarcerated and released upon the former's death in 145H (762)).	144H (761)
49.	ʻAbdAllāh ibn Rabīʻah al-Ḥarithī (Rebellion of "al-Zanj")	145H (761)
50.	Jaʻfar ibn Sulaymān al-ʻAbbāsī	146H (763)
51.	Al-Ḥasan ibn Zayd al-ʻAlawī (A grandson of al-Ḥasan ibn ʻAlī)	150H (767)
52.	ʻAbdal-Ṣamad ibn ʻAlī (A paternal uncle of al-Mā'mūn)	155H (772)
53.	Muḥammad ibn ʻAbdAllāh al-Kathīrī	159H (775)
54.	Muḥammad ibn ʻAbdAllāh al-Jamālī ! (al-Jamḥī)	159H (776)
55.	Muḥammad ibn ʻAbdAllāh al-Kathīrī (second term)	160H (777)
56.	Zafar ibn ʻĀṣīm al-Hilālī	160H (777)
57.	Jaʻfar ibn Sulaymān al-ʻAbbāsī (second term)	161H (778)
58.	Ibrāhīm ibn Yaḥyā al-ʻAbbāsī (Died a year later)	166H (782)
59.	Isʼḥāq ibn ʻĪsā al-ʻAbbāsī	167H (783)
60.	ʻUmar ibn ʻAbdal-ʻAzīz (A grandson of the Caliph ʻUmar)	169H (785)
61.	Isʼḥāq ibn Sulaymān ibn ʻAlī (A great-grandson of al-ʻAbbās)	170H (786)
62.	ʻAbdal-Malik ibn Ṣāleḥ ibn ʻAlī (Isʼḥāq's cousin. Appointed by al-Rashīd)	170H (787)
63.	Muḥammad ibn ʻAbdAllāh ibn ʻUbaydAllāh (Appointed by al-Rashīd)	?
64.	Mūsā ibn ʻĪsā al-ʻAbbāsī (Died in 183H (799). Appointed by al-Rashīd)	?
65.	Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-ʻAbbāsī (Appointed by al-Rashīd)	?
66.	ʻAlī ibn ʻĪsā ibn Mūsā al-ʻAbbāsī (Appointed by al-Rashīd)	?
67.	Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm (Appointed by al-Rashīd)	?
68.	ʻAbdAllāh ibn Muṣʻab (Appointed by al-Rashīd)	?
69.	Bakkār ibn ʻAbdAllāh ibn Muṣʻab (Appointed by al-Rashīd)	?
70.	Muḥammad ibn ʻAlī (Appointed by al-Rashīd)	193H (809)
71.	Wahb ibn Munabbih (Abū al-Bukhtarī) Appointed by al-Rashīd)	193H (809)
72.	Dāʼūd ibn ʻĪsā al-ʻAbbāsī (Appointed by al-Rashīd)	193H (809)
73.	Sulaymān ibn Dāʼūd ibn ʻĪsā al-ʻAbbāsī (Served as his father's Deputy)	

74.	Al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl (Appointed by al-Mā'mūn)	198H (814)
75.	Hārūn ibn al-Muṣaiyyib	200H (815)
76.	Ḥamdān ibn 'Alī	201H (816)
77.	'AbdAllāh ibn al-Ḥasan al-'Alawī	204H (819)
78.	Ṣāliḥ ibn al-'Abbās	209H (824)
79.	Sulaymān ibn 'UbaydAllāh	224H (839)
80.	Muḥammad ibn Ṣāliḥ al-'Abbāsī	229H (844)
81.	'AbdAllāh ibn Aḥmad al-Ḥāshimī (Served al-Mutawakkil)	?
82.	Muḥammad (al-Muntaṣir) ibn al-Mutawakkil (Honorary appointment)	233H (847)
83.	'Alī ibn 'Īsā ibn Ja'far al-Manṣūr	237H (851)
84.	'AbdAllāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Dā'ūd ibn 'Īsā	239H (853)
85.	'Abdal-Ṣamad ibn Mūsā	243H (857)
86.	Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān ibn 'AbdAllāh	245H (859)
87.	Ṣāliḥ ibn 'Alī	246H (860)
88.	'Alī ibn Ḥasan ibn Ismā'īl (Appointed by al-Muntaṣir)	247H (861)
89.	Muḥammad ibn 'AbdAllāh ibn Ṭāhir (Appointed by al-Musta'īn).	248H (862)

(D) The 'Alawite Amīrs from the Banī al-Ukhayḍar of Makkah, al-Madīnah and Ḥijr al-Yamāmah:

90.	Ismā'īl ("al-Saffāk") ibn Yūsuf al-Ukhayḍar	250H (864)
91.	Abū 'AbdAllāh Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf (Conquered al-Yamāmah. Died in 316H/928)	255H (869)
92.	Al-Ḥasan ibn Ismā'īl	?
93.	Abū Ja'far Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥasan	?
94.	Abū 'AbdAllāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad	350H (961)
95.	Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Fullān (Expelled by the Qarmaṭians)	?
96.	Abā'l Ḥasan Ṭāhir ibn Muslim ibn Ṭāhir	381H (991)
97.	Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn ibn Ṭāhir	?
98.	Abū Aḥmad ibn 'UbaydAllāh ibn Ṭāhir	397H (1006)
99.	Dā'ūd ibn Qāsim ibn 'UbaydAllāh ibn Ṭāhir	397H (1007)
100.	Muhannā ibn Dā'ūd ibn al-Qāsim	?
101.	Hānī ibn Dā'ūd ibn al-Qāsim	?
102.	'UbaydAllāh ibn Muhannā ibn Dā'ūd	408H (1017)
103.	Al-Ḥusayn ibn Muhannā ibn Dā'ūd	?
104.	Muhannā ibn Dā'ūd ibn Ḥusayn "al-A'raj"	?
105.	Ḥusayn ibn Muhannā ibn Ḥusayn	?

106.	Al-Manṣūr ibn 'Umārah ibn Muhannā (d. 1495H/1102).	?

(E) Note: Al-Madīnah was to enter the Fāṭimid fold during the 350sH(960sCE) in the reign of al-Mu'izz and maintain relations with that dynasty till its end under al-'Āḍid in 567H(1171), though the local Amīrs continued to entertain relations with the 'Abbāsids also and switch their allegiance to suit their convenience from time to time.

(F) The Banī Muhannā (Ḥusaynids) :

107.	'Izzal-din Abū Fulaytah al-Qāsim ibn Muhannā (Fought alongside Ṣalāḥal-dīn in the siege of al-Quds/Jerusalem)	583H (1187)
108.	Sālim ibn al-Qāsim (Abū Fulaytah) (Fought Qatādah of Makkah in 601H/1249)	600H (1204)
109.	Jammāz ibn Fullān ibn al-Qāsim	635H (1237)
110.	Shayḥah ibn Salim (Killed in 647H/1249)	?
111.	'Īsā ibn Shayḥah (Compelled by his brother Jammāz to abdicate)	647H (1249)
112.	Jammāz ibn Shayḥah (Died around 704H/1304)	649H (1251)
113.	Al-Manṣūr ibn Jammāz	704H (1304)
114.	'Aṭīyah ibn al-Manṣūr	757H (1356)
115.	Nu'ayr ibn al-Manṣūr	760H (1359)
116.	HibatAllāh	?
117.	Muḥammad ibn HibatAllāh	788H (1386)
118.	Jamālal-dīn	788H (1386)
119.	Thābit (Above's Nephew)	?
120.	'Ijlān (Above's Brother)	?
121.	Al-Ḥasan ibn Jammāz	825H (1422)
122.	Ummīyān	?
123.	Māni'	?
124.	Wathbān	?
125.	Sulaymān ibn 'Azīz ibn Munāzi'	?
126.	Ummiyān ibn al-Ḥamāzī	?
127.	Zuhayr ibn Ummīyān	?
128.	Ḍaigham	874H (1469)
129.	Qusayṭal ibn Zuhayr	?
130.	Zuhayr ibn Ummīyān (second term)	?
131.	Ḥasan ibn Zuhayr	1100H (1689).

(G) (Note: When the Ottoman Sulṭān Salīm I conquered the Mamlūk Dominions in 922H(1516/17), the Sharīf of Makkah, Barakāt also submitted by sending his son Muḥammad Abū Numai with the Ka'bah's keys. Pleased with the gesture, Salīm I was to appoint the Sharīfs of Makkah henceforth, as the Governors of al-Madīnah as well, in conjunction.

(H) The Hāshimite Kingdom of the Ḥejāz :

132. Al-Sharīf 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn
133. Al-Sharīf Aḥmad Manṣūr ('Wakīl al-Imārah' or Deputy Governor).
134. Al-Sharīf Shaḥḥāt ibn 'Alī ('Qā'im Maqām')

(I) The Sa'ūdī Era:

135.	Al-Amīr Muḥmmad ibn 'Abdal–'Azīz Ibn Sa'ūd.	
136.	Ibrāhīm al-Subhān (Deputy Governor)	1344H (1925)–1345H (1927)
137.	Al-Amīr Mishārī ibn Jiluwī (Deputy Governor)	1345H (1927)–1346H (1927)
138.	'Abdal-'Azīz ibn Ibrāhīm (Deputy Governor)	1346H (1927)–1355H (1936)

(This list, with some additions and modifications, is primarily based on the published research of Aḥmad Yāsīn al-Khaiyyārī—d.1380H/1961—in 'Tārīkh Ma'ālim al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah Qadīman wa Ḥadīthan'—'A History of Landmarks of al-Madīnah the Radiant, Ancient and Modern'—edited and published by 'UbaydAllāh Muḥammad al-Kurdī in 1412H/1991).

APPENDIX D

Mosques Associated with the Memory of the Prophet ﷺ.

(i) Makkah and its Vicinity:

1. Masjid near 'al-Majzarah al-Kabīrah'—It was located by 'the Big Slaughter-House' in Makkah and the Prophet had offered the 'Maghrib' Prayer there. Probably first built or refurbished according to indications in 588H(1192).
2. 'Masjid al-Rāyah'—this stood at the mouth of the ravine of 'Shu'b 'Āmer' in upper Makkah, where the Prophet had planted his Standard upon his peaceful conquest of that City. It was most probably built by al-'Abbās's great, great, great grandson 'AbdAllāh and certainly refurbished by al-Mu'taṣim in 640H(1242).
3. 'Masjid Sūq al-Layl'—Stood on the Prophet's birth-place. It was converted into a mosque by al-Khayzarān, the mother of al-Hādī and al-Rashīd.
4. 'Masjid Ibrāhīm' or 'al-Namirah' (called so by the name of the mountain to its west)— It is also known as 'Masjid 'Arafah' ('Arafāt).
5. 'Masjid al-Ijābah' also known as 'al-'Qunfudh' after the name of the clan inhabiting the ravine during that era. It lies on the road to Minā. The Ḥaḍramī Pilgrims used to stay there once. A stone with an inscription indicates that it was built in 720H(1320).
6. 'Masjid al-Bay'ah'—Stood on the location were the Prophet received the two Pledges of the deputation from Yathrib, one of them in the presence of his Uncle, al-'Abbās. It was most probably built first by the 'Abbāsid al-Manṣūr in 44H(664). It is also known as 'Masjid al-Ḥaras' (because the City's guards would patrol up to that point) and as 'Masjid al-Jinn' (for a group of 'Jinn' had embraced Islām and offered their 'Bay'ah' or 'Oath of Obedince' to the Prophet there, as also referred to in 'Sūrah' 72 of the Qur'ān).
7. 'Masjid al-Shajarah' or 'al-Ḥudaibiyah' (where the Prophet had concluded his famous truce with the Makkans prior to Makkah's peaceful submission—located by the 'Masjid al-Jinn'.
8. 'Masjid al–Nabī' at Minā—The Prophet had offered the 'Ḍuḥā' (forenoon) voluntary Prayers there and performed his sacrifice. It was located between the first 'Jamarah' and the second 'Jamarah' and had

been refurbished by al-Malik Quṭubal-dīn Abū Bakr of the Yaman in 645H(1248).

9. 'Masjid al-Kabsh' at Minā—Associated with the legend of the ram and the spot where it was offered in sacrifice by the Prophet Ibrāhīm in place of his son Ismā'īl.
10. 'Masjid al-Khayf' at Minā—It is located at the bottom of 'Jabal al-Ṣābekh', where several prophets are also said to have offered their Prayers and no less than seventy of them lie in rest. The 'Īd Prayers are offered there. The Prophet's Companion Abū Hurayrah used to say: "If I had been a resident of Makkah, then I would have visited this Mosque every Saturday to offer two voluntary 'Rak'ah' in Prayer". The place where the Prophet had offered Prayers in this Mosque, was in its middle and marked by a square 'minaret'. Probably one of the earliest to refurbish and add to this Mosque, was the 'Abbāsid al-Mu'tamid in 256H(870).
11. 'Masjid al-Mursalāt'—Located between the 'Masjid al-Khayf' and 'Jabal al-Ṣābekh'. The 'Sūrah' 77 in the Qur'ān of that name is said to have been revealed in the cave at its foot. There are also said to be traces of the Prophet's head in it.
12. 'Masjid 'Alī' was located on the way to 'Wādī Marr al-Ẓahrān'.
13. 'Masjid 'Ā'ishah'—lying not too distant from the 'Jabal al-Tan'īm' and hence also known by that name, it is located on the spot from where she had proceeded to perform her "Umrah' during the Prophet's last 'Hajj'. 'Al-Tan'īm' is also the furthest limit of the area of the 'Ḥaram' in the direction of al-Madīnah. This Mosque is also referred to by some as 'Masjid al-Hilaylijah', because it once had that tree growing by it. The earliest known name associated with its construction is of Abū'l Naṣr al-Astarābādī in 466H(1974). Another Mosque at the foot of 'Jabal Thubayr' and above the 'Masjid al-Kabsh' is also associated with her memory. It has a cave where she would perform 'I'tikāf' (offer Prayers and remember God in solitude).
14. 'Masjid al-Fateḥ'—It was located in the proximity of 'al-Jumūm' in the 'Wādī Marr al-Ẓahrān', between Makkah and al-Madīnah. The Prophet had offered his Prayers there. This Mosque was first built by the Sharīf, Abū Numai.
15. 'Masjid Maulid Fāṭimah'—Associated with the birth of the Prophet's daughter, it was located in the house of her mother Khadījah in the area known as 'Al-Ḥijr' and close to the Prophet's own birthplace.
16. 'Masjid Maulid 'Alī'—The place where 'Alī was born and the Prophet was also raised. Lying near the Prophet's own birthplace, it was developed into a place for offering Prayers by Abū'l-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn al-Nāṣir in 608H(1211).
17. 'Masjid Maulid Ḥamzah'—The birth-place of this Uncle of the Prophet in lower Makkah, it was located by the 'Bāb al-Mājin' near the Spring of Bāzān.
18. 'Masjid Maulid 'Umar' —It was located on the Jabal al-Nabī in lower Makkah.
19. 'Masjid Maulid Ja'far ibn Abī Ṭālib' or 'Ja'far al-Ṣādiq' by the 'Dār al-'Ijlah'. It is related that the Prophet had entered this house during his era. Refurbished in 723H(1323).
20. 'Masjid Dār Saiyyidatinā Khadījah by the 'Zuqāq al-Ḥijr' or 'al-'Aṭṭārīn' in Makkah. It was converted by the Umaiyyad Mu'āwiyah I into a Mosque. Apart from the birthplace of Fāṭimah, it had a place covered by a dome where the Prophet had received 'al-Waḥī' ('Divine Revelation') and also another, where he took shelter when the house was stoned. A long list of rulers had maintained it until recently.
21. 'Dār Abū Bakr' in lower Makkah by the 'Bāb al-Mājin' and from where he had migrated with the Prophet to Yathrib. It was converted into a mosque by the Rasūlid Sulṭān Nūral-dīn 'Umar ibn 'Alī in 623H(1226).
22. 'Dār al-Arqam al-Makhzūmī' (also known as 'Dār al-Khayzarān'—the mother of the 'Abbāsids al-Hādī and al-Rashīd). This was the house where the Prophet would preach Islām in secret to his gathered Companions and where 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb entered the fold. It was located by al-Ṣafā' and converted into a Mosque by that lady.
23. 'Dār al-Abbās' by the 'Mas'ā' in lower Makkah—This later on was to become a 'Ribāṭ' for the poor and recognised by the name of 'al-Muwaffaq'.
24. 'Masjid al-Ja'rānah' was associated with the memory of the third of the four 'Umrahs performed by the Prophet. ie.: 'al-Ḥudaibiyah', 'al-Qaḍā', 'al-Ja'rānah' and 'al-Wadā'' (the 'Ḥajj of Farewell'). However, scholars have disputed the spot of this location with the popularly held view.

(Note: This list and information is primarily based on Imām al-Fāsī's 'Shifā al-Gharām' and 'Ātiq al-Bilādī's 'Ma'ālim Makkah').

(ii) Al-Madīnah and its Vicinity:

1. 'Masjid Qubā'—Islām's very first Mosque, built after the Prophet's arrival there in 1H(622). It once had a marker for where the Prophet's she-camel had knelt and a well also. Formerly, it had received the

attention of the Caliphs 'Uthmān,'Umar ibn 'Abdal-'Azīz and several other such rulers. It is located to the old City's south-west.

2. 'Masjid al-Jum'ah' (also known as 'Masjid al-Wādī', 'Masjid 'Ātikah' and 'Masjid al-Ghubayb'). 'Abdal-Ṣamad al-Ghubayb, the City's first Governor on behalf of the 'Abbāsid al-Manṣūr, is said to have been the first to refurbish this mosque. It is located where the encampment of the clan of Banī Sālim once was, in the belly of the Wādī Rānūnah, east of the road to Qubā.
3. 'Masjid al-Muṣallā' or 'al-Ghumāmah' is actually a location where the Prophet used to offer the 'Īd Prayers. The name of 'al-Ghumāmah', derived from the story of the Prophet being sheltered by a cloud as he wend his way toward Buṣrā in Syria and applied to this place of Prayer by the public at large. It had developed into a mosque by the 2nd Centuary Hijrī (8th c CE). Like most mosques in this City, it was to receive serious attention from the Mamlūks and the Ottomans. It is also located in the south-west of al-Madīnah.
4. 'Masjid al-Fateḥ' commemorates the victory of the Muslims over 'al-Aḥzāb' ('the Confederates') in the battle of 'al-Khandaq' ('the Moat'). It is related that the Prophet had prayed there twice, supplicating the Almighty to scatter his assembled foes and it did come to pass. There are five other mosques also in its vicinity associated with the names and memory of the Prophet's 'Companions' during this episode, with the one nearest bearing the name of the Persian, Salmān, of whom the Prophet had said: "Salmān is one of us, 'Āl al-Bayt' (members of the Prophet's household)". He was the 'Companion' who had given the Prophet the idea of digging the 'Khandaq' as a defensive measure.
5. 'Masjid Dhubāb' or 'al-Rāyah' is located on a small blackish mountain of that name north of the City. The Prophet had offered Prayers there during the compaign of 'al-Khandaq'.
6. 'Masjid al-Qiblatayn' ('the Mosque of the two Qiblahs') is built on a small rise to the north-west of the City. It was while offering Prayers in this mosque that the Prophet had been commanded in a Divine Revelation (see 'Sūrah' 2, Verse 144—the Qur'ān) to turn from facing the direction of al-Quds (Jerusalem) towards the Ka'bah in Makkah.
7. 'Masjid Banī Ẓafar' is located on a small hillock on which the Prophet has once sat with his 'Companions' whilst visiting the Clan of Banī Ẓafar on the eastern side of al-Ḥarrah. On that occasion, he had asked a reciter of the Qur'ān to recite from its text and when the latter had reached Verse 41 in Chapter 4, the Prophet had wept unstoppably over the burden of responsibility on him implied in it.

8. 'Masjid al-Suqyā' is located on the opposite side of al-Ḥarrah to the above and by a well bearing that name. It is said that, it was on this spot that the Prophet had declared that al-Madīnah too was a 'Ḥaram' (a Holy Sanctuary like Makkah) and prayed to the Almighty to bless its people. The credit for rediscovering this mosque goes to the great historian of al-Madīnah, al-Ṣamhūdī.
9. 'Masjid al-Ijābah', (also known as 'Masjid Banī Mu'āwiyah' of the Aus) is located to the north of the graveyard of 'al-Baqī' al-Gharqad' and east of the City, where the dwellings of that clan once stood. Its significance as far as the Prophet's 'Sīrah' is concerned, is that, he had prayed here to the Almighty to render his 'Ummah' safe from perdition in the manner of nations of bygone eras, such as by drowning. He had also prayed for them to be rendered safe from internecine fighting. He was to come to know that, the earlier supplication had been accepted but not the latter. Nevertheless, because of the favourable part of the response, this mosque was to become famous by the title of 'al-Ijābah' or 'the fulfillment and compliance'.
10. 'Masjid al-Sijdah', was once a small square structure by the famous date groves known as al-Bushayr. Al-Bayhaqī in his 'Shu'ub al-Īmān' mentions that, the Prophet had once offered two voluntary 'Raka'āt' in Prayer there and had remained in a state of prostration for an inordinate duration and hence the name.
11. 'Masjid al-Shams' (also known as 'Masjid al-Faḍīkh') lies to the east of al-'Awālī, not far from the eastern side of al-Ḥarrah. The Prophet had spent six nights and offered his Prayers during them at this location, while laying siege to the castles of the Banī al-Naḍīr. The Mosque's name, associated with the Sun, was because, as it was located on a height, it would inevitably appear from a distance to rise from above it. The second name is related to the episode of the prohibition of wine in Islām, for when this was conveyed to Abū Aiyyūb al-Anṣārī, he had ordered for the pouring away of all the date wine ('Faḍīkh').

(This list and information is mostly based on the 'Āthār al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah' by 'Abdal-Quddūs al-Anṣārī).

Notes and Sources

Chapter I

From the Earliest Traditions till the Dawn of Islām

Makkah, 'The Honoured Sanctuary' and the Region

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6. Al-Ḥamawī, Y, 'Mu'jam al-Buldān', Vol 8, p 307, Beyrūt (1417 H/1997).
7. Al-Azraqī, M bin A, Op Cit, p 275, 279-282.
8. De Gaury, G, 'Rulers of Makkah', p 21, London (1370 H/1951). Al-Ṭabarī makes the observation (in his 'Tārīkh' Vol 1, p 193) that, as the followers of Islām did not have a regular dating system before the 'Hijrah' (Migration) of the Prophet Muḥammad, hence the dates provided by Arab writers for figures and events formerly referred to in the Jewish (and Christian) Scriptures, often are, as ought, to be in accordance with the dating system of the people of those Revelations. It is also worth consulting the discussion on the topic of dating in his Vol 2, p 388-393.
9. Al-Azraqī, M bin A, Op Cit, p 55-56, 57; al-Fākihī, M bin I, Op Cit, Vol 5, p 120-121.
10. Margoliouth,DS, 'The Relations Between Arabs and Israelities Prior to the Rise of Islam', p 3, London (1924); 'Alī, J, 'Al-Mufaṣṣal Fī Tārīkh al-'Arab Qabl al-Islām', Vol 1, p 16, 294-410; Sharafal-dīn, A H, 'Al-Yaman 'Abr al-Tārīkh', p 58-59, al-Riyāḍ (1406 H/1986).
11. Al-Azraqī, M bin A, Op Cit, p 57-58; al-Ṭabarī, M bin J, Op Cit, p 256-257, 314; al-Fākihī, M bin I, Op Cit, p 128, 129.
12. Al-Azraqī, M bin A, Ibid, p 66-67, 69; al-Ṭabarī, M bin J, Ibid, p 273-276.
13. Al-Azraqī, M bin A, Ibid, p 67, al-Fākihī, M bin I, Op Cit, Vol 4, p 284-285; Vol 5 p 9.

14. Al-Azraqī, M bin A, Ibid, p 67-68.
15. Imām al-Bukhārī, 'Ṣaḥīḥ' (English translation by Khān, MM), Vol 2, p 156-157, al-Riyāḍ (1402 H/1981); al-Fākihī, M bin I, Op Cit, Vol 2, p 89-106.
16. Al-Azraqī, M bin A, Op Cit, p 80-82.
17. Al-Balādhurī, A bin Y, 'Ansāb al-Ashrāf' (edited by M Ḥamīdullāh), Vol 1, p 6, Cairo; Ibn Khaldūn, 'A, 'Al-Muqaddimah', p 356, Beyrūt (4th Edition).
18. Al-Azraqī, M bin A, Op Cit, p 82-83.
19. 'Alī, J, Op Cit, p 619.
20. Ibn Hishām, 'Al-Sīrah', Vol 1, p 76-77, Cairo (1375 H/1955); al-Azraqī, M bin A, Op Cit, p 119; al-Fākihī, M bin I, Op Cit, Vol 5, p 135.
21. Al-Qu'aiṭī, SG bin 'A, 'Tā'ammulāt 'An Tārīkh Ḥaḍramaut Qabl al-Islām', p 11-13, Jiddah (1477 H/1996)—quoting from Pliny's 'Natural History' (translated by H. Rackham), Vol 6, p 459, London (1942) and Strabo's Vol XVI, 4 (translated by H.L. Jones), P 311-313, 347-349, 353-365, London (1966).
22. Schoff, W H, 'The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea', p 45 etc., New York (1912).
23. Ibn Hishām, Op Cit, p 76-87; Vol 2, p 413; al-Azraqī, M bin A, Op Cit, p 119.
24. Ibn Ḥabīb, M, 'Kitāb al-Muḥabbir' (edited by J.L Stetler), p 372, Ḥaidarābād/Beyrūt (1361 H/1942).
25. Al-Azraqī, M bin A, Op Cit, p 101-102,103.
26. Ibid, p 103.
27. Ibn Hishām, Op Cit, Vol 1, p 19, 24-25.
28. Ibid, p 20-27.
29. Al-Qu'ayṭī, SG, 'Arabian and Other Essays', p 134, Ḥaidarābād (1998)—quoting from Goitein's book "Jews and Arabs".
30. Bowersock, GW, 'Roman Arabia', p 46, London (1983).
31. Al-Qu'aiṭī, SG. Op Cit, 'Essays', p 133 quoting from the 'History of the Wars' by Procopious of Caesaria.
32. Sālim, 'A 'A, 'Tārīkh al-'Arab Fī 'Aṣr al-Jāhilīyyah', p 481-485, Beyrūt (1971).
33. Bowersock, GW, Op Cit, p 121-128.
34. Farrukh, 'U, 'Tārīkh al-Jahilīyyah', p 74-75, Beyrūt (1964).
35. Ibn Hishām, Op Cit, p 43.
36. Al-Qu'ayṭī, SG, Op Cit, 'Essays', p 1-22—quoting from sources as referred to.
37. Al-Azraqī, M bin A, Op Cit, p 108, 109.
38. Ibid, p 104-107.
39. Ibid, p 107,109-110.

40. Ibn Hishām, Op Cit, p 224-225.
41. Al-Azraqī, M bin A, Op Cit, p 89.
42. Ibn Hishām, Op Cit, p 124-125.
43. Ibid, p 142-147, 147-150.
44. Ibid, p 202-203; Vol 2, p 543–546.
45. Ibid, Vol 1, p 199-202.
46. Ibid, p 130-132.
47. Ibid, p 133-134.
48. Ibn Ḥabīb, M, Op Cit, p 263-267.
49. Ibn Hishām, Op Cit, p 137-138.
50. Ibid, p 138.
51. Ibid, p 151-155.
52. Ibid, p 156, 158.
53. Ibid, p 45-50.
54. Ibn al-Nadīm, 'Al-Fihrist; p 15, Beyrūt (1417/1997); al- Balādhurī, A bin Y, 'Futūḥ al-Buldān', p 661-662, Beyrūt (1407 H/1987).
55. Phillips, W, 'Qataban and Sheba', p 52-53, 55, London (1955).
56. Ibn Khaldūn, 'A, Op Cit, p 418-421.
57. 'Alī, J, Op Cit, Vol 4, p 142, 143 (For the full debate p 91-290).
58. Al-Balādhurī, A bin Y, Op Cit, 'Futūḥ', p 659-664; Ibn al-Nadīm, Op Cit, p 13.

Chapter II

The Era of the Prophet Muḥammad (Pbuh) and the 'Rightly Guided' Khalīfahs (11H /632–40H/661)

A: Makkah and the 'Honoured Sanctuary'

59. Ibn Hishām, Op Cit, Vol 1, p 492 (FootNote 4); Ibn Ḥabīb, M, Op Cit, p 10; al-Ṭabarī, M bin J, Op Cit, Vol 2, p 388-393 (already referred to in FN 8).
60. Ibn Hishām, Ibid, p 192-197. (All biographical information to do with the Prophet that has been presented in this book, relies heavily on the 'Sīrah' of Ibn Is'ḥāq and Ibn Hishām).
61. Al-Fākihī, M bin I, Op Cit, Vol 2, p 157-158.
62. Al-Ṭabarī, M bin J, Op Cit, Vol 4, p 68-69.
63. Al-Azraqī, M bin A, Op Cit, Vol 2, p 32-36.
64. Al-Fākihī, M bin I, Op Cit, p 158-159.
65. Al-Azraqī, M bin A, Op Cit, p 68-69.

B: Al-Madīnah (the Prophet's City and Mosque)

66. Al-Ṭabarī, M bin J, Op Cit, Vol 2, p 396; Ibn Kathīr, 'U, 'Al-Bidāyah W'al-Nihāyah', pt 3, Vol 2, p 213, Beyrūt (1413 H/1992); al-Samhūdī, 'A bin A, 'Wafā' al-Wafā'', Vol 1, p 322-325, Beyrūt (1374 H/1955); Ibn Sa'd, M, Ṭabaqāt', Vol 1, p 335, 343-344, Ḥaidarābād, Urdū Translation Imprint (1944).
67. The Qur'ānic text relevant to this episode is from V142-V145 and then V177, all in Chapter 2 ("Al-Baqarah"—"The Cow").
68. Al-Samhūdī, 'A bin A, Op Cit, Vol 2, p 391, 393, 388-398; Rif'at (Pāshā), I, Op Cit, Vol 1—for brief notices on the 'Minbars' of the Makkan 'Ḥaram' from p 252-255; for the 'Ḥaram' of al-Madīnah, p 471-472.
69. Al-Samhūdī, 'A bin A, Ibid, p 481, 501.
70. Ibid, p 493; Imām Muslim, Op Cit, Vol 4, Ch 'CMXLIV', p 1219.
71. Ibid, p 505, 507; Ibn al-Athīr, 'A bin M, 'Al-Kāmil Fī'l-Tārīkh', Vol 3, p 51, Beyrūt (1398 H/1978).

Chapter III

The Era of the Banī Umaiyyah (41H/661–132H/750)

A: Makkah

72. Al-Qu'aiṭī, SG, Op Cit, 'Ta'ammulāt', p 28; al-Qurṭubī, Y bin 'A, 'Al-Istay'āb Fī Ma'rifat al-Aṣḥāb', Vol 3, p 471-472, Beyrūt (1415 H/1995).
73. Al-Ṭabarī, M bin J, Op Cit, Vol 5, p 482-499; al-Azraqī, M bin A, Op Cit, Vol 1, p 204.
74. Ibid, Vol 5, p 499, 501-503,530,609,611; Vol 6, p 187-193.
75. Al-Azraqī, M bin A, Op Cit, p 206, 211.
76. Ibid, p 204; al-Fākihī, M bin I, Op Cit, Vol 2, p 159-160.
77. Ibid, p 206, 216.
78. Ibid, p 205-210.
79. Al-Ṭabarī, M bin J, Op Cit, Vol 6, p 160,162,175.
80. Ibid, p 187-190.
81. Al-Azraqī, M bin A, Op Cit, p 210-211.
82. Ibid Vol 2, p 71; al-Fākihī, M bin I, Op Cit, p 161.
83. Ibid p 71-72; Ibid 161-162.

B: Al-Madīnah

84. Al-Ṭabarī, M bin J, Op Cit, p 437.
85. Ibid, p 435-436.
86. Al-Samhūdī, 'A bin A, Op Cit, Vol 2, p 513-525.

87. Ibid p 526-527; Ibn Hishām, Op Cit, Vol 1, p 509; Vol 2, p 413; al-Azraqī, M bin A, Op Cit, p 274, 275.
88. Imām Bukhārī, 'Ṣaḥīḥ' (Text with English Translation), Op Cit, Vol 2, p 18-19; al-Samhūdī, Op Cit, p 396-397.
89. Taghrībardī, Y, 'Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah Fī Mulūk Miṣr W'al-Qāhirah', Vol 1, p 133, 89, Cairo; al-Balādhurī, A bin Y, Op Cit, 'Futūḥ', p 485; Ibn Khaldūn, 'A, Op Cit, p 269-270.
90. Ibn al-Athīr, 'A bin M, 'Asad al-Ghābah Fī Ma'rifat al-Ṣaḥābah', Vol 3, p 260-262, Beyrūt (1415 H/1994); al-'Asqalānī, A bin 'A, 'Al-Iṣābah' Fī Tamyīz al-Ṣaḥābah', Vol 4, p 94-96, Beyrūt (1415 H/1995).
91. Ḥasan, ZM, 'Funūn al-Islām', p 34-36; al-Qurṭubī, Y bin 'A, Op Cit, Vol 3, p 51; al-Samhūdī, 'A bin A, Op Cit, Vol 1, p 370; Vol 2, p 525; Ibn Taghrībīrdī, Y, Op Cit, p 67.
92. Al-Balādhurī, A bin Y, Op Cit, 'Futūḥ', p 485; Ibn Khaldūn, 'A, Op Cit, p 269-270.

Chapter IV

The 'Abbāsid and the Fāṭimid Eras (132H/750–656H/1258)

A: Makkah

93. Al-Azraqī, M bin A, Op Cit, Vol 2, p 73-74; al-Fākihī, M bin I, Op Cit, Vol 2, p 164.
94. Ibid, p 72-74; Ibid, p 162-165.
95. Ibid, p 77.
96. Ibid, al-Athīr, A bin M, Op Cit, 'Al-Kāmil', Vol 5, p 42-43.
97. Al-Azraqī, M bin A, Op Cit, p 74;al-Fākihī, M bin I, Op Cit, p 165, 171.
98. Al-Ṭabarī, M bin J, Op Cit, Vol 8, p 150.
99. Ibid, p 133; Ibn al-Athīr, 'A bin M, Op Cit, 'Al-Kāmil', p 57; Ibn Kathīr, I 'U, Op Cit, Vol 5, pt 10, p 135.
100. Ibid, p 133-134; Ibid, p 57; Ibid p 135.
101. Ibn Khaldūn, 'A, Op Cit, p 546-550.
102. Ibn al-Athīr, 'A bin M, Op Cit, 'Al-Kāmil', p 57; Ibn Kathīr I 'U, Op Cit, p 10, p 135; Al-Azraqī, M bin A, Op Cit, p 74-75.
103. Al-Azraqī, M bin A, Op Cit, p 75-76; al-Fākihī, M bin I, Op Cit, p 165-168.
104. Ibid, p 76; Ibid, 167-168.
105. Ibid, p 77-78; Ibid, 168-170.
106. Ibid, p 78-79; Ibid, p 172.
107. Ibid, p 79; Ibid, 172.
108. Ibid, p 79-80; Ibid, 172-173.

109. Ibid, p 80; Ibid, 173.
110. Ibid, p 80; Ibid, p 173.
111. Ibid, p 80; Ibid, 173.
112. Ibid, p 80-81; Ibid, p 173-174.
113. Ibid, p 80-81; Ibid, p 174.
114. Al-Ṭabarī, M bin J, Op Cit, Vol 8, p 190.
115. Ibid, p 192-200; al-Yaq'ūbī, A, 'Tārīkh', Vol 2, p 404-406, Beyrūt (1379H/1960CE).
116. Al-Ṭabarī, M bin J, Op Cit, Ibid, p 213,230.
117. Al- Azraqī, M bin A, Op Cit, p 81; al-Fākihī, M bin I, Op Cit, p 174-175.
118. Ibid, p 81; Ibid, p 175.
119. Ibid, p 81-82.
120. Ibid, p 82; 83-84; al-Fākihī, M bin I, Op Cit, p 182, 190.
121. Ibid, p 84; Ibid, p 185.
122. Ibid, p 86-94; Ibid, p 188-198.
123. Ibid, p 97; Ibid, p 202.
124. Ibid, p 94-95; Ibid, p 198-199.
125. Ibid, p 95; Ibid, p 199.
126. Ibid, p 95-96; Ibid, p 199-200, 166.
127. Ibid, p 95-96; Ibid, p 199-200.
128. Ibid, p 96-97; Ibid, p 201.
129. Ibid, p 96-97; Ibid, p 202-203.
130. Ibid, p 98-99; Ibid, p 204.
131. Ibid, p 100-101; Ibid, p 75, 77-78.
132. Ibid, p 101-102; Ibid, p 75-76.
133. Al-Ṭabarī, M bin J, Op Cit, p 347.
134. Ibid, p 347; 352; al-Najrāmī, M Y, 'Al-'Ilāqah al-Siyāsīyyah W'al-Thaqāfīyyah Bayn al-Hind W'al-Khilāfah al-'Abbāsīyyah', p 178-194, Beyrūt; Al-Nadawī, MY, 'Tārīkh al-Ṣilāt bayn al-Hind w'al Bilād al-'Arabīyyah', p 74-124; Ibn al-Nadīm, Op Cit, p 303-304, 364, 381 etc; Muṣṭafā, S, 'Daulat Banī al-'Abbās', Vol 1, p 400, al-Kuwayt.
135. Al-Ṭabarī, M bin J, Opt Cit, p 230-231, 234; Ibn Kathīr, I 'U, Op Cit, p 165.
136. Al-Mas'ūdī, A bin H, 'Murūj al-Dhahab' Vol 8, p 294; al-Azraqī, M bin A, Op Cit, Vol 2, p 230, 231; al-Samhūdī, 'A bin A, Op Cit, Vol 4, p 1223; Muṣṭafā, S, Op Cit, Vol 1, p 402; al-Rāshid, S bin A, 'Darb Zubaydah', p 230 (Ph.D. Thesis Leeds, U.K-1977) al-Riyāḍ (1980).
137. Al-Fāsī, M bin A, 'Shifā' al-Gharām Bi-Akhbār al-Balad al-Ḥarām', Vol 1, p 145, Beyrūt (1405H/1985CE); al-Azraqī, M bin A, Op Cit, Vol 2, (Supplement by others) p 230-231, 232, 327-329.

138. Al- Rāshid, S bin A, Op Cit, p 17-35; For other contributors, see p 36-45; for facilities along the road and sources, see Ch 7, p 153, 227.
139. Al-Ṭabarī, M bin J, Opt Cit, p 240-241, 275-286.
140. Ibid, p 341-346.
141. Williams, JA, 'Islām', p 165, New York (1963).
142. Op Cit, 165, 166, 159-196 (for a simple review of 'Kalām' or Theology); al-Khuḍarī, M, 'Muḥāḍirāt fī' Tārīkh al-Umam al-Islāmīyyah (al-Daulat al-'Abbāsīyyah'), p 206-218; Cairo; al-Ṭabarī, M bin J, Op Cit, p 631-645.
143. Al-Khuḍarī, M, Ibid, p 236-242; al-Ṭabarī, M bin J, Ibid, Vol 9, p 222-230.
144. Sharafal-dīn, A bin H, Op Cit, p 193-195 (On the basis of 'Ḥūr al-'Ayn' by Nushwān al-Ḥimyarī, p 197-198) al-Riyāḍ (1406H/1986CE); Saiyyid, AF, 'Tārīkh al-Madhāhib al-Dīnīyyah Fī Bilād al-Yaman', p 24, 92-94, 97; Williams, JA, Op Cit, p 220-221; al-'Ibādī, AM, 'Fī'l-Tārīkh al-'Abbāsī W'al-Fāṭimī', p 224 Beyrūt (1971).
145. 'Umar, F, 'Al-Khilāfah al-'Abbāsīyyah Fī 'Aṣr al-Fauḍā al-'Askarīyyah', p 208-209, Baghdād (1977); al-Ṭabarī, M bin J, Opt Cit, Vol 10, p 94-96.
146. Saiyyid, AF, Op Cit p 93-96.
147. Ibn Kathīr I'U, Op Cit, Vol 6, pt 11, p 283-284.
148. Ibid, p 329-330.
149. Al-Maqrīzī, A bin 'A, 'Itti'āẓ al-Ḥunafā', Vol 1, p 274; Cairo (1416H/1996CE); al-Fāsī, M bin A, Op Cit, Vol 2, p 353-358.
150. Ibn al-Athīr, A bin M, Op Cit, 'Al-Kāmil', Vol 6, p 115-116, 175, 177, 180, 182, 186-188, 191-192 (Also the same years in Vol 6, pt 11, of Ibn Kathīr's 'Al-Bidāyah').
151. Ibid. p 203-205; Ibn Kathīr, 11, Ibid, p 171-173.
152. Ibn al-Athīr, 'A bin M, Ibid, and Ibn Kathīr, I'U, Ibid, pt 11, (under the events of the years cited).
153. Ibn al Nadīm, M bin I, Op Cit, p 217-223 (for the 'Ithnā 'Asharīyyah' and the Zaydīyyah); 232-245 (for the 'Ismā'īlīyyah'); Ibn Khaldūn, 'A, Op Cit, Ch 27, p 196-202, 311-330; Williams, JA, Op Cit, p 205-227.
154. Ibn Kathīr, I'U, Op Cit, p 7-8; Ibn al-Athīr, 'A bin M, Op Cit, 'Al-Kāmil', p 99; Sharafal-dīn, Op Cit, p 239-240.
155. Al-Azraqī, M bin A, Op Cit, p 110-114.
156. Ibid, p 92-93.

B: Al-Madīnah

157. Al-Ṭabarī, M bin J, Opt Cit, Vol 7, p 552, 558.
158. Ibid, p 577-578 (for the whole episode p 550-609).

159. Al-Samhūdī, 'A bin A, Op Cit, Vol 2, p 536-540 (al-Balādhurī in his 'Futūḥ al-Buldān', p 14, asserts that the reconstruction was completed in 162H/779 and not 165H/781).
160. Ibd, Vol 2, p 648-652.
161. Al-Qāḍī Shuhbah, B, 'Al-Kawākeb al-Durrīyah Fī'l-Sīrah al-Nūrīyyah', p 72-73, Beyrūt; Ibn al-Athīr, 'A bin M, Op Cit, 'Al-Kāmil', Vol 9, p 88; Ibn Kathīr, I'U, Op Cit, Vol 6, pt 12, p 267.
162. Ibn al-Athīr, 'A bin M, Ibid, Vol 7, p 100.
163. Ibid, Vol 9, p 152-153.
164. Ibid, p 159-160.
165. Al-Maqdisī (Abū Shāmah), 'A bin I, 'Al-Rauḍatayn Fī Akhbār al-Daulatayn', pt 2, p 81, Beyrūt.
166. Ibn al-Athīr, 'A bin M, Op Cit, 'Al-Kāmil', p 111-112.
167. Al-Sakhāwī, S, 'Al-Tuḥfah al-Laṭīfah Fī Tārīkh al-Madīnah al-Sharīfah', Vol 1, p 176, Cairo (1979).
168. Al-Samhūdī, 'A bin A, Op Cit, p 598-601.
169. Ḥasan, H I, 'Tārīkh al-Daulah al-Fāṭimīyyah', p 218-219.
170. Ibid, p 218.
171. Ibid, p 219.
172. Ibn Kathīr, I'U, Op Cit, Vol 6, pt 11, p 340, 358-359.
173. Ḥasan, H I, Op Cit, p 223; Badr, A, 'Al-Tārīkh al-Shāmil Li'l-Madīnah al-Munawwarah', Vol 2, p 144, al-Madīnah (1993).
174. Badr, A, Ibid, p 143-144, 145, 147-149, 150.
175. Ibid, p 150-151; al-Fāsī, M bin A, 'Al-'Aqd al-Thamīn', Vol 3, p 338-343, Beyrūt (1419H/1998CE); al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, M bin 'A, 'Itḥāf Faḍlā' al-Zaman Bi-Tārīkh Wilāyat Banī al-Ḥasan' ('Tārīkh Makkah'), Vol 1, p 93, Cairo. (However, there is confusion between them over dates and names that does not affect the thesis of the statement).
176. Ibn Taghrībardī, Y, 'Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah', Vol 4, p 230; Ibn Maysar, 'Akhbār Miṣr', p 37; Ibn Kathīr, I'U, Op Cit, p 369-370; al-Khushayrī, M bin A/Abū Bakr ibn Maiyyān, 'Tarjumat al-Khulafā' (Unpublished MS in the Author's possession dealing with events from 11H/632 till 808H/1405), p 2.
177. Ibn al-Athīr, 'A bin M, Op Cit, 'Al-Kāmil', Vol 8, p 107-108; Ibn Kathīr, I'U, Ibid, Vol 6, p 105-106; al-Maqrīzī, A bin 'A, 'Itti'āẓ, Op Cit, Vol 2, p 163-164, 303-304.
178. Al-Maqdisī, 'A bin I, Op Cit, 'Al-Rauḍatayn', Vol 2, p 74; al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, M bin 'A, Op Cit, Vol 1, p 107.
179. Ibn al-Athīr, 'A bin M, Op Cit, 'Al-Kāmil', Vol 9, p 269; al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, M bin 'A, Ibid, p 109-110.

180. Al-Maqdisī, A bin I, 'Al-Dhayl 'Alā al-Rauḍatayn', p 123, Beyrūt (1974).
181. Al-Khazrajī, 'A bin H, 'Al-'Uqūd al-Lū'lū'īyyah', Vol 1, p 32-33, Cairo (1911).
182. Ibid, p 40-41,42-43,46.
183. Ibid, p 50-51.
184. Ibid, p 54, 55, 61-62, 63-65, 68-69, 77-78, 83-84.
185. Ibid, p 84.
186. Al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, M bin 'A, Op Cit, p 129-130,131,132-134,136-137.
187. Al-Qalaqashandī A bin 'A, 'Ṣubḥ al-A'shā', Vol 5, p 449, Beyrūt; Ibn Khaldūn,'A, Op Cit, p 230; al-'Abādī, AM, 'Qayām Daulat al-Mamālīk al-Ūlā', p 196, Beyrūt (1969).
188. Al-Khazrajī, 'A bin H, Op Cit, p 133-135.
189. Ibn Kathīr, I'U, Op Cit, Vol 7, pt 13, p 245; al-Qalaqashandī A bin 'A, Op Cit, Vol 6, p 120.

Chapter V

The Era of the Mamlūks (648H/1250–922H/1517)

A & B: Makkah and al-Madīnah

190. Al-Samhūdī, 'A bin A, Op Cit, Vol 2, p 599, 600.
191. Ibn Kathīr, I'U, Op Cit, Vol 7, pt 13, p 213-217.
192. Al-'Abādī, AM, Op Cit, p 94.
193. Ibn Kathīr, I'U, Op Cit, p 231-237, 238-240, 245.
194. Al-'Abādī, AM, Op Cit, p 155-156, 162.
195. Al-Samhūdī, 'A bin A, Op Cit, p 608-609.
196. Ibid, p 704.
197. Ibid, p 604.
198. Ibid, p 604-605, 611.
199. Al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, M bin 'A, Op Cit, Vol 1, p 132.
200. Al-Khazrajī, 'A bin H, Vol 1, p 69.
201. Al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, M bin 'A, Op Cit, p 132.
202. Al-Fāsī, M bin A, Op Cit, Vol 1, p 462-463.
203. Ibn Kathīr, I'U, Op Cit, p 331-332, 331-335.
204. Al-Fāsī, M bin A, Op Cit, p 462-463.
205. Ibid p 724-726.
206. Al-Qalaqashandī A bin 'A, Vol 6, p 120; al-Bāsha, H, 'Al-Alqāb', p 270.
207. Ibn Kathīr, I'U, Op Cit, p 336.

208. Al-Fāsī, M bin A, Op Cit, 'Al-'Aqd', p 463; al-Maqrīzī, A bin A, Op Cit, 'Al-Sulūk', Vol 1, p 782.
209. Al-Fāsī, M bin A, Op Cit, 'Shifā', Vol 1, p 175-176; al- Maqrīzī, A bin 'A, Ibid, 'Al-Sulūk', Vol 1, p 940-941.
210. Ibn Kathīr, I'U, Op Cit, Vol 7, pt 14, p 141-146.
211. Sulaymān, A S, 'Tārīkh al-Duwal al-Islāmīyyah', Vol 1, p 162, Cairo.
212. Al-Samhūdī, 'A bin A, Op Cit, p 604-605.
213. Ibid, p 529.
214. Al-Khazrajī, A bin H, Op Cit, p 38, 394-395, 402, 407, 410.
215. Ibid, p 415; Daḥlān, A bin Z, 'Khulāṣat al-Kalām Fī Bayān Umarā' al-Balad al-Ḥarām', p 29, Cairo (1397H/1977).
216. Ibid, p 30; al-Fāsī, M bin A, Op Cit, 'Shifā', Vol 2, p 322-323.
217. Al-Fāsī, M bin A, Ibid, p 393. This elephant died in al-Madīnah. The exercise of this display had cost its owner, Abū Sa'īd, more than thirty thousand Dirhams.
218. Ibn Ḥajar (al-'Asqalānī), A bin A, 'Al-Durar al-Kāminah', Vol 2, p 137-138, Beyrūt; al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, M bin 'A, Op Cit, p 138, 148.
219. Al-Khazrajī, 'A bin H, Op Cit, p 134.
220. Al-Fāsī, M bin A, Op Cit, 'Shifā', Vol 2, p 393
221. Al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, M bin A, Op Cit, p 150.
222. Al-Khazrajī, 'A bin H, Op Cit, Vol 2, p 68, 69-72; al-Fāsī, M bin A, Op Cit, 'Shifā', p 394 (Al-Kharzajī, being pro-Rasūlid, does not focus on aspects that reflect negatively on their stature).
223. Al-Khazrajī, 'A bin H, Ibid, p 83-90.
224. Al-Samhūdī, 'A bin A, Op Cit, p 609-610.
225. Al-Fāsī, M bin A, Op Cit, 'Shifā', p 399.
226. Sulaymān, A S, Op Cit, 'Tārīkh', p 160-163.
227. Al-Fāsī, M bin A, Op Cit, 'Shifā', Vol 1, p 364-365.
228. Ibid, p 365-367. It is interesting to note that M bin 'A al-Sakhāwī's biographical dictionary for the world of Islām during the ninth century Hijrī (156 CE), 'Al-Ḍau al-Lāmi'', while dryly recognising his contribution in "rebuilding the Western Colonnade of the Holy Mosque", adds contrarily to the praise lavished on him for swiftly organising and completing the restoration work, that, "he was much inclined towards evils, vicious (in) temperament (and) an acquisitor of wealth, (though also inclined towards) duty and charity" - Vol 2, pt 3, p 22-23, Beyrūt.
229. Al-Fāsī, M bin A, Op Cit, 'Shifā', p 26, 86, 487, 543, 548, 551. (These are references to some of his recorded chariatable works).
230. Ibid, p 346, 433, 438; al-Azraqī, M bin A, Op Cit, Vol 1 p 317.
231. Ibid, p 164, 421, 487, 554; Ibid p 298, 317.
232. Ibid, 'Shifā', p 528, 538, 543, 559-560.
233. Sulaymān, A S, Op Cit, 'Tārīkh', p 163.

234. Al-Azraqī, M bin A, Op Cit, Vol 2, p 93 (also footnotes 3, 4 and 5) al-Fāsī, M bin A, Op Cit, 'Shifā', p 539 (also footnote 2); al-Sakhāwī, M bin 'A, Op Cit, 'al-Ḍau', Vol 2, pt 4, p 24-27.
235. Al-Fāsī, M bin A, Ibid, p 524-526; al-Sakhāwī, M bin 'A, Ibid, Vol 1, pt 2, p 313.
236. Al-Fāsī, M bin A, Ibid, p 538-539, 545, 554-557; al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, M bin 'A, Op Cit, p 238.
237. Ibid, p 505; Ibid p 233-235, 239-240, 242.
238. Al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, M bin A, Ibid, p 271, 272-273.
239. Ibid, p 275-278.
240. Baḍr, A, Op Cit, 'Al-Tārīkh', Vol 2, p 310-311.
241. Al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, M bin 'A, Op Cit, p 274, 278, 279; al-Azraqī, M bin A, Op Cit, p 87 (also footnote 6); Bāsalāmah, H 'A, Tārīkh al-Ka'bah', p 226, Jiddah (1402H/1982).
242. Al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, M bin 'A, Ibid, p 204-206, 274; al-Fāsī, M bin A, Op Cit, 'Shifā', p 346-349; al-Nahrawānī, Q, 'Al-I'lām', p 147.
243. Al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, M bin A, Ibid, p 328.
244. Al-Samhūdī, 'A bin A, Op Cit, p 605-608.
245. Ibid, p 605.
246. Ibid, p 606, 618.
247. Ibid, p 606, 612, 618, 573-574; Vol 3, p 711.
248. Ibid, Vol 2, p 633, 636.
249. Ibid, p 639-640.
250. Ibid, p 625-626.
251. Ibid, p 527, 640, 646.
252. Ibid, p 640-641, 642-643.
253. Ibid, p 641-642.
254. Ibid, p 646-647.
255. Ibid, p 641-643, 671-672.
256. Ibid, p 641-644, 672-675.
257. Ibid, p 678-680.
258. Ibid, p 644-646.
259. Ibid, p 644-646.
260. Ibid, p 644-645, 647.
261. Serjeant, R B, 'The Portuguese off the South Arabian Coast", p 4, 9, (O U P 1963).
262. Ibid, p 15-17, 19; al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, M bin 'A, Op Cit, p 329, 346, 478-479.
263. Farīd Bey, M, 'Tārīkh al-Daulah al-'Ulīyyah al-'Uthmānīyyah', p 179-181 (Beyrūt 1401H/1981); Metwallī, A F, 'Al-Fatḥ al-'Uthmānī Li'l-Shām wa Miṣr Wa Muqaddimātihī Min Wāqi' al-Wathā'iq W'al-Maḥāḍir al-Turkīyyah W'al-'Arabīyyah al-Mu'āṣirah Lahu'—'The Ottoman Conquest of Syria and Egypt Based on Contemporary Turkish and Arabic Documents and Sources'—(this is a most genuine and useful work for the history of this period in Arabic)—p 34-40, Cairo (1976).

264. Metwallī, A F, Ibid, p 34-40, 64-68. There is an excellent discussion between p 73-84, on the reasons for the Ottoman Conquest of Syria and Egypt.
265. Bāsalāmah, H 'A, 'Tārīkh 'Imārat al-Masjid al-Ḥarām', (the best known modern work on the subject—first published in Jiddah in (1354H/1936) p 74-75.

Chapter VI

Life and Culture in The Holy Cities in some Travel Accounts

266. Khusrau, N, 'Safarnāmeh' (translated into Arabic by al-Khashhāb, Y), p 111-112, 121-122, 126-129, 129-130, 131-132, 132-133, 133.
267. Ibn Jubayr, M bin A, 'Riḥlah', p 96-100, 101, 74-75, 106-110,113-116, 127-157 etc, Beyrūt (1970).
268. Ibn Baṭṭuṭah, M bin I, 'Riḥlah', p 143, 145, 155 etc. (Beyrūt).

Chapter VII

Makkah, al-Madīnah and the four Ottoman Centuries

A: The Ottomans—Origins and Early History

269. Al-Ḥamawī, AM, 'Faḍāil Salāṭīn Banī 'Uthmān', p 17-19, Cairo (1413H/1993); Ibn Iyās, MA, 'Badāyi' al Zuhūr Fī Waqāyi' al-Duhūr', Vol 5, p 364-365 (Cairo 1982); al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, M bin 'A, Op Cit, Vol 1, p 251-253.
270. Burjāwī, SA, 'Al-Imberāṭūrīyyah al-'Uthmānīyyah', p 23-26, Beyrūt (1992).
271. Farīd Bey, M, Op Cit, p 114-122.
272. Ḥassūn, 'A, 'Tārīkh al-Daulah al-'Uthmānīyyah', p 23; 29-31, Damascus (1400H/1980).
273. Metwallī, A F, Op Cit, p 6-34 (See the texts of the correspondence from the latter eras of the Mamlūk Sulṭān Barqūq and his Ottoman counterpart Bāyazīd I till the accession of Khūsh Qaḍam in 869H/1461 during the reign of Muḥammad II, when the interests of the two Powers begin to clash openly over Kārāmān and Dhū'l Qādir etc. For example, Muḥammad II, aged 34 years, when informing Aynāl, aged 72 years, of the conquest of Constantinople in 857H/1453, had displayed filial deference to the latter in his letter—see p 30, Muḥammad's letter to Jaqmāq, of Ṣafar 856H (March 1452). Earlier on, Murād I, during 793H/1391 had addressed Barqūq as "Sulṭān of Islām and Muslīms" in a letter, in the reply to which, the latter had expressed the sentiments that, "the two Kingdoms were akin to two

souls in a single body". Relations between these two States improved for a while after the treaty of 896H/1491 and so they remained until the death of Bāyazīd II in 918H/1512—see p 40.

274. Ibid, p 52.

275. Raḍwān, N 'A H, 'Juhūd al-'Uthmānīn Li'ingādh al-Andalus wa Istirdādihī', p 109-111, Makkah (1408H/1988), Shaw, S, 'History of the Ottoman Empire', Vol 1, p 75-76, London (1976).

276. Riḍwān, N 'A H, Ibid, p 61-62, 65-66, 124-143. Sections between p 273-405 are also highly relevant and important.

B: The Ottoman Conquest of the Mamlūk Dominions

277. Metwallī, AF, Op Cit, p 73-82, 145.

278. Ibid (see the exchange of correspondence between the two courts during this period 990 H/1582, eg p 113-115, 116, 125-126).

279. Ibid, p 124-125, 99-101, 102-105, 106-109, 120, 121-122, 125, 126-128, 231; Farīd Bey, M, Op Cit, p 195 - 196; al-Nahrawānī, M bin A, Op Cit, p 290.

280. Farīd Bey, M, Ibid, p 192 (footnote 2); al-Nahrawānī, M bin A, Ibid, p 286-287.

281. Ibid, p 193.

282. Ibid, p 193; Metwallī, AF, Op Cit, p 222, 185 (on the authority of Ibn Zanbal's 'Wāqi'at al-Sulṭān Salīm Ma' Qānṣūh al-Ghaurī', edited by 'Āmer, 'AM, Cairo—1962).

283. One of the best known printed works on the subject is: "Gunpowder and Firearms in the Mamlūk Kingdom ' by David Ayalon, (London 1956). Several Arabic works sadly await the editor and publisher. Some of these are: Ibn al-Qayyim's 'Al- Furūsīyyah' (Cairo 1961); Abū Ḥizām's 'Kitāb al-Furūsīyyah Wa'l-Bayṭarah Fī 'Alāmāt al-Khayl Wa 'Ilājihā'; 'Ilm al-Furūsīyyah'; 'Al-Khayl W'al-Furūsīyyah'; 'Abdal-Raḥmān al-Ṭabarī's 'Al-Ramī bī'l-Nishāb'; Ṭībghā al-Ashrafī's 'Al-Jihād W'al-Furūsīyyah Wa Funūn al-Ādāb al-Ḥarbīyyah' and 'Bughīyyat al-Marām Wa Ghāyat al-Gharām Fī'l-Ramī Bī'l-Nishāb'; the Burjid Mamlūk Sulṭān's 'Lājīn's 'Kitāb al-Mayādīn'; 'Bi'lbughā al-Ashrafī's 'Kāmil al-Ṣinā'atayn Fī'l-Furūsīyyah W'al-Shujā'ah'; Ibn Baktūt al-Ashrafī's 'Kitāb al-Furūsīyyah Wa 'Ilāj al-Khayl', (for further references, it is worth consulting the list of 'Dār al-Kutub', Cairo); Metwallī, AF, Op Cit, p 184, 220, 229 (on the authority of Ibn Zanbal's 'Wāqi'at' al-Sulṭan Ghaurī).

284. Farīd Bey, M, Op Cit, p 192-193.

285. Metwallī, AF, Op Cit, p 79, 237; Sulaymān, AS, 'Al-Taiyyārāt al-Qaumīyyah Wa'l-Dīnīyyah Fī Turkiyā al-Mu'āṣirah', p 17, Cairo (1961).

C: The Beginning of the Ottoman Caliphate

286. Sulaymān, AS, Op Cit, 'Tārīkh al-Duwal', Vol 1, p 16.

287. Ibid, Vol 1, p 16-17.

288. Ibid, Vol 1, p 17-18.

289. Ibid, Vol 1, p 18-19; Farīd Bey, M, Op Cit, p 194.

290. Metwallī, AS, Op Cit, p 233-239; Sulaymān, AS, Op Cit, 'Tārīkh' p 18 (Metwallī asserts that all contemporary Ottoman chroniclers like Ibn Kamāl; Ḥaidar Chalabī, Mitraqchī Nuṣūḥ; Jalālzādeh Khojā and Nishānchī Muṣṭafā had kept a daily record of the whole campaign. However none, including Chalabī refer to any abdication or transfer of the Caliphal Office. Arab chroniclers contemporary to these events like Ibn Iyās and Ibn Zanbal also make no such reference).

291. Metwallī, AF, Ibid, p 198 (on the authority of Manjam Bāshī Aḥmad Dedeh's 'Ṣaḥā'if al-Akhbār Fī Waqāyi' al-Amṣār', Vol 2, Folio 1185 A and B - Topkapi Saray).

292. Al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, M bin 'A, Op Cit, p 358-359.

293. Metwallī, AF, Op Cit, p 203, 258.

294. Shaw, SJ, 'The Financial and Administrative Organisation and Development of Ottomon Egypt 1517-98', p 253, Princeton (1962)—quoting from Auliya Chelebī's 'Siyāḥatnāmeh', Vol 10, p 125; Daḥlān, A bin Z, 'Khulaṣat' p 50-51; al-Nahrawānī, M bin A, Op Cit, 'Al-I'lām', p 291-296; al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī M bin A, Op Cit, p 359-362; Farīd Bey, M, Op Cit, p 195; al-Jabartī, 'A, ''Ajā'ib al-Āthār Fī Tarājim al-Akhbār', Vol 1, p 37, Beyrūt.

D: (i) Salīm (Selim) I
(r. 918 H/1512 till 926 H/1520)
Makkah and al-Madīnah

295. Khaz'al, H, 'Tārīkh al-Jazīrah al-'Arabīyyah', p 37, Beyrūt (1968); al- Ṭabarī al-Makkī, M bin A, Op Cit, p 347; al-Qirmānī, AY, 'Akhbār al-Duwal', p 315, Cairo; al-Malwānī, Y, 'Tuḥfat al- Aḥbāb' (edited by 'Abdal-Raḥīm, 'A'A), p 113, Cairo (1998).

296. Metwallī, AF, Op Cit, p 224; al-Nahrawānī M bin A, 'al-I'lām', Op Cit, p 278-279.

297. Ibid, p 225-227 (Footnotes also).

298. Farīd Bey, M, Op Cit, p 194.

299. Ibn Iyās Op Cit, 'Badāyī'', Vol 5, p 183; al-Nahrawānī, M bin A, Op Cit, 'al-I'lām', p 269—(However, the editor of this work, Sa'īd 'Abdal-Fattāḥ has wrongly interpreted the reference to 'al-Ṣurr' as 'intaṣar'). Please also note 294 above.

300. Farīd Bey, M, Op cit, p 194-195—(The Author in this instance is quoting from Volume 5 of 'Alī Pāshā Mubārak's 'Al-Khiṭaṭ al-Jadīdah al-Taufīqīyyah').

301. Al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, M bin A, Op Cit, p 364-365; (also see 359-363); al-Nahrawānī, M bin A, Op Cit, 'al-I'lām', p 296-297; 'Al-Arj al-Miskī Fī'l-Tārīkh al-Makkī', p 201-204, Makkah (1416 H/1996). An 'Irdab' is supposed to be five Bushels. Burckhardt in his 'Travels in Arabīa', (London, 1829), however mentions that it was fifteen Bushels!

302. Al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, M bin A, Ibid, p 566; Daḥlān, AZ, Op Cit, 'Khulāṣat', p 51; al-Nahrawānī M bin A, Ibid, p 295, 335.

303. Al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, M bin 'A, Ibid, Vol 1', p 359-363; al-Nahrawānī, M bin A, Ibid, p 291-292.

304. Al-Nahrawānī, M bin A, Ibid, p 269.

305. Ibid, p 272, 274; Metwallī, AF, Op Cit, p 52, 56-57.

306. Esin, E, 'Mecca and Madīnah', p 190, London (1963). Overall, an admirable work—excellent and informative. Provides fine foundatory knowledge for developing its various themes.

307. Al- Ṭabarī al-Makkī, M bin 'A, Op Cit, p 405, 413, 559-560.

308. Ibid, p 459-460, 486-487; Daḥlān, AZ, Op Cit, 'Khulāṣat', p 53, 55.

309. Ibid, p 478-479, 421; Ibid, p 53.

310. Fārūqī, NR, 'Mughal Ottoman Relations', p 17-18, Dehli (1989)—an excellently researched, thought provoking work of quality.

311. Al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, M bin A, Op Cit, p 495-496; Daḥlān, AZ, Op Cit, 'Khulāṣat' p 55.

D: (ii) Sulaymān "the Magnificent" (r. 926H/1520 till 974H/1566)

Makkah

312. Al-Ṭabārī al-Makkī, M bin 'A, Ibid, p195-196, 232, 419-420, 480-481, 482, 488-491, 492, 496-505, 533-539; al-Nahrawānī, M bin A, Op Cit, 'Al-I'lām', p 334-354; al-'Āṣimī, 'AM, 'Ṣimt al-Nujūm al-'Awālī', Vol 4, p 95, 96, 98, Beyrūt (1419H/ 1998).

313. Al-Nahrawānī, M bin A, Ibid, p 352, 354; al-'Āṣimī, 'AM, Ibid, Vol 4, p 94,95.

Al-Madīnah

314. Chalabī, A, 'Al-Riḥlah al-Ḥijāzīyyah' (translation from Turkish into Arabic by Dr. Aḥmad al-Mursī of the relevant portion of the voluminous 'Siyāḥatnāmeh'), p 113, 201-203, 219-220, 135-137, 146-147, 264, 265-267,274, Cairo (1420 H/1999); al-Rūmī, M bin Kh, 'Al-Tuḥfah al-Laṭīfah', p 86-91, al-Riyāḍ (1392H/1972); al-'Āṣimī, 'AM, Ibid, p 94-95; Badr, A,

Op Cit, 'Al-Tārīkh, Vol 2, p 334-338; al-Ḥanbalī (Ibn al-'Imād), 'AH, 'Shadharāt al-Dhahab', Vol 4, pt 8, p 376-377, Beyrūt.

315. Al-Rūmī, M bin Kh, Ibid, p 91-92; al-'Āṣimī, 'AM, Ibid, p 94-95; Chalabī, A, Ibid, p128-130, 140.

316. Ibn Baṭṭuṭah, M bin I, Op Cit, p 309; al-Nahrawānī, M bin A, Op Cit, 'Al-I'lām', p 302, 342-350; al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, M bin 'A, Op Cit, Vol 1, p 238, 498, 497-503; al-'Āṣimī, 'AM, Ibid, p 94, 96, 98 - 102.

317. Al-'Āṣimī, 'AM, Ibid, p 95; Farīd Bey, M, Op, Cit, p 246-247, Pierce, LP, 'The Imperial Harem', 199-200, 203-204, OUP/New York (1993)—on the whole, an excellent and informative work.

318. Shaw, S, Op Cit, Vol 1, p 98, 104, 108-109.

319. Ibid, p 90, 104, 110.

320. Ibid, p 27, 30, 46, 58, 113-115, 187; Farīd Bey, Op Cit, p 252.

321. Al-'Āṣimī, 'AM, Op Cit, Vol 4, p 102-103.

322. Metwallī, AF, Op Cit, p 48 (The excerpt given is taken from p 27 of the 'Qānūn-Nāmeh-é-Āl-é-'Uthmān').

323. Farīd Bey, Op Cit, p 271, 275, 276.

324. Metwallī, AF, Op, Cit, p 48.

325. Al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, M bin 'A, Op Cit, Vol 2, p 32-33; Pierce, LP, Op Cit, p 171 - an excellent, succinct exposition based on M, 'Na'īmah's (Naima's) 'Tārīkh', Vol 2, p 211, Istānbul (1280 H/1863).

D: (iii) Salīm (Selim) II (r. 974 H/1566 till 982 H/1574)

Makkah and al-Madīnah

326. Al-Nahrawānī, M bin A, Op Cit, 'Al-I'lām', p 356-357; Farīd Bey, M, Op Cit, p 248, 252; Shaw, S, Op Cit, Vol 1, p 176.

327. Farīd Bey, M, Ibid, p 253-254.

328. Al-'Āṣimī, 'AM, Op Cit, Vol 4, p 107-108; al-Nahrawānī, M bin A, Op Cit, 'al-I'lām', p360-364 – Another rare work in Arabic by the same Author titled 'Al-Barq al-Yamānī Fī'l Fatḥ al-'Uthmānī', which covers this whole episode in great detail. However, references from it will be too extensive to mention here. The great modern day scholar and historian Ḥamad al-Jāsir had supervised the edition of this work published by 'Dār al-Yamāmah' first in 1387 H/1967 CE. In the introduction, it is indicated that "al-Nahrawānī" should actually be read as "al-Nahrawālī", for "Nahrwālah" then formed a district of the Sulṭānate of Gujarāt, ruled by its Pathān Sulṭāns, who were great and learned patrons of culture and learning and have to their credit many great acts of philanthropy and piety. The Author's family had most probably migrated to it from 'Adan during the seventh century Hijrī (13th c CE) and the links with Arabia

had continued, with members migrating back to the Ḥejāz during the ninth century Hijrī (15th c CE). Al-Jāsir's introduction also highlights the pro-Ottoman tendencies of the Author. However, this hardly reduces the great value of this rare work in Arabic on a less known part of the Arab world during a rare epoch.

329. Ibid, p 108; Ibid, p 365-380.

330. Riḍwān, N'A, Op Cit, p 168-174. (In these pages, the Author discusses lucidly the demographic scene and the patterns of commerce then encouraging the Russians and other christian forces to constantly challenge and oppose Ottoman and other Muslim authority, not merely in the Black Sea, the Caspian, the Mediterranean and the Red Sea regions—at sea and on land, but almost globally).

331. Al-Nahrawānī, M bin A, Op Cit, 'Al-I'lām, p 359-360. The Grand Muftī at that time was Shaykh Abū'l Sa'ūd Effendī al-'Imādī and the expedition against Cyprus was deemed permissible on grounds that its ruler and populace had not merely discontinued payment of tribute, but had taken to acts of piracy and else, inimical to the Ottoman State and Muslīm interests.

332. Farīd Bey, M Op Cit, p 256-257.

333. Ibid, p 258; Freely J, 'Istanbul (Blue Guide), p 311, New York (1983).

334. Al-Nahrawānī, M bin A, Op Cit, 'Al-I'lām', p 359, 364-365, 382-383, 384; 'Al-Barq al-Yamānī' Op Cit, Introduction, p 36.

335. Rif'at, I (Pāshā), Op Cit, Vol 1, p 464-465.

336. Al-Nahrawānī, M bin A, Op Cit, 'Al-I'lām', p 31-32, 384-387; al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, M bin 'A, Op Cit, Vol 1, p 526-528; al-'Āṣimī, 'AM, Op Cit, Vol 4, p 108, 111.

337. Ibid, p 389; Ibid, p 529; Ibid, p 111-112.

338. Al-'Āṣimī, 'AM, Ibid, p 111.

339. Ibid, p 112; al-Nahrawānī, M bin A, Op Cit, 'Al-I'lām', p 388-389; al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, M bin'A, Op Cit, p 528 - 529.

340. Al–Nahrawānī, M bin A, Ibid, p 32-33, 390-391; al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī M bin 'A, Ibid, 567; Shaw, S, Op Cit, Vol 1, p 179.

D: (IV) Murād (Murat) III
(r. 982 H/1574 till 1003 H/1595)

Makkah

341. Farīd Bey, M, Op Cit, p 259.

342. Ibid, p 259-260; Shaw, S, Op Cit, Vol 1, 178, 179.

343. Shaw, S, Ibid, p 177, 178, 179.

344. Farīd Bey, M, Op Cit, p 260-261; Riḍwān, N'A, Op Cit, p (393-395, 410-402, 448, 451-452, 457-458) these pages in brackets constitute a preamble to the naval events of Murād III's reign associated with the efforts for the retrieval of Islāmic Spain, p 460-461, 467-468, 471-472, 474-477.

345. Farīd Bey, M, Ibid, p 261-264.

346. Ibid, p 262-263; Shaw, S, Op Cit, Vol 1, p 179.

347. Shaw, S, Ibid, p 179.

348. Al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, M bin 'A, Op Cit, p 530-531; al-Nahrawānī, M bin A, Op Cit, 'Al-I'lām', p 32-33, 390-391 (Also see 1397 H/1977 Cairo edition of this work printed around the borders of 'Khulāṣat al-Kalām' of Daḥlān, AZ, which has additional text—p 276, 278-279); al-'Āṣimī, 'AM, Op Cit, p 110-111, 112-113.

349. Ibid, (Cairo edition) p 279-380; al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, M bin 'A, Ibid, p 531-532.

350. Bāsalāmah, H 'A, Op Cit, 'Al-Masjid al-Ḥarām', p 96-97.

351. Al-Nahrawānī, M bin A, Op Cit, 'al-I'lām', (Cairo edition), p 267-277; al-'Āṣimī, 'AM, Op Cit, p 112-113.

352. Ibid, p 292-295 (for the complete story with its background history); al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī 'A, Op Cit, p 533-550; Ibid, p 113-114.

353. Ibid (Cairo edition), Ibid, p 280-281; Ibid, p 533; Ibid, p 113.

354. Bāsalāmah, Ḥ'A, Op Cit, 'Al-Masjid al-Ḥarām', p 98-100.

355. Al-Azraqī, M bin 'A, Op Cit, Vol 2, p 81-82.

356. Al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, M bin 'A, Op Cit, Vol 1, p 567.

357. Ibid, Vol 1, p 567, Vol 2, p 13.

358. Al-Muḥibbī, MA, 'Khulāṣat al-Athar Fī A'yān al-Qarn al-Hādī 'Ashar', Vol 4, p 341, Beyrūt.

Al-Madīnah

359. Rif'at, I (Pāshā), Op Cit, Vol 1, p 471; al-Anṣārī, N M, "Imārat Wa Tausī' al-Masjid al-Nabawī al-Sharīf', p 135, 137, Jiddah (1416 H/1996).

D: (V) Muḥammad (Mehmet) III
(r.1003H/1595 till 1012 H/1603)

360. Farīd Bey, M, Op Cit, p 267.

361. Al-'Āṣimī, 'AM, Op Cit, p 115; al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, M bin 'A, Vol 2, p 15-16.

362. Farīd Bey, M, Op Cit, p 267-268; al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, M bin 'A, Op Cit, p 15; Na'īmah (Naima) M, 'Tārīkh' (Tarih), Vol 1, p 137.

Chapter VIII

The Grand Sharīfs of Makkah During this Era

363. Al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, M bin 'A, Ibid, Vol 1, p 559-560, 563-565; Daḥlān, AZ, Op Cit, p 55-56; al-'Āṣimī, 'AM, Op Cit, Vol 2, p 360-361, 364.
364. Ibid, Vol 2, p 21-22; Ibid, p 63; al-Muḥibbī, MA, Op Cit, Vol 2, p 361-362; Ibid, p 372-374, 390-391.
365. Ibid, p 16-17, 23, 24; Ibid, p 62; Ibid, p 363; Ibid, p 392-393, 370-371.
366. Ibid, p 25, 27; Ibid, p 63-64; Farīd Bey, M, Op Cit, p 271-272; Ibid, p 393-394.
367. Ibid, p 20-21, 23, 26-27, 27-28.
368. Ibid, p 27.
369. Ibid, p 26-27, 27-28, 29, 36; al-Muḥibbī, MA, Op Cit, Vol 1, p 390, 392; al-'Āṣimī, 'AM, Op Cit, Vol 4, p 400-401, 413.
370. Ibid, p 37-39; Ibid, p 392.
371. Ibid, p 27, 29.
372. Ibid, p 44-45.
373. Farīd Bey, M, Op Cit, p 275.
374. Al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, M bin 'A, Op Cit, p 45-50; al-'Āṣimī, 'AM, Op Cit Vol 2, p 433-437.
375. Ibid, p 45, 51, 58, 62-64; Ibid, p 437, 441-444.
376. Ibid, p 62; Ibid, p 444-445.
377. Ibid, p 63-64; Ibid, p 445-446.
378. Ibid, p 65, 64; Ibid, p 446-447.
379. Ibid, p 66, 67, 68, 69, 74, 76, 77, 81.
380. Ibid, p 68; Daḥlān, AZ, p 75.
381. Ibid, p 71; Ibid, p 75.
382. Ṣāleḥ Kunbuh, 'Shāh Jahān-Nāmeh', Vol 2, 3, p 320, 321, 325, 351, 489-490, 571, 589, 642, 896 (translated from Persian into Urdū by Nāṣir Ḥusayn Zaydī, Lahore (1974).
383. Khān, 'AM, 'Arabian Poets of Golconda', Bombay. (Dr. 'Abdal-Mu'īd Khān was a most capable Azharite and Cantabrian Scholar of Arabic and Islāmic Studies. A professor of the Osmānia University of Ḥaidarābād, he was also the Director of the famous 'Dāirat-ul- Ma'ārif' there during the 1950s and the 1960s).
384. Al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, M bin 'A, Op Cit, p 236-237.
385. Ibid, p 71; Daḥlān, AZ, Op Cit, p 75.
386. Al-Muḥibbī, MA, Op Cit, Vol 2, p 177-178.
387. Al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, M bin 'A, Op Cit, p 74, 80, 82; Daḥlān, AZ, Op Cit, p 76,79.

388. Ibid, p 85; al-'Āṣimī, 'AM, Vol 4, p 476.
389. Ibid, p 84-85, 87-88; Ibid, p 477, 479; Daḥlān, AZ, Op Cit, p 79-80.
390. Ibid, p 87-89; Ibid, p 486, 488-489, 493; Ibid, p 80-81.
391. Ibid, p 89-90; Ibid, p 496, 497, 498; Ibid, p 82-83.
392. Ibid, p 96, 98; Ibid, p 521, 523-524; Ibid, p 83, 84, 85.
393. Ibid, p 91-92, 93, 95; Ibid, p 501, 503- 504, 505, 506, 507, 508; Ibid, p 83.
394. Ibid, p 107-108; Ibid, p 518-519, 527-528, 529, 530, 532; Ibid, p 90-91.
395. Ibid, p 94, 101-102, 104, 107, 108, 110, 114-115, 117, 122, 127, 128; Daḥlān, AZ, Op Cit, p 92-93, 96, 103; Bāsalāmah, Ḥ'A, 'Tārīkh al-Ka'bah', Op Cit, p 198-199; Ibn Khallikān, Op Cit, Vol 5, p 143-147.
396. Al-Muḥibbī, M bin A, Op Cit, Vol 4, p 204-208; Ibid, p 103-104.
397. Al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, M bin'A, Op Cit, p 121-122, 131; al-'Āṣimī, 'AM, Vol 4, p 535-536.
398. Ibid, p 124; Ibid, p 538, 547; Daḥlān, AZ, Op Cit, p 95, 99-100.
399. Ibid, p 127-128; Ibid, p 544-545; Ibid, p 104-105.
400. Ibid, p 129, 135; Ibid, 573; al-Muḥibbī, M bin A, Op Cit, Vol 1, p 191, 196.
401. Ibid, p 136-143; Ibid, p 575-576, 578-581, 584, 587-588.
402. Ibid, p 156-158; Daḥlān, AZ, Op Cit, p 114.
403. Ibid, p 160, 161, 162; Ibid, p 115-116.
404. Ibid, p 163-164; Ibid, p 117-119.
405. Al-'Uqaylī, M bin A, 'Tārīkh al- Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī', Vol 1, p 373-386, al-Riyāḍ (1402 H/1982).
406. Daḥlān, AZ, Op Cit, p 119-121.
407. Ibid, p 406, 407.
408. Al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, M bin 'A, p 172-173, 250, 263.
409. Ibid, p 207, 208, 216.
410. Ibid, p 220, 208.
411. Ibid, p 221-224.
412. Daḥlān, AZ, Op Cit, p 193-194 (a succinct discussion on the issue of 'the Lawful' and 'the Forbidden').
413. Ibid, p 128-131.
414. Ibid, p 131-133, 136; al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, M bin 'A, Op Cit, p 239, 242.
415. Ibid, p 142-143; Ibid, Vol 2, p 254.
416. Ibid, p 141, 143, 144.
417. Al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī 'A, Op Cit, p 226-227, 247.
418. Ibid, p 226-230.

419. Ibid, p 230.
420. Ibid, p 232; al-'Abdarī, M'A, 'Timthāl al-Amthāl', Vol 1, p 25-26, Beyrūt (1402H/1982).
421. Burckhardt, JL, 'Travels in Arabia', p 406-408, London (1829).
422. Al-Nagar, 'U, 'The Pilgrimage Tradition in West Africa', p 3-5, al-Kharṭūm (1972); Trimingham, JS, 'The History of Islāmic West Africa', p 6, London (1968); 'The Influence of Islām upon Africa', p 10 – 11, 14 – 15, Beyrūt (1968).
423. Al-Nagar,'U, Ibid, p4.
424. Daḥlān, AZ, Op Cit, p 147-148; al-Ṭabarī al Makkī, M bin 'A, Op Cit, p 254.
425. Ibid, p 149-151; Ibid, p 265, 273, 274.
426. Ibid, p 154-155; Ibid, p 274-276.
427. Ibid, p 156-157; Ibid, p 278.
428. Ibid, p 158-159; Ibid, p 299.
429. Ibid, p 160; Ibid, p 302-303.
430. Ibid, p 160-161; Ibid, p 303-306.
431. Ibid, p 160; Ibid, p 305.
432. Ibid, p 162; Ibid, p 309 (However, al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī wrongly refers to Nuṣūḥ Pāshā as Naṣīf Pāshā).
433. Ibid, p 162-163; Ibid, p 309.
434. Ibid, p 163-164; Ibid, p 360-361.
435. Ibid, p 164-165; Ibid, p 361-364.
436. Ibid, p 165-166.
437. Ibid, p 165-166, 167-168; Philby, H St J, 'Sa'ūdī Arabīa', p 24, Beyrūt (1968).

Chapter IX

Muslim Philanthropy Towards the Holy Cities and Women

438. Ibid, p 166.
439. Al-Sibā'ī, A, 'Tārīkh Makkah' p 417, Makkah (1411 H/ 1994).
440. Ibid, p 462-463.
441. Al-Qu'aiṭī, SG, Op Cit, 'Arabian and other Essays', p 107 - 110.
442. Sherwānī, HK, 'The Bahmanīs of the Deccan', p 67, Ḥaidarābād (1953).
443. Firishteh (Farishtah), MQ, 'Tārīkh-i-Firishteh', Vol 1, p 758-760, 751-752, (translated into Urdū by 'Abdal-Ḥai, Khwājah), Lāhore.
444. Al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, M bin 'A, Op Cit, Vol 1, p 187-189, al-Fāsī, M bin A, Op Cit, Vol 3, p 363-364; al-Nahrawānī, M bin A, Op Cit, 'al-I'lām, p 222-223.

445. Al-Fāsī, M bin A, Ibid, Vol 3, p 360-361.
446. Fārūqī, N, Op Cit, 'Mughal Ottoman Relations', p 111—quoting on the basis of 'Ẓafar al-Wālih bi Muẓaffar Wa Ālihi', Vol 2, p 815 (English translation by Lokhandwala, MF, Baroda, 1974). This alongside the 'Tārikh al-Nūr al-Sāfir Fī Akhbār al-Qarn al-'Āshir' of 'Abdal-Qādir al-'Aydarūs, p 92, Baghdād (1353 H/1934), to both of which I was first introduced as a student at Cambridge by Prof. R. B. Serjeant, when tinkering with the edition of a Ms of the Ḥaḍramī chronicler M bin 'U, Bāfaqīh al-Shiḥrī's 'Tārīkh al-Ḥawādith W'al-Sinīn, 900 H–1000 H', are the only Arabic works of their kind covering this period to have been compiled in India. As for Fārūqī's above work, I would like to emphasise here again without hesitation that, he has added greately to general knowledge on the subject, because of his ability to use Ottoman material in addition to the Persian Records on the Mughal side; Firishteh, MQ, Op cit, Vol 1, p 760-761; Vol 2, p 857; al-Nahrawānī, M bin A, Op Cit, 'al-I'lām, p 76, 77.
447. Al-'Aydarūs, 'AQ bin Sh, Ibid, p 191-192, 242 - 247; Firishteh, MQ, Op Cit, Vol 2, 593; Fārūqī, N, Ibid, p 111-112.
448. Sikandarī, 'Mir'āt-é-Sikandarī' (translated from Persian by Farīdī, Fl.) p 126—quoted on p 108 of 'Pilgrimage to Mecca—The Indian Experience' by Pearson, MN. This is a most interesting and comprehensive work despite its brevity, though not entirely free from minor errors, Princeton (1996); al-'Aydarūs, 'AQ bin Sh; Ibid, p 252-253.
449. Firishteh, MQ, Ibid, Vol 2, p 642, 643 (Firishteh refers to Sulṭān Maḥmūd by the title of "Thānī" or "The Second". However, I have followed Sulaymān, AS's compendium on Islāmic dynasties in referring to him as "the Third".
450. Fārūqī, N, Op Cit, p 112.
451. Firishteh, MQ, Op Cit, Vol 2, p 632; al-'Aydarūs 'AQ bin Sh, Op Cit, p 210; Bāfaqīh al-Shiḥrī, M bin 'U, 'Tārīkh al-Hawādith W'al-Sīnīn 900 H-1000 H', Folio 86—this is a manuscript in the possession of the Author, who has been tinkering with its edition. Ḥabīb, I, 'Akbar and his India' (An article by Mathew, KS, 'Akbar and Portuguese Maritine Dominance'), p257-259, OUP, New Delhi (2000).
452. Fārūqī, N, Op Cit, p 18, 19, 113-115; Abū'l Fazl (Faḍl), 'A, 'Akbar Nāmeh', Vol 3, p 206, 569 - 570, (translated by Beveridge, H), Delhi (972); al-Badā'ūnī, 'AQ, 'Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh', Vol 2, p 217 (translation by Ranking, etc), Patna (1973); Niẓāmal-dīn Aḥmad, K, 'Ṭabaqāt-é-Akbarī', Vol 2, p 473 (translation by De, B), Calcutta (1939).
453. Fārūqī, N, Ibid, p 20; Abū'l Faḍl, 'A, Ibid, p 569-570, 118-119. These statements and conclusions are also based on the 'Muhimme Dafterli',

419. Ibid, p 230.
420. Ibid, p 232; al-'Abdarī, M'A, 'Timthāl al-Amthāl', Vol 1, p 25-26, Beyrūt (1402H/1982).
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423. Al-Nagar,'U, Ibid, p4.
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425. Ibid, p 149-151; Ibid, p 265, 273, 274.
426. Ibid, p 154-155; Ibid, p 274-276.
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445. Al-Fāsī, M bin A, Ibid, Vol 3, p 360-361.
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the Grand Wazīr's Archives, Istanbul: i.e.—MD 35, p 292, no. 70 (986 H/1580/81CE) MD 43, p 540 no. 107 (988 H/1580-81); MD 43, p 184, no. 336 (988 H/1580-81CE); MD 58, p 260, no. 659 (993 H/1585) as creditably identified by Fārūqī.

454. Dehlawī, SA, 'Farhang-e-Āṣafiyah', Vol 1, p 6-8, Lāhore. This was brought to this Author's attention by two erudite friends of his—'Umar ibn 'AbdAllāh Bāfaqīh, a descendant of those very Saiyyids brought by Ḥājī Begum and put up at the "'Arab Kī Sarāi" and also a relation of the Author by marriage and the research scholar 'Umar Khālidī.

455. Gulbadan Bāno, 'Humāyūn Nāmeh', p 236, (translated by Beveridge, AS, Delhi, 1972).

456. Fārūqī, N, Op Cit, 15-17.

457. Ibid, p 74-75, 187-189, 219-220.

458. Ibid, p 20-23, 149-150, 190-191, Abūl Faḍl, 'A, Op Cit, Vol 1, p 124; Vol 3, p 616-617.

459. Ibid, p 191-193; al-Badā'ūnī, 'AQ, Op Cit, Vol 2, p 1, 26, 39, 45, 279-280; Bilgrāmī, R, 'Islāmic Culture', Ḥaidarābād of July 1973, 'Akbar's Maḥḍar', p 231-241; Abū'l Faḍl, 'A, 'Ā'īn-é-Akbarī', p 28.

460. Al-Badā'ūnī, 'AQ, Ibid, Vol 2, p 276-277.

461. Ibid, p 194; Jahāngīr, NM, 'Tuzuk-é-Jahāngīrī', Vol 1, p 144-145 (trasnlation by Beveridge, H etc), Delhi (1968).

462. Ibid, p 194-195; Khāfī Khān, H'AK, 'Muntakhab al-Lubāb', Vol 3, p 268, Karāchi (1968).

463. Ibid, p 196; al-Murādī, MKh, 'Silk al-Durar Fī A'yān al-Qarn al-Hādī 'Ashar', Vol 2, Sec 4, p 113-114, Beyrūt (1408 H/1988). An idea of the epistlography and composition of Sa'dAllāh Khān may be had from the 'Maktūbāt-é- Sa'dAllāh (Sa'dullāh) Khān' edited by Dr. Nāṣir Ḥasan Zaydī, Lāhore (1968) eventhough the compilation does not contain any letters addressed to the Sublime Porte.

464. Ibid, p 189, 199-201, 219-220; Lockhart, L, 'Fall of the Ṣafavī Dynasty and the Afghan Occupation of Persia', p 285, Cambridge (1958); Inalcik, H, 'Rise of the Ottoman Empire', p 323, London (1973).

465. Fārūqī, N, Op Cit, p 6, 80, 81, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 197.

466. Ibid, p 57, 84, 104; Khān, YḤ, 'The First Niẓām—The Life and Times of Niẓām-al-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh', p 186-187, Bombay (1960); Khāfī Khān, HAK, Op Cit, Vol 4, p 364-365, 374, 394.

467. Ibid, p 57, 84, 85, 86

468. Khān, YḤ, Op Cit, p 233; Najm al-Ghanī, M, 'Tārīkh-e-Riyāsat-e-Ḥaidarābād Dakkan', Vol 1, p 169-174 (especially, p 171-172); Lakhnau (1930); Khāfī Khān, HAK, Op Cit, p 398.

469. Fārūqī, N, Op Cit, p 197, 85.

470. Shaw, S, Op Cit, Vol 1, p 243.

471. Fārūqī, N, Op Cit, p 76, 82, 83, 100-101, 185-186; Lockhart, L, 'Nādir Shāh', p 101-106, 224, London (1938); Olsen, RW, 'The siege of Moṣul and Ottoman–Persian Relations, 1718-1743'; p 100-104, Indiana University (Bloomington 1975).

472. Ibid, p 77-78; Ibid, p 233; Ibid, p 117; Shaw, S, Op Cit, p 246.

473. Ibid, p 82-83, 101-102; Lockhart, L, Op Cit, p 100, 279; Olsen RW, Op Cit, p 101 (on the basis of Ḥikmat, MA, 'Essai sur l'histoire des relations politiques Irano-Ottomanes des 1722 à 1747', p 230, Paris, 1937).

474. Ḥikmat, MA, Ibid, p 230.

475. Fārūqī, N, Op Cit, p 113-114, 107, 117.

476. Ibid, p 113; Abū'l Faḍl, 'A, Op Cit, Vol 3, p 269-270.

477. Ibid, p 114; Ibid, p 271.

478. Ibid, Ibid.

479. Ibid, Ibid.

480. Ibid, p 20-21, 148-149, 161, 227-228; Abū'l Faḍl, 'A, Op Cit, Vol 3, p 410, 758.

481. Pearson, MN, 'Pilgrimate to Mecca—The Indian Experience 1500–1800', p 120-121; Princeton (1996); Gorakshkar, S, 'An illustrated 'Anīs al-Ḥāj' (of Qazwīnī) in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay' (in 'Facets of Indian Art' also'), p 159-161 London 1896; Khandalvala, K, 'An Age of Splendour, Islāmic Art in India', p 132-135, Bombay (1983).

482. Khān, (Abū'l Fateḥ, Qābil), 'Ādāb-é-'Ālamgīrī' (assembled and arranged by Ambālawī, SM and edited by Chaudhry, 'AGh), Vol 2, p 863-866—'A letter circa 1065 H/1655', Lāhore (1971).

483. Muḥammad, M (Mu'tamad Khān), 'Iqbāl Nāmeh-é-Jahāngīrī, p 45, translated into Urdū by Mā'il, MZ, Karāchi (1963).

484. Kanbūh, MṢ, 'Op Cit, Vol 2, p 308.

485. Ibid, p 309, 478, 589.

486. Ibid, p 320.

487. Ibid, 351, 478, 489-491, 528, 588, 589, 642.

488. Musta'id Khān, MS, 'Ma'āthir-é-'Ālamgīrī' (translated into Urdū by Ṭālib, MF'A), p 27; Karāchi (1961); Bakhtāwar Khān, M, 'Mir'āt al-'Ālam', (in Persian edited by 'Alawī, SS), Vol 1, p 175, Lāhore (1979); Sarkar, J, 'A History of Aurangzeb', Vol 3, p 67-68, Delhi (1973); al-'Āṣimī, 'AM, Op Cit, Vol 4, p 474 (the latter work indicates how Aurangzayb's accession was perceived in the Ḥejāz, at least in some quarters).

489. Ibid, p 40-41; Ibid, 192; Ibid, Vol 1, p 313.

490. Ibid, p 95, 183, 192; Ibid, Vol 1, p 403-404.

491. Sarkar, J, Op Cit, Vol 3, p 67-68; Bilmoria, JH, 'Ruq'āt-é-'Ālamgīrī' ('Letters of Aurangzeb'), p 167, Delhi (1972); al-'Āṣimī, 'AM, Op Cit, Vol 4, p 544; al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, M bin 'A, Op Cit, Vol 2, p 156-157.

492. Musta'id Khān, MS, Op Cit, p 354-355, 359-360, 357, 360-366; Bakhtāwar Khān, M, Op Cit, Vol 1, p 384-391; 393, 394, 395.
493. Kanbuh, MŞ, Op Cit, p 351-352.
494. Fārūqī, N, Op Cit, p 126; Kāmwar Khān, MH, 'Tadhkirat al-Salāṭīn-e-Chughtā' (edited by Muẓaffar 'Ālam), Bombay (1980).
495. Musta'id Khān, MS, Op Cit, p 361-362.
496. Khāfī Khān, HAK, Op Cit, Vol 4, p 118.
497. Fārūqī, N, Op Cit, p 126-127; Khān Bahādur, 'AM, 'Mir'āt-e-Aḥmadī', (translated into English by Lokhandwālā, MF), Vol 2, p 19 Baroda (1965).
498. Musta'id Khān, MS, Op Cit, p 364-365.
499. Nūrullāh, Qāḍī Saiyyid, 'Tārīkh-é-'Alī 'Ādil Shāhī', (edited by Sharīfunnisā' Anṣārī), p 109-114, Ḥaidarābād (1991); Ṣiddīqī, 'AM, 'Tārīkh-e-Golkundah', p 171-172, 235, 244, 424, 425, Ḥaidarābād (1964).
500. Serjeant, RB, Op Cit, 'The Portuguese off the South Arabian Coast', p 120-121.
501. Moreland, WH, 'Relations of Golconda in the Early Seventeenth Century', p 37, London (1931); Subrahmanyam, S, 'Persians, Pilgrims and Portuguese: The Travails of Masulipatnam Shipping in the Western Indian Ocean, 1590-1665', p 503, 530, Modern Asian Studies, XXII, 3, (1988); Pearson, MN, Op, Cit, p 108, 118.
502. Fārūqī, N, Op Cit, p, 173, 185, 195, 200-201, 210-211 (Based on Hammer, JD, 'Memoir on the Diplomatic Relations Between the Courts of Delhi and Constantinople in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', p 462-486 - Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, II - 1830).
503. Al-Nahrawānī, M bin 'A, Op Cit, 'al-I'lām', p 306; Metwallī, AF, Op Cit, p 235, 236, 237-238; Fārūqī, N, Ibid, 183-184; Gibb, HAR, 'Luṭfī Pāshā on the Ottoman Caliphate', p 294, (Oriens, 15, 1962); Inalcik, H, 'Rise of the Ottoman Empire (Cambridge History of Islām, Vol 1)', p 320-323, Cambridge (1970).
504. Fārūqī, N, Ibid, p 19, Abū'l Faḍl, 'A, Op Cit, Vol 3, p 568 - 569.
505. Eskandar Beg (Munshī), 'Tārīkh-é-'Ālam Ārā-é-'Abbāsī' (translated by Savory), Vol 1, p 213; Qomī (Qāḍī Aḥmad), 'Khulāṣat al-Tawārīkh'. The former gives the name of Shāh Ismā'īl's mother as "Sulṭānom" and the latter as "Khādim-i-'Ālī Sulṭān Begum". Maria Szuppe's two Articles in the 'Studia Islamica' (No 23 of 1994) p 232 and (No 24 of 1995), p 116 under the title 'La Participation des Femmes de la Famille Royale à l'excercise du Pouvoir en Iran Safavide en XVIieme Siècle'. These references have been kindly provided to me by my friend Dr. Shīrīn Mahdāwī and Prof. Shām Bayātī and on a subject on which information has been hard to come by.
506. Al-Nahrawānī, M bin A, Op Cit, 'al-I'lām', p 337, 350.

507. Shaw, S, Op Cit, Vol 1, p 110, 179.
508. Pierce, LP, Op Cit, 'The Imperial Harem', p 209, 248 (Based on Na'īmah, M, Vol 5, p 113, Istānbul - 1290 H).
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510. Al-Muḥibbī, MA, Op Cit, Vol 1, p 284, 285, 291; Shaw, S, Op Cit, p 190.
511. Ibid, Vol 1, p 190; Farīd Bey, M, Op Cit, p 271, 275.
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513. Al-Muḥibbī, MA, Op Cit, Vol 1, p 288, 290, 291; al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, M bin 'A, Op Cit, Vol 2, p 27, 29.
514. Ibid, p 288 - 289, 289-290. (It may be added in conclusion here that, al-Muḥibbī's biographical entry for Aḥmad I (p 284-292) constitutes a fine and succinct record and Islāmic interpretation of the achievements of his reign).
515. Ibid, Vol 3, p 105; Shaw, S, Op Cit, p 191, 192-193; Farīd Bey, M, Op Cit, p 278, 279.
516. Ibid, p 105, Vol 4, p 365; Ibid, p 191, 193; Ibid, p 276, 280; Pierce, LP, Op Cit, p 232-234.
517. Ibid, Vol 1, p 380-385; Ibid, p 193 - 194; Ibid, p 281, 282; Ibid, p 148, 245.
518. Ibid, Vol 2, 268; Ibid, p 194; Ibid, p 280-281.
519. Ibid, Vol 1, p 382-384; Ibid, p 194; Ibid, p 280-281.
520. Ibid, p 195.
521. Ibid, p 195; Farīd Bey, M, Op Cit, p 282.
522. Ibid, p 195; Ibid, p 281-282, 283; al-Muḥibbī, MA, Op Cit, Vol 4, p 339.
523. Ibid, p 187-188; Al-Ḥamawī, A bin 'A, Op Cit, 'Faḍā'il', p 45-46, 48-49; Brocklemann, 'Tārīkh al-Shu'ūb al-Islāmīyyah', p 510-511, Beyrūt (1977).
524. Ibid, p 195; Pierce, LP, Op Cit, p 244.
525. Sharafaldīn, AH, Op Cit, p 259-260.
526. Shaw, S, Op Cit, Vol 2, p 195-197, 198-199; Farīd Bey, M, Op Cit, p 282.
527. Ibid, p 197-198, 291-292.
528. Ibid, p 198.
529. Ibid, p 198.
530. Ibid, p 199.
531. Ibid, p 199; Farīd Bey, M, Op Cit, p 284.
532. Ibid, p 199-200; Ibid, p 284.
533. Kanbuh, MŞ, Vol 2, Op Cit, p 263-264.

534. Ibid, p 265-267, 268, 301. (Page 586 of this volume (2) covers the arrival and reception during Dhū'l—Qa'dah 1061 H/October 1651, while p 588-589 refer to the dispatch of a Mughal Emissary to the Ottoman Capital, shortly after and via the Ḥajj route, accompained by the Ottoman Ambassador. Also see p 640-641 and 645).
535. Shaw, S, Op Cit, p 199-200; Farīd Bey, M, p 285; Ibid, p 267.
536. Ibid, p 201-202.
537. Ibid, p 200-201, 202, 203.
538. Al-Muḥibbī, MA, Op Cit, Vol 1, p 13-14.
539. Pierce LP, Op Cit, p 246, 247, 250.
540. Farīd Bey, M, p 289-290.
541. Shaw, S, Vol 1, p 205-206.
542. Ibid, p 208-214; Farīd Bey, M, Op Cit, p 290-294, 300.
543. Ibid, p 214-215; Ibid, p 300-301.
544. Armstrong, HC 'Grey Wolf', p 202-203, New York (1961); Mansel, P, 'Constantinople - City of the World's Dreams 1453 – 1924', p 412-414, London (1996).
545. Ibid, p 185-186, 203-208; Ḥassūn, 'A, Op Cit, p 286-289; Minault, G, 'The Khilāfat Movement', p 202-203, OUP, New Delhi (1999); Lord Kinross, 'Ataturk: 'The Rebirth of a Nation', p 384-386, London (1964).

Chapter X

The Era of the Latter Ottoman Sulṭāns

A: Makkah

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547. Ibid, p 46-47; Ibid, p 143-144.
548. Ibid, 46-47; Ibid, p 144.
549. Ibid, p 47; Ibid, p 144; Bāsalāmah, Ḥ'A, 'Tārīkh al-Ka'bah', p 92-127, Jiddah (1402 H/1982). This Author, by quoting from these different early chroniclers presents a comprehensive account of this whole episode.
550. Ibid, p 47; Ibid, p 144-145; Ibid, p 95-97.
551. Ibid, p 47-48; Ibid, p 96-98.
552. Ibid, 47; Ibid, p 97; al-Ṭabarī (al-Makkī), 'A 'AQ, Op Cit, p 144-145.
553. Ibid, p 47-48; Ibid, p 97.
554. Ibid, p 48; Ibid, p 97-98; Ibid, p 145.
555. Ibid, p 50; Ibid, p 98-99; Ibid, p 145-146.
556. Ibid, p 50; Ibid, p 99-100; Ibid, p 146.

557. Ibid, p 51-52; Ibid, p 102-104; Ibid, p 147-148.
558. Ibid, p 51, 53, 55; Ibid, p 103.
559. Ibid, p 55-57; Ibid, p 104, 107, 109, 115, 120.
560. Ibid, p 54; Ibid, p 108-109, 110.
561. Ibid, p 54; Ibid, p 109.
562. Ibid, p 54-55; Ibid, p 110.
563. Ibid, p 120-121.
564. Ibid, p 238-239; 'Tārīkh 'Imārat al-Masjid al-Ḥarām', p 271; Jiddah (1400 H/1980); al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, M bin 'A, Op Cit, Vol 2, p 67-68, 80, 82-83.
565. Ibid, p 239.
566. Ibid, p 239-240.
567. Bāsalāmah, Ḥ'A, Op Cit, 'Tārīkh al-Masjid al-Ḥarām', p 160, 180, 271-272; al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, M bin 'A, Op Cit, p 221-222.
568. Ibid, p 221-224.
569. Bāsalāmah, Ḥ'A, Op Cit, 'Tārīkh al-Ka'bah', p 240.
570. Ibid, p 240-241.
571. Bāsalāmah, Ḥ'A, Op Cit, 'Tārīkh al-Masjid al-Ḥarām', p 272.
572. Al-Jabartī, 'A, Op Cit, ''Ajā'ib', Vol 2, p 179-180, Beyrūt; Mukherjee, R, 'The Rise and Fall of The East India Company', p 270-273, Bombay (1973); Kauthar (Kausar), K, 'Secret Correspondence of Tipu Sulṭān', p 222-225, Lāhore (1980).
573. Al-Sibā'ī, A, Op Cit, p 490-493 (quoting in abstract form from 'AbdAllāh Muḥammad Ghāzī's 'Ifādat al-Anām Bi Dhikr Akhbār Balad Allāh al-Ḥarām' which I have not seen).
574. Bāsalāmah, Ḥ'A, Op Cit, 'Tārīkh al-Ka'bah', p 241.
575. Bāsalāmah, Ḥ'A, Op Cit, 'Tārīkh al-Masjid al-Ḥarām', p 272-273.
576. Al-'Amr, SM, 'The Hijāz under Ottoman Rule 1869 – 1914', p 57-58. This is actually a PhD thesis presented in 1974 to Leeds University and subsequently published by al-Riyāḍ University in 1978).
577. Ibid, p 190-192; Daḥlān, AZ, 'Khulāṣat al-Kalām', p 321-323, al-Qu'ayṭī, SG, Op Cit, 'Essays' p 141-142.
578. Bāsalāmah, Ḥ'A, Op Cit, 'Tārīkh al-Masjid al-Ḥarām', p 273, Op Cit, 'Tārīkh al-Ka'bah', p 193.
579. Ibid, p 274-277, Ibid, p 241, 242.
580. Ibid, p 275-277.
581. Ibid, p 278; Op Cit, ' Tārīkh al-Ka'bah', p 242-243.
582. Ibid, p 277-281; Ibid, p 242-243.
583. Ibid, p 278.
584. Ibid, p 279.
585. Bāsalāmah, Ḥ'A, Op Cit, 'Tārīkh al-Ka'bah', p 209.

586. 'Abdal-Ḥamīd II (Sulṭān), 'Mudhakkarātī al-Siyāsīyyah (1891-1908)', (Arabic translation), p 105-106, Beyrūt (1399 H/1979); Baker, R, 'King Husain and the Kingdom of Hijāz', p 17; al-Diqn, M, 'Sikkat Ḥadīd al-Ḥijāz al-Ḥamīdīyyah – Dirāsah Wathā'iqīyyah', p 75, 97-103, 103-114. Al-Diqn's is a most impressive, comprehensive study based on a large number of official and unofficial documents. The anxiety of the British Government over its inability to oppose the scheme openly despite several apprehensions is well argued.

587. Al-Diqn, M, Ibid, p 75; al-Qu'aiṭī, SG, Op Cit, 'Tā'ammulāt', p 89-91; Baker, R, Ibid, p 17, 18, 42-44.

588. Philby, H St. J, 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol XII, Pt 4, October 1925', p 4-5.

589. Baker, R, Op Cit, p 33; al-Qu'aiṭī, SG, Op Cit, 'Essays', p 138; al-Ziriklī, Kh, 'Al-I'lām', Vol 4, p 184.

590. 'Abdal-Ḥamīd II, Sulṭān, Op Cit, 'Mudhakkarātī', p 6-7 etc.

591. Ibid, p 6-7, 11-12, 36-38. For a detailed study of the Ottoman stance vis à vis the Zionist Movement, see 'Mauqif al-Daulah al-'Uthmānīyyah Min al-Ḥarakah al-Ṣahyonīyyah, 1897-1909', by Ḥallāq, H'A, Beyrūt (1400 H/1980).

592. Bāsalāmah, Ḥ'A, Op Cit, "Imārat al-Masjid al-Ḥarām', p 280-281.

593. Sibā'ī, A, Op Cit, p 566-567.

594. Ibid, p 594-596.

595. Ibid, p 580-582.

B: Al-Madīnah

596. Muṣṭafā, ṢL, 'Al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah Taṭawwurhā al-'Imrānī Wa Turāthuhā al-Mi'mārī', p 89-90 (quoting from al-'Abbāsī's "Umdat al-Akhbār', p 464, al-Madīnah, undated). I have found the above work highly commendable as an outline guide to that City's development through the ages despite its brevity, considering the size of the subject. He has succeeded in including much information of value, alongside his clear analysis and conclusion. This book certainly deserves greater publicity and circulation than it seems to have received till now.

597. Ibid, p 89.

598. Ibid, p 90.

599. Rif'at (Pāshā) I, Op Cit, Vol 1, p 464-465.

600. Ibid, p 465.

601. Ibid, p 465.

602. Burckhardt, J, 'Travels in Arabia', p 340, London (1968).

603. Rif'at (Pāshā), I, Op Cit, Vol 1, p 465.

604. Ibid, p 465, 451; Badr, AB, Op Cit, Vol 2, p 483, 487; Al-Anṣāry, NM, "Imārat Wa Tawsi'at al-Masjid al-Nabawī al-Sharīf 'Abr al-Tārīkh',

p 145-146; al-Birzanjī, JI, 'Nuzhat al-Nāẓirīn', p 23, Cairo; 27-36,44, Beyrūt.

605. Ibid, 'Mir'āt', Vol 1, p 465-466; Ibid, Badr, AB, Ibid, Vol 2, p 487; Ibid, al-Birzanjī, JI, Ibid, p 23,25, Cairo.

606. Ibid, 'Mir'āt', Vol 1, p 448.

607. Ibid, p 448-450, 465-467.

608. Ibid, p 449; al-Birzanjī, JI, Op Cit, p 37-41, Cairo.

609. Ibid, p 466, 467; Ibid, p 37.

610. 'Abdal-Ghanī, MI, 'Tārīkh al-Masjid al-Nabawī al-Sharīf', p 57, al-Madīnah, (1419 H/1999).

611. Muṣṭafā, ṢL, Op Cit, p 96.

612. Rif'at, (Pāshā), I, Op Cit, Vol 1, p 448.

613. 'Abdal-Ghanī, MI, Op Cit, p 57-58.

614. Ibid, p 56 (on the authority of 'Waṣf al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah', p 58, by 'Alī bin Mūsā; Rif'at (Pāshā), I, Op Cit, p 448.

615. Rif'at (Pāshā), I, Op Cit, p 466, 451.

616. Muṣṭafā, ṢL, Op Cit, p 96; Ibid, p 465-468.

617. 'Abdal-Ghanī, MI, Op Cit, p 60-61; al-Batnūnī, ML, 'Al-Riḥlah al-Ḥijāzīyyah', p 239-245, Cairo (1329 H).

618. Ibid, p 57, 58, 60-62; Muṣṭafā, SL, Op Cit, p 96; Rif'at (Pāshā), I, Op Cit, p 468, 456, 470, 472, 477-479; al-Birzanjī, JI, Op Cit, p 23-46 (especially 44-46) Cairo.

619. 'Abdal-Ghanī, MS, Ibid, p 61-62; al-Birzanjī, JI, Ibid, p 37-38, Cairo.

620. Rif'at (Pāshā), I, Op Cit, p 475.

621. Ibid, p 459, 468.

622. Al-Birzanjī, JI, Op Cit, p 25, Cairo.

623. Ibid, p 44-46; Rif'at (Pāshā), I, Op Cit, p 468.

624. Ibid, Rif'at (Pāshā), I, p 451-452.

625. Ibid, p 474-475.

626. Ibid, p 454-456; al-Ālūsī, MSh, 'Tārīkh Najd', p 94-97, 98 ('Ammān 1998).

627. Ibid, p 454.

628. Ibid, p 454-456.

629. Muṣṭafā, ṢL, Op Cit, p 90, 92, 98; Burckhardt, JL, Op Cit, 'Travels in Arabia', p 330, 340, 341; Burton RF, 'A Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to al-Madina and Mecca', p 312-313, 332-333, 336, London (1907).

630. Muṣṭafā, ṢL, Ibid, p 98; Philby, H St. J, 'A Pilgrim in Arabia', p 60, London (1946).

631. Al-Anṣāry, 'AQ, Op Cit, 'Āthār al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah', p 103.
632. Ibid, p 103.

Chapter XI

The 'Unitarian' Call, Muḥammad 'Alī and Arabia

A: The Shaykh Muḥammad ibn 'Abdal-Wahhāb (b.1115H/1703–d.1206H/1792), his Teachings and Legacy

633. Ibn Ghannām, Ḥ, 'Rauḍat al-Afkār wa'l-Afhām' ('Tārīkh Najd'), Vol 1, p 81-82, Beyrūt (1994); Ibn Khaz'al, Ḥ, 'Tārīkh al-Jazīrah al-'Arabīyyah Fī 'Aṣr al-Shaykh Muḥammad ibn 'Abdal-Wahhāb', p 55-56, 59, Beyrūt (1968).
634. Ibid, p 82; Ibid,p 59; Ibn Bishr, 'U'A, "Unwān al-Majd Fī Tārīkh Najd', Vol 1, p 7, al-Riyāḍ; al-Murādī, M Kh, Op Cit, Vol 2, (Bk IV), p 34, 27.
635. Ibid, p 81-82; Ibid, p 55-56, 59.
636. Ibid, p 82; Ibid, p 59; al-Murādī, M Kh, Op Cit, p 34.
637. Al-Murādī, M Kh, Ibid, p 34, 27, 66; al-Jabartī, 'A, Op Cit, Vol 1, p 125-126.
638. Al-Jabartī, 'A, Ibid, p 125-126.
639. Ibn Ghannām, Ḥ, Op Cit, p 83; Ibn Bishr, 'U 'A, Op Cit, p 8; Ibn Khaz'al, Ḥ, Op Cit, p 59.
640. Qamaruddīn (Khān), 'The Political Thoughts of Ibn Taimīyyah', p ii-v, 170-185, Karāchī (1985); Williams, J A, Op Cit, p 191-192.
641. Ibid, p 179-185; Ibn Khallikān, A M, Op Cit, Vol 1, p 63-65.
642. Hughes, T P, 'Dictionary of Islām', p 253, New Delhī (2004).
643. Ibn Bishr, 'U 'A, Op Cit, p12; Ibn Ghannām, Ḥ, Op Cit, p 90.

B: The Birth of the First 'Unitarian' Sa'ūdī State

B: (i) The Pact between the Amīr Muḥammad ibn Sa'ūd (r.1139H/1726–1179H/1765) and the Shaykh Muḥammad ibn 'Abdal-Wahhāb

644. Ibid, Vol 1, p 9-10.
645. Ibid, p 11-12.
646. Ibid, p 11-12; Ibn Ghannām, Ḥ, Op Cit, Vol 1, p 87.
647. Ibid, p 14, Ibid, p 88.
648. Ibid, p 48; Ibid, p 125-126; Ibn Khaz'al, Ḥ, Op Cit, p 250-252; al-Fākhirī, M 'U, 'Tārīkh al-Fākhirī', p 140, al-Riyāḍ (1419H).
649. Ibn Khaz'al, Ḥ, Ibid, p 264-265.

B: (ii) The Amīr 'Abdal-'Azīz ibn Sa'ūd (r.1179H/1765 – 1218H/1803)

650. Ibid, p 321-324.
651. Ibn Ghannām, Ḥ, Op Cit, p 135-136.
652. Ibid, p 173-175.
653. Ibid, p 319-320.
654. Daḥlān, A Z, Op Cit, p 261.
655. Ibid, p 262, 263; Ibn Bishr, 'U, Op Cit, p 86-87.
656. Ibid, p 264, 265; Ibid, p 103-110.
657. Ibid, p 229; Ibid, p 89-96; al-Fākhirī, M 'U, Op Cit, p 153-154; Ibn 'Īsā, I Ṣ, 'Tārīkh Ba'ḍ al-Ḥawādith al-Wāqi'ah Fī Najd', p 125-126, al-Riyāḍ (1386H).
658. Ibn Ghannām, Ḥ, Op Cit, p 197-198.
659. Ibn Bishr, 'U, Op Cit, p 110; al-Fākhirī, M 'U, Op Cit, p 158.
660. Ibid, p 120-121; Ibid, p 159; Ibn 'Īsā, I Ṣ, Op Cit, p 129.
661. Ibid, p 121-122; Ibid, p 160; Ibid, p 129-130.
662. Ibid, p 121-122; Ibid, p 162; Maurizi, V (Shaik Manṣūr), 'History of Sayd Said', p 80, London (1819) – Reprint; al-Qāsimī, S M, 'The Myth of the Arab Piracy in the Gulf', p 113, London (1986).

B: (iii) The Adherents of the 'Da'wah' in the Holy Cities

663. Ibid, p 122-123; Ibid, p 163; Daḥlān, A Z, Op Cit, p 271-276.
664. Ibid, p 123; Ibid, p 275-276.
665. Ibid, p 123-124; Ibid, p 276-279; al-Fākhirī, M 'U, Op Cit, p 162-163.
666. Ibid, p 126; Ibid, p 163-164; Ibn 'Īsā, I Ṣ, Op Cit, p 130.

B: (iv) Sa'ūd ibn 'Abdal-'Azīz (r.1218H/1803–1229H/1814)

667. Ibid, p 137; Ibid, p 163-164; Ibid, p 130; Daḥlān, AZ, Op Cit, p 294.
668. Ibid, p 139-140; Ibid, p 166-167; al-Jabartī, 'A, Op Cit, Vol 3, p 204; al-Subā'ī, A, Op Cit, Vol 2, p 504.
669. Al-Jabartī, 'A, Ibid, p 193-194; Daḥlān, AZ, Op Cit, p 294.
670. Al-Jabartī, 'A, Ibid, p 116.
671. Ibid, p 117, 193-194; Daḥlān, AZ, Op Cit, p 294.
672. Ibid, p 116-117; Ibid, p 285-286; Ibn Bishr 'U, Op Cit, p 135-137; al-Fākhirī, M 'U, Op Cit, p 164-165.
673. Ibn Bishr 'U, Ibid, p 144, 147-148; al-Fākhirī, M 'U, Ibid, p 165; Ibn 'Īsā, I Ṣ, Op Cit, p 133.
674. Ibid, p 153-154.
675. Daḥlān, A Z, Op Cit, p 277, 278, 279.

676. Ibn Bişhr 'U, Op Cit, p 143-144, 148; al-Qāsimī, S M, Op Cit, p 118, 50.
677. Ibid, p148; Ibid, p 134-148; al-Fākhirī, M 'U, Op Cit, p 169-170.
678. Al-Qāsimī, S M, Ibid, p iii, xiii—(Bombay Archives, Vol 77/1819-20, p 12—Minute by Mr. Warden).

C: The First Egyptian Expedition under Ṭūsūn Pāshā (1226H/1811)

679. Al- Jabartī, 'A, Op Cit, Vol 9, p 13, 23, 135-138, 246-249, 254, 304, 306, 319.
680. Ibid, p 317-327; al-Rāfi'ī (Bey), 'A, ' 'Aṣr Muḥammad 'Alī', Vol 3, p 103-106, Cairo (1930); Ibn 'Īsā, I Ş, Op Cit, p 135-136.
681. Al-Rāfi'ī (Bey), 'A, Ibid, p 122-124.
682. Ibid, p 122-123.
683. Daḥlān, A Z, Op Cit, p 295.
684. Ibid, p 296; al-Fākhirī, M 'U, Op Cit, p 173; al-Jabartī, 'A, Op Cit, Vol 3, p 360.
685. Al-Rāfi'ī (Bey), 'A, Op Cit, p 126-127; 'Abdal-Raḥmān, 'A 'A, 'Tārīkh al-Dawlah al-Sa'ūdīyyah al-Ūlā', Vol 1, p 308,307, Cairo (1976).
686. Ibid, p 128-130; al-Jabartī, 'A, Op Cit, p 360, 396-397; Daḥlān, A Z, Op Cit, p 295-296, 300; Ibn Bişhr 'U, Op Cit, p 160-164; Ibn 'Īsā, I Ş, Op Cit, p 137-138.
687. Ibid, p 130-131; Ibn Bişhr, 'U, Ibid, p 162-165.
688. Ibn Bişhr 'U, Ibid, p 164-165; al-Fākhirī, M 'U, Op Cit, p 174.
689. Ibid, p 164; Daḥlān, A Z, Op Cit, p 296.
690. Daḥlān, A Z, Ibid, p 296-297.
691. Ibid, p 296; al-Jabartī, 'A, Op Cit, p 408.
692. Ibid, p 297-299; Ibn Bişhr, 'U, Op Cit, p165.
693. Ibid, p 297.
694. Ibid, p 297-298.
695. Ibn Bişhr 'U, Op Cit, p165; al-Rāfi'ī (Bey), 'A, Op Cit, p132; Ibn 'Īsā, I Ş, Op Cit, p138-139; al-Jabartī, 'A, Op Cit, p 447-448,465; DeGaury, G, Op Cit, p 206.
696. Ibid, p 171.
697. Ibid, p 171-172.
698. Ibid, p 168-170,174,175; Burckhardt, JL, Op Cit, p 310 (transalated by 'Uthaymīn, 'A S, p 63, 64); Anonymous, 'Lam' al-Shihāb Fī Sīrat al-Shaykh Muḥammad ibn 'Abdal-Wahhāb ', Op Cit, p 170, Beyrūt.
699. Ibid, p 163,173; Burckhardt, JL, (transalation), Ibid, p 71.
700. Ibid, p 178.
701. Ibid, p 180-182; al-Rāfi'ī (Bey), 'A, Op Cit, p 136.

702. Ibid, p 180-182; Ibid, p 136; al-Jabartī, 'A, Op Cit, p 474; Ibn 'Īsā, I Ş, Op Cit, p 140; al-Fākhirī, M 'U, Op Cit, p 176-177.
703. Ibid, p 182-183; Ibid, p 135-137; Ibid, p 447; Daḥlān, A Z, Op Cit, p 300,301.
704. Ibid, p 185.
705. Al-Rāfi'ī (Bey), 'A, Op Cit, p 137-138; Burckhardt, JL, (transalation), Ibid, p 190; Daḥlān, A Z, Op Cit, p 301.
706. Ibid, p 141; Ibid, p 192; Ibn Bişhr 'U, Op Cit, p 187.
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708. Ibid, p 142; al-Jabartī, 'A, p 493-494; al-Fākhirī, M 'U, Op Cit, p 179; Burckhardt, JL, Op Cit, p 351, (transalation), p 118-119,122,142-143,188-189, 192; De Gaury, G, Op Cit, p 186-197,199, 234.

D: The Second Egyptian Expedition under Ibrāhīm Pāshā

709. Ibn Bişhr 'U, Op Cit, p 186-187; Ibn 'Īsā, I Ş, Op Cit, p 142; al-Fākhirī, M 'U, Ibid, p 179.
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713. Ibn Bişhr 'U, Op Cit, p 187.
714. Ibid, p 189-190; al-Rāfi'ī (Bey), 'A, Op Cit, p 147-148; al-Fākhirī, M 'U, Op Cit, p 180; Ibn 'Īsā, I Ş, Op Cit, p 142-143.
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719. Al-Jabartī, 'A, Ibid, p 568-569, 578-579.

E: The Fall of al-Dir'īyyah and the First Sa'ūdī State

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726. Ibid, p 206.

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677. Ibid, p148; Ibid, p 134-148; al-Fākhirī, M 'U, Op Cit, p 169-170.
678. Al-Qāsimī, S M, Ibid, p iii, xiii—(Bombay Archives, Vol 77/1819-20, p 12—Minute by Mr. Warden).

C: The First Egyptian Expedition under Ṭūsūn Pāshā (1226H/1811)

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681. Al-Rāfi'ī (Bey), 'A, Ibid, p 122-124.
682. Ibid, p 122-123.
683. Daḥlān, A Z, Op Cit, p 295.
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688. Ibn Bişhr 'U, Ibid, p 164-165; al-Fākhirī, M 'U, Op Cit, p 174.
689. Ibid, p 164; Daḥlān, A Z, Op Cit, p 296.
690. Daḥlān, A Z, Ibid, p 296-297.
691. Ibid, p 296; al-Jabartī, 'A, Op Cit, p 408.
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D: The Second Egyptian Expedition under Ibrāhīm Pāshā

709. Ibn Bişhr 'U, Op Cit, p 186-187; Ibn 'Īsā, I Ṣ, Op Cit, p 142; al-Fākhirī, M 'U, Ibid, p 179.
710. Al-Rāfi'ī (Bey), 'A, Op Cit, p 145.
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713. Ibn Bişhr 'U, Op Cit, p 187.
714. Ibid, p 189-190; al-Rāfi'ī (Bey), 'A, Op Cit, p 147-148; al-Fākhirī, M 'U, Op Cit, p 180; Ibn 'Īsā, I Ṣ, Op Cit, p 142-143.
715. Ibid, p 189-190; Ibn 'Īsā, I Ṣ, Ibid, p 144-145.
716. Ibid, p 190-191; Ibid, p 144; al-Rāfi'ī (Bey), 'A, Op Cit, p 148; al-Fākhirī, M 'U, Op Cit, p 180-181.
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718. Ibid, p 193-196; Ibid, p 149; Ibid, p 145.
719. Al-Jabartī, 'A, Ibid, p 568-569, 578-579.

E: The Fall of al-Dir'īyyah and the First Sa'ūdī State

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721. Al-Rāfi'ī (Bey), 'A, Ibid, p 150; Ibn Bişhr 'U, Op Cit, p 204-205.
722. Ibid, p 150; Ibid, p 205.
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725. Ibid, p 209-210.
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727. Ibid, p 208,209; al-Fākhirī, M 'U, Op Cit, p 181-182.
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736. Al-Jabartī, 'A, Op Cit, p595-596.
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739. Ibn Bishr 'U, Op Cit, p 214,215; al-Jabartī, 'A, Op Cit, p 606,607; Bayly Winder, R, Op Cit, p 24-25; Daḥlān, A Z, Op Cit, p 302.
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741. Ibid, p 96-103.

F: Egyptian Occupation (1233H/1818–1256H/1840)

F: (i) The Interegnum in Najd

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F: (ii) The Turkçe Bilmez Affair

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F: (iv) Mishārī ibn 'Abdal-Raḥmān, Fayṣal ibn Turkī, Khālid ibn Sa'ūd and 'AbdAllāh ibn Thunaiyyān

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776. Ibid, p 94-97.
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F: (v) Fayṣal ibn Turkī's Second Reign

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G: Muḥammad ʻAlī, the Sulṭān and Egyptian withdrawal from Arabia

G: (i) Ibrāhīm Pāshā's Advance into Syria and the North

780. Ibid, p 311; al-Rāfiʻī (Bey), ʻA, Op Cit, Vol 3, p 312-315,317-319.
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G: (iii) The International Influence of the 'Daʻwah'

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Chapter XII

The Ḥajj at the Time of the Visits of Ibrāhīm Rifʻat Pāshā (Between 1318 H/1901–1325 H /1908)

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B: Al-Madīnah

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Chapter XIII

The Ottoman Withdrawal from the Ḥejāz

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860. Pollock, J, 'Kitchener', p 149-151, New York (1998).
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862. Baker, R, Op Cit, p 97-99; al-Subā'ī, A, Op Cit, 'Tārīkh Makkah', p 606-608; Antonius, G, Op Cit, p 195.
863. Ibid, p 100; Ibid, p 606; Ibid, p 197 - (This latter account is primarily based on the issues of the Makkah newspaper 'al-Qiblah' dated 15th to 18th Shawwāl 1334 H/14th to 17th August 1916).
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C: The CUP and Freemasonry, Zionist Aspirations and Other Secret Societies and Movements

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880. Chomsky, N 'Fateful Triangle', p 129, 130.
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885. Fromkin, D, Op Cit, p 99, 177, 318.
886. The British Foreign Office Report cited Op Cit, Footnote in 699.
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D: The "Damascus Protocol" and The Sharīf- McMahon Correspondence

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898. Ibid, p 136 (Foreign Office. 882/4).
899. Antonius, G, Op Cit, p 210 (originally quoted in 'The Century' July 1920).
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E: The Course of the Revolt

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902. Philby, H St J, Op Cit, '(JR AS XII, Pt 4, October 1925)', p 5-6.
903. Baker, R, Op Cit, p 99-100.
904. Stitt, G, 'A Prince of Arabia', p 160, London (1948); Ḥaidar, M, (Princess), 'Arabesque', p 82, London (1944); Baker, R, Op Cit, p 110-113.
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908. Baker, R, Op Cit, p 104-105.
909. Antonius, G, Op Cit, p 191.
910. Baker, R, Op Cit, p 113-115; 122-123, 218.
911. Ibid, p 115, 120 (Note 35).

F: 'The Campaign for the North and al-Madīnah and Fakhrī Pāshā

912. Esin, E, Op Cit, p 190.
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914. Ibid, p 129-130.
915. Ibid, p 124, 129.
916. Ibid, p 124, 132 (Footnote 4), 129; Fromkin, D, Op Cit, p 225, 227.
917. Ibid, p 74, 106, 120 (Footnotes 13 and 14), 132 also (Footnote 3); Ibid, p 99-100 - Also see Footnote 769 above and Antonius, G, Op Cit, p 212-213.
918. Ibid, p 132, 135-136, 137, Fromkin, D, Ibid, p 99, 220; Lawrence, TE, Op Cit, p 576.
919. Fromkin, D, Ibid, p 99-101, 108, 318; the British Public Records Office, Kew, War Cabinet, (Middle East Committee, CAB27/23, p 154).

920. Fromkin, D, Ibid, p 225-227, Also TC Lawrence's Papers (69/48/2) at the Imperial War Museum, London.
921. Baker, R, Op Cit, p 134, 135.
922. Ibid, p 136; Lawrence, TE, Op Cit, p 326.
923. Ibid, p 138.
924. Ibid, p 139.
925. Ibid, p 139, 152-153 (Footnote 17), 148; Kedourie, E, 'The Capture of Damascus' in Middle East Studies (I) NI, October 1964, p 66-83.
926. Ibid, p 148; Gilbert, M, Op Cit, 'The First World War', p 484.
927. Gilbert, M, Ibid, p 484, 485, 488-489.
928. Baker, R, Op Cit, p 155-156.
929. Ibid, p 37.

G: The Sykes–Picot–Sazanov Agreement

930. Antonius, G, Op Cit, p 244-245, 246, 247, 248, 249; Fromkin, D, Op Cit, p 190, 191-192.
931. Ibid, p 244-248; Ibid, p 191-192, 199-196; Palmer, A, 'Victory 1918', P 57-58, New York (1998).
932. Ibid, p 243-244, 245; Palmer, A, Op Cit, 'The Decline and Fall of the Ottoman Empire', p 239; Palmer, A, Ibid, p 32-33.
933. Palmer, A, Ibid, 'Decline and Fall', p 239; Palmer, A, Ibid, p 33.
934. Ibid, p 234.
935. Baker, R, Op Cit, p 142; Antonius, G, Op Cit, p 251-252, 257-258.
936. Fromkin, D, Op Cit, p 239.
937. Baker, R, Op Cit, p 145.
938. Ibid, p 145.
939. Antonius, G, Op Cit, p 253-256.
940. Ibid, p 260, 265 'Reports of the Executive of the Zionist Organization to the XIIth Zionist Congress, I'; 'Political Report' (National Labour Press, London, 1921).
941. Ibid, p 261.
942. Ibid, p 262-263, 264; Baker, R, Op Cit, p 143-144.
943. Ibid, p 305.

H: The Departure of Fakhrī Pāshā and the Surrender of al-Madīnah

944. Baker, R, Op Cit, p 134; Stitt, G, 'A Prince of Arabia' (The Memoirs of Prince 'Alī Ḥaidar), p 178, London (1948).
945. Esin, E, Op Cit, p 190.

946. Ibid, p 193; Ḥāfiẓ, 'A, 'Fuṣūl Min Tārīkh al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah', p 47-49, Jiddah (1996)—English translation—p 21, 25, 27).
947. Ibid, p 193; Baker, R, Op Cit, p 139.
948. Ibid, p 193; Ḥāfiẓ, 'A, Op Cit, p 48.
949. Ibid, p 193; Baker, R, Op Cit, p 140.
950. Baker, R, Ibid, p 139-140.
951. Esin, E, Op Cit, p 193; Ibid, p 140.
952. Ibid, p 193.
953. Ibid, 193. (For the last phase of the defence of al-Madīnah, please see the extensive and impressive list of reliable sources provided by this Author in her Footnote 73, on p 217); Baker, R, Op Cit, p 140.
954. Sykes, C, 'Two Sudies in Virtue', p 205, London (1953).
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Chapter XIV

The Kingdom of the Ḥejāz

A (i): The Sharīf Ḥusayn as "King of the 'Arab lands" and "Khalīfah"

956. Liddell Hart, BH, 'TE Lawrence', p 393, London (1934).
957. Mousa, S, 'TE Lawrence, an Arab View', p 246, Oxford (1966).
958. Ibid, p 242; Baker, R, Op Cit, p 166-167.
959. Baker, R, Ibid, p 167-168.
960. Lawrence, TE, Op Cit, 'The Seven Pillars of Wisdom', p 212.
961. Baker, R, Op Cit, p 167.
962. Ibid, p 167, 183 (British Consul L. Grafftey-Smith in PRO/FO 686-28, 20 January 1922); Grafftey-Smith, L, 'Bright Levant', p 157, London (1970).
963. Ibid, p 173-176; Philby, H St J, Op Cit, 'Journal of Central Asian Society, Vol XII (1925)', p 340; Ibid, p 157.

A (ii): Assumption of the Caliphate by King Ḥusayn.

964. Telegram from the Governor of Malta to the Secretary of State for Colonies dated 7th December 1922; Colonial Office No 608261, Rec'd 8 Dec', 22 - (Archives of Islām).
965. Telegram from Viceroy of India and Political Dep't to Secretary of State for India, dated Delhi, 23rd February 1923, Rec'd 8 am, 24th February 1923 - (Archives of Islām).
966. The 'Times', dated 13th March 1924, 'The Arab Caliphate—An Ottoman Caliph's Recognition'—(a Report filed in from Jerusalem).
967. Baker, R, Op Cit, p 185-188; 'Aṭṭār, A'A, 'Ṣaqr al-Jazīrah', Vol 2, Part 4, p 682-684, Beyrūt (1977).

968. Baker, R, Op Cit, p 173, 189, (Footnote 2); Grafftey-Smith, L, Op Cit, p 158. I had learnt from some of the Khandwānī family's elderly scions that, having suffered loss of life during the Sa'ūdī assault on al-Ṭā'if during 1343 H (1924), the bereaved were extended protection by King 'Abdal-'Azīz until they grew up. It is worth adding here that, this family, which originally hails from Mahim near Bombay, was also heavily involved in transporting Pilgrims from various destinations to the Ḥejāz and later on, also between the Holy Cities.
969. Al-Sibā'ī, A, Op Cit, preserves the Arabic text of this Memorandum on p 660-662. For a flavour of some of the titles used by the British Authorities in Cairo etc, in addressing the Sharīf, see the British High Commissioner McMahon's letter of 19th Shawwāl 1333 H (30th August 1915) on p 663. For a translation into English of the first Memorandum, consult Antonius, G, Op Cit, p 414.
970. Baker, R, Op Cit, p 173; 'Aṭṭār, A'A, Op Cit, Vol 2, Pt 4, p 682-684. For a resonably detailed and in my opinion accurate substantiation of how the Sharīf Ḥusayn was seduced and won over by the British, consult the "Memories" of Djemal Pāshā, A—particularly Chapter VIII ('The 'Arab Rebellion'), p 197-237. Also see Kedourie, E, 'England and the Middle East—The Destruction of the Ottoman Empire 1914-1921', p 53-57, Hassocks, Sussex (1978); Antonius, G, Ibid, p 327 - 329, 335, 336. For an opposing view of the Sharīf's disregard for the Caliphate, consult 'From Ottomanism to 'Arabism' by Dawn, CE, p 40-45, 81-84, University of Illinois (1973).
971. Philby, H St. J, Op Cit, 'Journal of Royal Asian Society, Vol XII, 1925', p 340.

A (iii): The Beginning of the Najdī Invasion of the Ḥejāz

972. Philby, H, St. J, 'Sa'ūdī, 'Arabia', p 277-278, Beyrūt (1968); 'Aṭṭār, A'A, Op Cit, Vol 2, Pt 4, p 682.
973. 'Aṭṭār, A'A, Ibid, p 684-689; Wahbah, Ḥ, 'Khamsūn 'Āman Fī'l Jazīrah al-'Arabīyyah', p 56, Beyrūt (1960); Minault, G, 'The Khilāfat Movement', p 206-207, Oxford University Press (1982).
974. 'Aṭṭār, A'A, Ibid, p 698 (Footnote 1); Baker, R, Op Cit, p 200-201; Wahbah, Ḥ, 'Arabian Days', p 148, London (1964).
975. Ibid, Vol 1, Pt 2, p 432-442—then the extensive quote from the Sharīf (later King) 'AbdAllāh's 'Memoirs', till p 447. The letter referring to his desire to march on till 'Kūt al-Iḥsā' is on p 435.
976. Baker, R, Op Cit, p 197 (on the basis of Foreign Office 608/80 to Colonel AT Wilson).
977. Wahbah, Ḥ, Op Cit, p 55-66; Rīḥanī, A, 'Tārīkh Najd al-Ḥadīth' Op Cit, p 333, Beyrūt (1988).

978. 'Aṭṭār, A'A, Op Cit, Vol 2, Pt 4, p 622-693.
979. Ibid, p 692-693.
980. Ibid, p 689-691; Wahbah, Ḥ, p 55-66.
981. Baker, R, Op Cit, p 204-205 (on the basis of Foreign Office Document, Ref: PRO/FO 686, 29 September and 686-29, 11 October 1924.
982. Telegram to the 'Times' from the 'Khilāfat Committee', dated 4th October 1924, signed by Maulānā Shaukat 'Alī.

A (iv): The International Crisis Over the Caliphate and the 'Khīlāfat' Movement

983. Minault, G, Op Cit, p 35-36; Muḥammad 'Alī Papers with the 'Jāmi'ah-é-Millīyah-é- Islāmīyyah' (JMI), New Delhi - 'Muslim Gazette' (Lucknow), 2nd July 1913.
984. Minault, G, Ibid, p 72-73.
985. Ibid, p 73, 74; 'The Independent' (Allahabād) of 18 July 1919.
986. Foreign Office 'Eastern Summary No 1049 of 22nd January 1923', labeled 'A.I, Turkey—Turkish Pan-Islāmic Policy: The Jamiet ul Islām and the Convention of a Pan Islāmic Congress: The Proposed Turco-Persian-Afghān Alliance' - See p 1-2.
987. Ibid, p 1-2, 2-3.
988. Foreign Office (E 10932/199/44) No 724, Neville Henderson from Constantinople, dated 6th November 1923 to Marquess Curzon, p 1.
989. Shaukat 'Alī's Presidential Address (Khuṭbah-e-Ṣadārat) to the Khilāfat Conference in Kakinada, December 1923.
990. Minault, G, Op Cit, p 193-194, 195 (also 'Abdal-Bārī Papers at Firangī Maḥal (FM): The Maulānā to the Niẓām of Ḥaidarābād and 'Abdal-Laṭīf Mīnā'ī on behalf of the Niẓām's Government to the former, 9th June 1922; The National Archives of India (NAI), Note on the 'Tablīgh' Movement, 4th October 1924, Home, Political 6/IX, 1924).
991. Ibid, p 195-196 (Govt of UP Administration Dep't, 530, 1923, 'Agra Riot in August 1923, Confidential letter from the Commissioner Meerut Division to Chief Secretary, UP, GB Lambert, dated, Saharanpur, 27th August 1923).
992. Ibid, p 196-197 The National Archives of India (NAI) Home Political 249/VIII/1924 (V 261)—Gov't of North West Frontier Province Foreign Dep't of Gov't of India, 13th September 1924; Sir Charles Innes's Report, Home, Political 37/II, 1925; Gov't of UP Administration Dep't 520, 1924, 'Statement on the Hindu-Mulsim disturbances in India during August and September 1924. The UP Gov't Papers are located in the Record Room of the UP Gov't Secretariat in Lucknow; The Muḥammad 'Alī Papers, at the 'Jāmi'ah-é-Millīyah-é- Islāmīyyah' (JMI), the President of the Punjāb Khilāfat Committee's Report on the Kohāt Riots by Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥabīb, 1st October 1924).

993. Ibid, p 206 - 'Abdal-Bārī Papers, Firangī Maḥal (FM), March, 1924.
994. Ashraf, SD, 'Aurāq-e-Mu'arrikh', p 91-95, Ḥaidarābād (1998) on the basis of material in the AP State Archives.
995. Ibid, p 91-95.

B (i): The Abdication and Exile of King Ḥusayn and the Election of 'Alī

996. Dobbs (High Commissioner for al-'Irāq) to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Telegram Dated 24th September 1924 (Archives of Islām); 'Aṭṭār, A'A, Op Cit, Vol 2, Part 4, p 727-723; al-Mukhtār, Ṣ, 'Tārīkh al-Mamlikah al-'Arabīyyah al-Sa'ūdīyyah Fī Māḍīhā wa Ḥāḍiruhā', Vol 2, p 300-301.
997. Baker, R, Op Cit, p 183 (PRO/FO 686-26, 20 June 1920; PRO/FO 686-28 March 1922).
998. Troeller, G, 'The Birth of Sa'udi Arabia', p 219, London, 1976—(Colonial Office to Foreign Office, 23rd September 1924, Letter, No. 43017; Colonical Office 727/8); Baker, R, Op Cit, p 204-205.
999. Ibid, p 219 (Viceroy of India to Secretary of State for India, 25th September 1924, Telegram No. 3890).
1000. Baker, R, Op Cit, p 206; 'Aṭṭār, A'A, Op Cit, p 724-728; al-Mukhtār, Ṣ, Op Cit, p 301-302; Rīḥānī, A, Op Cit, p 339.
1001. Armstrong, HC, Op Cit, p 173; Baker, R, Ibid, p 208 (As for the name of the Tukhish Queen given by Baker as "Galaleta", HRH Prince Ghāzī bin Muḥammad bin Ṭalāl bin 'AbdAllāh bin Ḥusayn has informed me that, his great great Grandfather had no wife by that name and the Turkish mother of Prince Zaid and Princess Sārah was called 'Adīlah. The ethnic origin of his second Queen Madīḥah 'Umm Ṣālīḥah' are not known. His senior Queen, The Sharīfah 'Abdīyyah was the mother of Kings 'Alī, 'AbdAllāh and Fayṣal. Hence, 'Galelata', almost the Arabic for 'Her Majesty' must have been misinterpreted by Baker for the Queen's name!
1002. 'Aṭṭār, A'A, Op Cit, p 730; al-Mukhtār, Ṣ, Op Cit, p 303.
1003. Ibid, 732; Ibid, p 306-307, 314-316; Rīḥānī, A, Op Cit, p 340.
1004. Baker, R, Op Cit, p 232.
1005. Ibid, p 220, 231-232.
1006. Al-Mukhtār, Ṣ, Op Cit, p 316-317.
1007. Ibid, p 304; 'Aṭṭār, A'A, Op Cit, p 730-732, 741.
1008. Ibid, p 304; Ibid, p 740- 741.
1009. Baker, R, Op Cit, p 209.
1010. Rīḥānī, A, Op Cit, p 353; 'Aṭṭār, A'A, Op Cit, p 749-751, 897-902.

1011.Baker, R, Op Cit, 209.
1012.Ibid, p 209.
1013.Al-Mukhtār, Ş, Op Cit, p 332; Al-Rīḥānī, A, Op Cit, p 414; Philby, H St. J, Op Cit, 'Sa'ūdi Arabia', p 289.
1014.Ibid, p 415; Ibid, p 289.
1015.Ibid, p 289.
1016.'Aṭṭār, A'A, Op Cit, Vol 2, Part 4, p 697, 699, 737; Rīḥānī, A, Op Cit, p 359-360, 364.
1017.'Aṭṭār, A'A, Ibid, Pt 4, p 851-854; Pt 5, p 927, 928; Baker, R, Op Cit, p 224; Foreign Office Document No 443 (8990/42), Lord Lloyd (Cairo) to Sir Austen Chamberlain, 2nd July 1926, 'The Islamic Conference at Mecca and the Egyptian delegation' (E4187)—(Archives of Islām).
1018.Foreign Office Document No 165 of 27th October 1924 (E 9975/7624/91/1924) 'Ibn Sa'ūd's candidature for Caliphate'. Also Secret Despatch No 202 of 18th December 1924 (E 179/179/91)—both from British Acting Consul Vaughan Russell, Damascus (Archives of Islām).
1019.'Aṭṭār, A'A, Op Cit, Pt 4, p 902-903; Foreign Office Document, 'Eastern (Arabia), Confidential (E4186/20/91), No, 79, 12th July 1926, Section 2—Vice Consul SR Jordan (Jiddah) to Sir Austen Chamberlain, 23rd June 1926 (Enclosure)—'Report on the Mecca Moslem Conference' (Archives of Islām); Armstrong, HC, 'Lord of Arabia', p 184-186, Penguin, London (1938).
1020.'Aṭṭār, A'A, Ibid, Pt 4, p 866-868; Hāfiẓ, 'A, Op Cit, p 55; Rīḥānī, A, Op Cit, p 420.
1021.Ibid, Pt 5, p 970, 1019; Al-Māna', M, Op Cit, p 84-85.
1022.Ibid, Pt 4, p 854-856; Baker, R, Op Cit, p 224-225; Rīḥānī, A, Op Cit, p 415-416.
1023.Ibid, p 880-883.
1024.Ibid, p 883.
1025.Ibid, p 883; Baker, R, Op Cit, p 227.
1026.Ibid, p 758-759.

B (ii): The Aftermath—Makkah, Ibn Sa'ūd and the Islāmic World

1027.Ibid, p 788-789, 800-801.
1028.Ibid, p 788-789, 897-898.
1029.Ibid, p 903-906.
1030.Ibid, p 693,754; Stitt,G, Op Cit, 'A Prince of Arabia', p 292-301.
1031.Ibid, p 894-895; Rīḥānī, A, Op Cit, p 430.
1032.Darwīsh, MA, 'Tārīkh al-Dawlah al-Sa'ūdīyyah', p 136 (on the basis of the Egyptian Paper 'Al-Muqaṭṭam' of 8th January 1926), Jiddah (1407 H/1987).

1033.'Aṭṭār, A'A, Op Cit, p 888-889; al-Mukhtār, Ş, Op Cit, p 386-389.
1034.Ibid, p 889, 902-903.
1035.Ibid, p 904-906, p 918; al-Mukhtār, Ş, Op Cit, p 386.
1036.Armstrong, HC, Op Cit, p 190-191; Ibid, p 854; Ibid, p 386.

B (iii): The Muslim Conference in Makkah of 1344/45 H (1926)

1037.Footnote 809 cited above, Foreign Office Document, Confidential (E 4186/20/91), 12th July 1926, Vice Consul Jordan (Jeddah) to Chamberlain, Report on the Mecca Moslem Conference, Op Cit, p 2; al-Mukhtār, Ş, Ibid, p 386; Stitt, G, Op Cit, p 300.
1038.Darwīsh, MA, Op Cit, p 128-129 ('al-Muqaṭṭam' 17th, 19th March 1926) 'al-Manār', Vol 27, Pt 8, p 634-636); al-Mukhtār, Ş, Ibid, p 386.
1039.Footnotes 809 and 826 cited above—Foreign Office Document, Confidential (E 4186/20/91), 12th July 1926, Vice Consul Jordan (Jeddah) to Chamberlain, 'Mecca Moslem Conference', p 4.
1040.Ibid, 1; Armstrong, HC, Op Cit, p 190.
1041.Ibid, p 1, 3-4.
1042.Ibid, p 1,5.
1043.Foreign Office Report 'Moḥamedan Agitation—The World Islāmic Conference' 1926 Ref (E 5595/20/19), based on an article in Muḥammad 'Alī's Paper, 'Hamdard', p 1-2 (Archives of Islām); Footnotes 809, 826, 828 cited above, Foreign Ofiice Document, Confidential (E 4186/20/91), 12th July 1926, Vice Consul Jordan (Jeddah) to Chamberlain, Report on the Mecca Moslem Conference', p 5.
1044.Ibid; Ibid, p 5.
1045.Ibid, p 5.
1046.Ibid, p 5.
1047.Ibid, p 5.
1048.Ibid, p 5.
1049.Foreign Office Document, 'Eastern Arabia, Confidential (E 4921/20/91), 28th July 1926, Vice Consul Jordan to Chamberlain'; also Enclosure in No 1, Eighteenth Meeting of the (Islāmic) Conference', (including) 'Extract from the 'Umm-ul-Kura', No 84 of 23rd July 1926 - p 1-2.
1050.Ibid, Jordan's above letter to Chambelain of 28th July 1926.
1051.Ibid, p 2 of Enclosure; Footnote (832) Op Cit, the Report in 'Hamdard', p 1; Footnotes (809, 826, 828, 832), Foreign Office Document, Confidential (E 4186/20/91), 12th July 1926, Vice Consul Jordan to Chamberlain, 'Mecca Moslem Conference', p 1-5; Armstrong, HC, Op Cit, p 191-192.
1052.Armstrong, HC, Ibid, p 192-194; al-Māna', M, 'Arabia Unified', p 82-83, London (1980).

1053. Ibid, p 192; Gibb, HAR, Kramers, JH, 'Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islām', p 313-314, Kārāchī (1981).

1054. (APSA) Document – The Grand Muftī and Head of the Supreme Muslim Council of Palestine, Muḥammad 'Alī Pāshā (former Egyptian Minister of 'Auqāf') and the Muftī of Ḥaifā's letter to the Niẓām of Ḥaidarābād dated 27th July 1933/Rabī' al-Thānī 1352H, p.2. Photocopy in Author's possession.

1055. (APSA) Document – Lord Reading (Viceroy of India) to the Niẓām of Ḥaidarābād, Delhi, dated 9th November 1923, introducing the delegation led by Muḥammad Murād (Muftī of Ḥaifā on behalf of the Supreme Council of Palestine for raising funds for the "Reparation of the Great Mosques of Beit-ul-Maquedess, Palestine". This delegation had also included Ibrāhīm al-Ansārī (Warden of the 'Ḥaram al-Sharīf') and Jamāl al-Ḥusaynī of the "Muslim/Christian Association of Palestine": (APSA) Document—Arabic Appeal from the Head of the Supreme Muslim Council of Palestine, the Grand Muftī to the Nizām of Haidarabad dated 2nd Ṣafar 1343H, addressed from al-Quds, (Jerusalem) in connection with the restoration of the Holy Sites there. (APSA) Document – English letter from the Head of the Delegation of the Supreme Muslim Council of Palestine (the Muftī of Ḥaifā, Muḥammad Murād) dated 1923, to the Nizām of Ḥaidarābād, seeking support for the restoration of the Holy Sites in al-Quds (Jerusalem), titled "Reparation of the Great Mosques of Beit-ul-Maquedess, Palestine" (photocopies of all the above documents in the Author's possession): Ashraf, D, Op Cit, ('Aurāq-e-Mu'arrikh'), p.126-130.

1056. (APSA) Document – The Grand Muftī and Head of the Supreme Muslim Council of Palestine, Muḥammad 'Alī Pāshā (former Egyptian Minister for 'Auqāf') and the Muftī of Ḥaifā's letter to the Niẓām of Ḥaidarābād dated 27th July 1933/Rabī' al-Thānī 1352H, Op Cit, p.1-2; Ashraf, D, Ibid p.109-115.

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These below, in brief, are works quoted in the reference list provided, but by no means constitute a comprehensive survey of all the material utilised or consulted in the compilation of this book. Such a list, if provided in full, would have been tediously lengthy. Suffice it should to state that, the process of researching and composing this matter into book form has taken no less than the best part of over a dozen years.

A list of official documents and archival material, primarily from the Foreign Office (FO), Public Records Office (PRO), the India Office Records (IOR), The Imperial War Museum (IWM)—all in London, the Middle East Centre (MEC), St Antony's College, Oxford, the National Archives of India (NAI) and the 'Jāmi'ah-é-Millīyah-é-Islāmīyyah' (JMI) Collection housing the 'Maulānā Muḥammad 'Alī Papers', both in Delhi, the 'Firangī Maḥal Collection' (FM) holding the 'Maulānā 'Abdal-Bārī Papers', the Records of the Uttar Pradesh (formerly the United Provinces) Government Secretariat, the two of them in Lucknow, the Andhra Pradesh State Archives (APSA), Ḥaidarābād, whether acquired directly, through the 'Archives of Islām' (AOI) Collection and like sources , or from other printed material , have been listed separately, just as the reference material from Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Urdu sources—(whether in the original or through translation into other languages)—has been. The English and the French works cited, have also been listed separately. It may be added that, the 'Archives of Islām Collection' conveniently has in its possession a rich collection of official British and other documents relevant to the history of the Middle East and the Islāmic world , acquired from diffrent archival sources.

Lastly and wtihout exception, I reiterate and express my deepiest gratitude and acknowledgements to all the sources: Archival Records/Collections, Authors, Publishers and Others, whom of which I have taken the liberty of utilising in any form in the compilation of this work.

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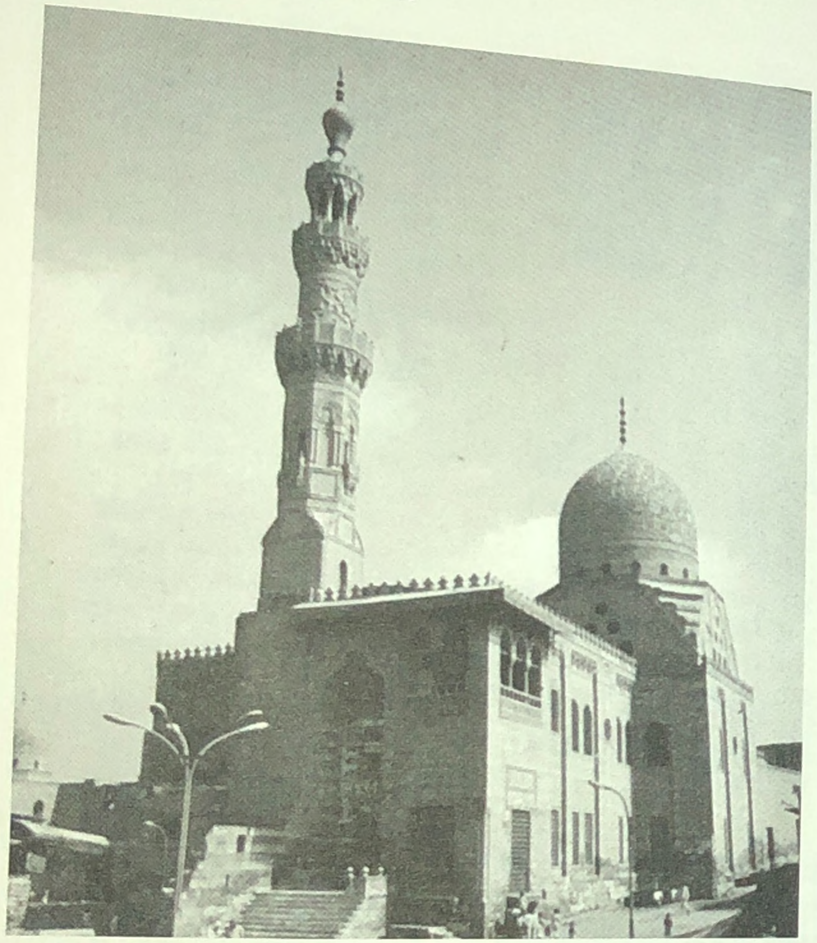
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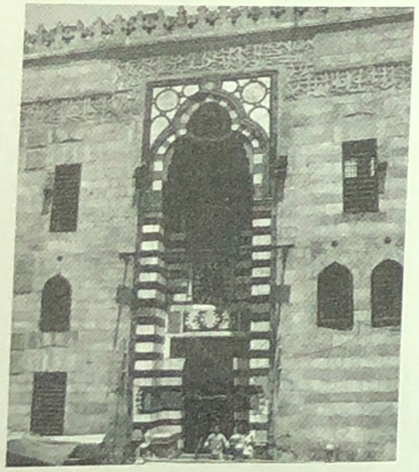
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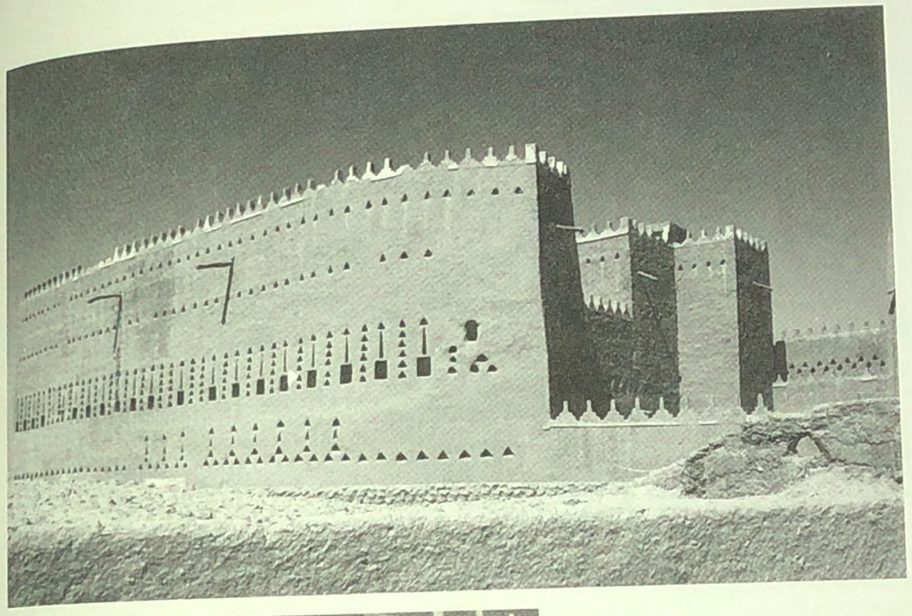
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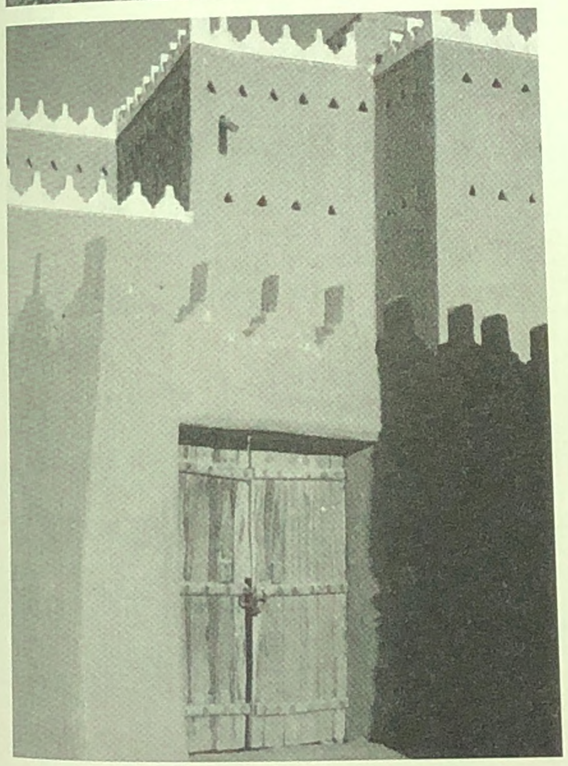




Qā'it Bey (872 H/1468-901 H-1496) was an able and tireless ruler and a prolific builder to whom no less than 85 structures sprawled across the Mamlūk dominions are said to owe their origin. His passion for building was to witness the emergence of some highly interesting architectural decorative concepts and features, one of which was the application of carved, coloured stone and marble, particularly for facades of monuments (above).

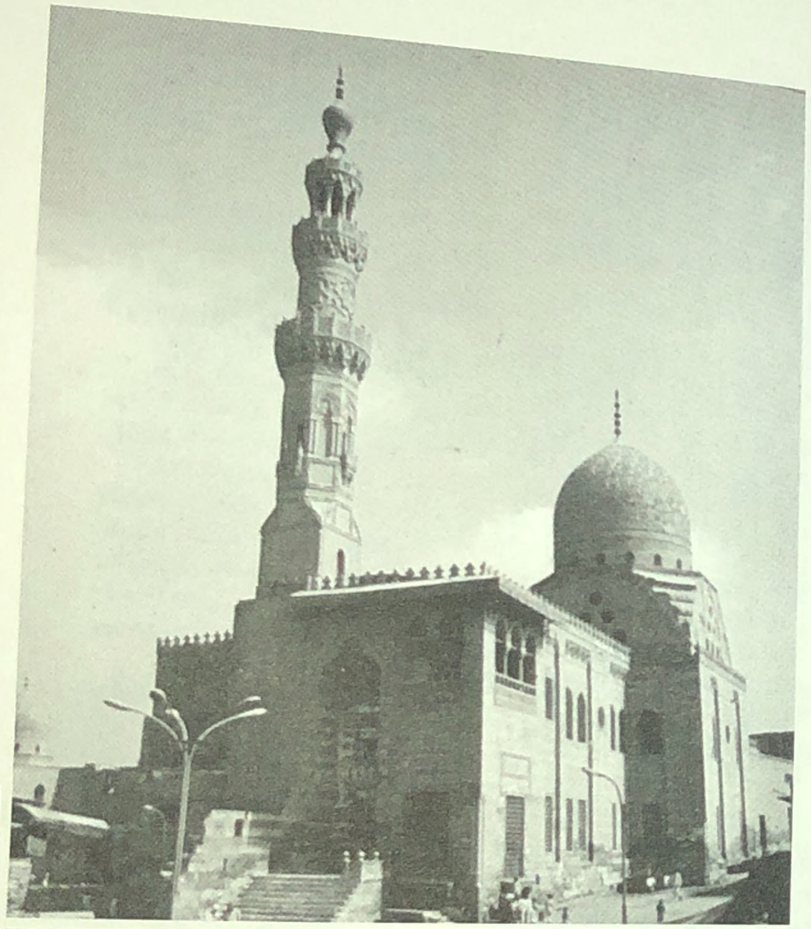
'Madrassah' of Mamlūk Sultan Ghoury, Cairo.

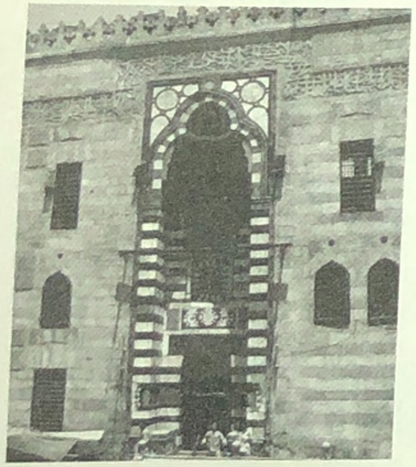




Al-Dir'īyyah, the Capital of the First Sa'ūdī State and the Unitarian Movement between 1157 H (1749) and 1233 H (1818) was once a formidable conglomerate of five settlements naturally protected by steep cliffs and an amazing network of fortifications.

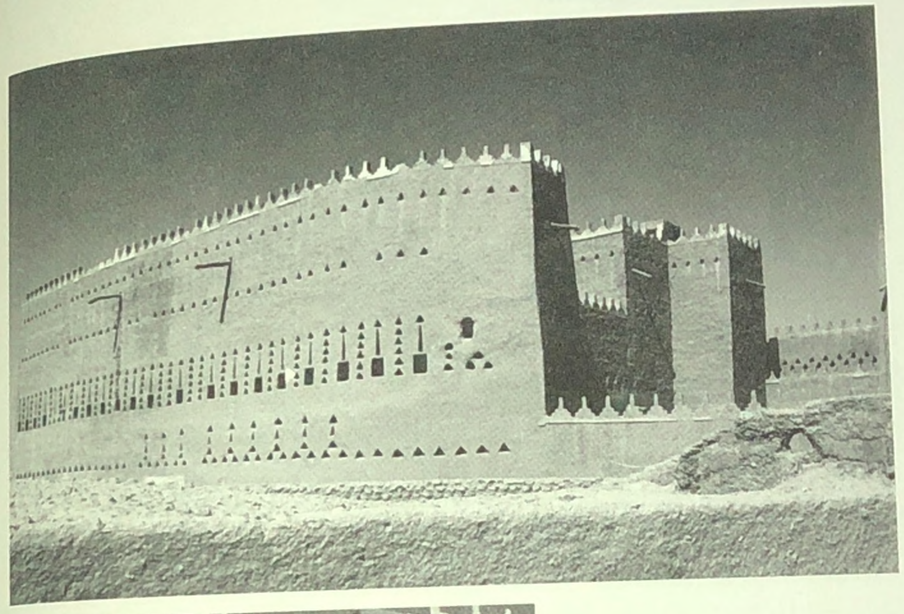
Located in the heart of the Wādī Ḥanīfah, and presided by al-Ṭuraif, the Castle of the Al Sa'ūd and the mosque, it was to witness great prosperity and glory in its heyday. These depictions represent the township after recent attempts to restore it to its former glory.

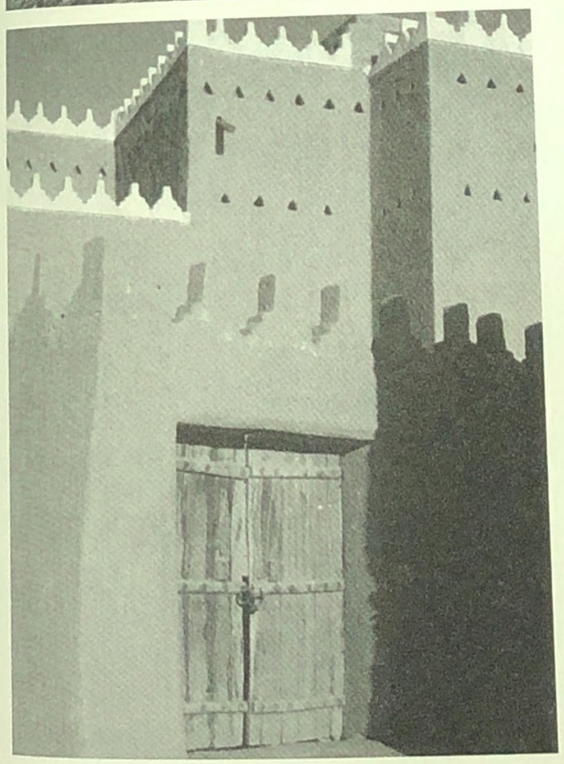




Qā'it Bey (872 H/1468-901 H-1496) was an able and tireless ruler and a prolific builder to whom no less than 85 structures sprawled across the Mamlūk dominions are said to owe their origin. His passion for building was to witness the emergence of some highly interesting architectural decorative concepts and features, one of which was the application of carved, coloured stone and marble, particularly for facades of monuments (above).

'Madrassah' of Mamlūk Sultan Ghoury, Cairo.





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Photographic Essay by Reem Al Faisal

